PAPER - A.

1/ Defination and Scope of Political Science.

2/ What is the importance utility of this subject today.

3/ STATE.

4/ ELEMENTS of state.
Evolutionary theory concern the origin of state.

5/ Evolution of modern state.
nature of state.
Organic and Idealistic.
Functions of state.

8/ Sovereignty.
Monestic, Pluralistic and Islamic Concept of Sovereignty.

/ Law - kinds and relations between law and morality.

/ Democracy. defination, assumption, Conditions, kinds merits and demerits.

/ Rights and duties

History of India

THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

BY

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British Rule in India, Mughal Rule in India, Sultanate of Delhi, India Since 1526, Ancient India, Constitutional History Of India, Modern Europe Since 1789, England Since 1688, etc.

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PREFACE

I had written a separate book on Ancient India, I had written a separate book on British Rule in India. I had also written a separate book on Mughal Rule in India. In order to complete the series on the whole of the history of India, I wrote a separate book on the Sultanate of Delhi. It is in this way that a separate book covering the whole of the period of the Muslim Rule in India is being put before the public.

I am grateful to the public for the popularity of my other books on History. It is this fact that has encouraged me to write the present book. Every effort has been made to make the present book as useful as possible. For the convenience of the readers, many maps and illustrations have been given. Suggestions for further study of the subject have also been given at the end of every chapter.

I am grateful to Shri Shyam Lal Gupta, Prop. S. Chand & Co., for the interest with which he has printed the book within so short a period.

Suggestions for the improvement of the book in the next edition will be gratefully accepted.

Vidya Dhar Mahajan

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CONTENTS

PART I

The Sultanate of Delhi

PART II

Mughal Rule in India

PART I

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF ISLAM

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The rise of Islam is one of the marvels of history. In the summer of 622 A.D. a prophet, without honour in his own country, fled from his native city to seek an asylum in the town of Yathrib, since known as Madinat-ud-Nabi, 'the Prophet's City', rather more than two hundred miles north of Mecca, the town which had cast him out. Little more than a century later the successors and followers of the fugitive were ruling an empire which extended from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian to the cataracts of the Nile, and included Spain and Portugal, some of the most fertile regions of southern France, the whole of the northern coast of Africa, Upper and Lower Egypt, their own native Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Transoxiana. They threatened Christendom almost simultaneously from the east to the west, besiegning Constantinople three times and advancing into the heart of France, and but for the decisive victory of Theodosius III before the imperial city in 716 and the crushing defeat inflicted on them near Tours in 732 by Charles the Hammer, the whole of Europe would have passed under their sway. The battle of Poitiers decided whether the Christians' bell or the muezzin's cry should sound over Rome, Paris and London, whether the subtleties of the schoolmen and later, the philosophy of Greece, or the theology and jurisprudence of the Qoran and the Traditions should be studied at Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge." (P. 1, The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.)

But before we discuss the rise of Islam, it is desirable to refer to some of the important sources of information for mediaeval India from the Arab conquest of Sindh upto the invasions of India by Babar.

Sources

We are lucky in having a large number of original works from which we can write the history of Mediaeval India. We can have an idea of them from the translations and collections of Elliot and Dowson.

The Chach-Nama was originally written in Arabic. Later on, it was translated into Persian by Muhammad Ali bin Abu Bakar Kufi in the time of Nasir-ud-din Qubachah. It has now been edited and published by Dr. Daud-pota. This work gives a history of the Arab conquest of Sindh and is our main source of information on that subject.

The Tabqat-i-Nasiri was written by Minhaj-us-Siraj. It has been translated into English by Raverty. It is a contemporary work and was completed in 1260 A.D. It gives us a first hand account of the conquest of India by Muhammad Ghori and also the history of the Delhi Sultanate upto 1260 A.D. However, it is to be observed that Minhaj-us-Siraj was not an impartial writer. He is very much biased in favour of Muhammad Ghori, Iltutmish and Balban.

The Tarikh-i-Firozshahi was written by Zia-ud-Din Barani. The

author was a contemporary of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and Firoz Tughluq. Barani brings the story from Balban to Firoz Tughluq. He gives a very useful account of the history of the Slave dynasty, the Khaljis and the Tughluqs. The book was completed in 1359 A.D. and has now been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that it was written by a person who held a high position in the administration and was consequently in possession of accurate information. The author has described the system of revenue administration in great detail. However, it is to be noted that although Barani knew the duties and responsibilities of a historian, he was not free from prejudice. Moreover, his style is so obscure that it is difficult to understand him.

The Tarikh-i-Firozshahi of Shams-i-Siraj Afif deals with the history of the reign of Firoz Tughluq. The author was himself a member of the Court of Firoz Tughluq and no doubt his work is considered to be a first-rate authority on the subject.

The Taj-ul-Maasir was written by Hasan Nizami. It deals with the events from about 1192 A.D. to 1228 A.D. It deals with the career and reign of Kutub-ud-din Aibak and the early years of reign of Iltutmish. Being a contemporary account, the work is regarded to be a first-rate authority on the subject.

The Kamil-ut-Tawarikh was written by Shaikh Abdul Hasan also known as Ibnul Asir. This book was written in 1230 A.D. We find an account of the conquest of India by Muhammad Ghori. It is a contemporary account and consequently has great value.

The Tarikh-i-Sindh or Tarikh-i-Masumi was written by Mir Muhammad Masum. This book was written in about 1600 A.D. It deals with the history of Sindh from the time of its conquest by the Arabs upto the time of Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor. It is not a contemporary account, but is based on Chach-Nama. It gives an accurate account of the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs.

The Tarikh-ul-Hind was written by Alberuni who was a great Arabic and Persian scholar. He stayed in India for many years and learnt Sanskrit. He translated many Sanskrit works into Arabic and Persian. The Tarikh-ul-Hind gives an account of the literature, religion and sciences of the Hindus at the time of his visit to India. Alberuni was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni and he gives a lot of useful information about the condition of India at the time of her invasion by Mahmud. The book has been translated into English by Sachau.

The Kitab-ul-Yamini was written by Utbi. It deals with the history of Subuktgin and Mahmud of Ghazni upto 1020 A.D. We do not find details in this account. Dates are also missing. In spite of that it is a great work on Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Zain-ul-Akhbar was written by Abu Said. It gives us some information about Mahmud of Ghazni. The data given by the author is exact.

The Tarikh-i-Masudi was written by Abul Fazl Muhammad Bin Husain-al-Baihaqi. It deals with the history of Mahmud of Ghazni and gives us an idea of court life and intrigues among officials.

The Khaza'in-ul-Futuh was written by Amir Khusrav who was a contemporary of the rulers of Delhi from Jalal-ud-din Khalji to Muhammad Tughluq. The author was partial towards Ala-ud-din

Khalji. While he praises his master very much, he omits his faults and short-comings. Being an eye-witness of what he has written, his work is of very great importance. The work has been translated into English by Prof. Habib.

The Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi was written by Yahia bin Ahmad. It gives a very valuable account of the reigns of the rulers belonging to the Sayyid dynasty (1414 to 1451 A.D.).

The Sirat-i-Firozshahi was written about the year 1370 A.D. It is a contemporary account, which is very useful for the reign of Firoz Tughluq.

The Fatawah-i-Jahandari was written by Zia-ud-din Barani. This was completed in the 14th century. The author gives his own views about the secular and religious policy of the government. The book gives an idea of the ideal political code which the author wanted the Muslim rulers to follow.

The Futuh-us-Salatin was written by Khwaja Abu Malik Isami in 1349 A.D. It gives us a history of the Muslim rulers of Delhi after the time of Muhammad Tughluq. It has been edited and published by Dr. Mahdi Hussain.

The Kitab-ur-Rahlah was written by Ibn Batuta, a Moorish traveller, who visited India in 1333 A.D. and remained here for 9 years. He also acted as Qazi of Delhi for 8 years. The work is a contemporary account written by a great scholar who had first-hand information about the affairs of Muhammad Tughluq.

The Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghan was written by Ahmad Yadgar. It deals with the history of the Afghans in India. It is very useful for the rulers of the Lodi dynasty.

The Tarikh-i-Shershahi or Tohfa-i-Akbarshahi is useful for the history of the Lodi dynasty. Tarikh-i-Daudi was written by Abdullah in the time of Jahangir. It contains a large number of stories about the praise of the Afghan rulers. It is very useful for the rulers of the Lodi dynasty.

The travels of Marco Polo have been edited by Yule. It was during the 13th century that Marco Polo visited Southern India and he gives a contemporary account of what he saw in the country. Abdur Razzaq was a Persian who was an ambassador in the court of the King of Vijayanagar from 1442 to 1443 A.D. He gives us an account of the political, administrative, economic and cultural condition of Vijayanagar. Equally useful is the account of India as given by Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, who visited India in 1520 A.D. Paes was a Portuguese traveller who visited Southern India at that time. His description of Vijayanagar is important. Barbosa visited India in 1516 and he has left a valuable account of the conditions prevailing in Southern India. Ibn Batuta, a Moorish traveller, visited India in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. His impressions are to be found in the book called "Rahlab" which has been translated into English by Gibbs and Lee.

Rise of Islam

The founder of Islam was Prophet Muhammad. He was born in 570 A.D. at Mecca in Arabia. He was very unlucky in as much as his father died before the birth of the child and his mother died when he was only 6. He was brought up by his uncle, Abu Talib. He spent his days of childhood in poverty. He either looked after flocks of sheep or helped his uncle in business.

When Prophet Muhammad was 25, he married a rich widow named Khadija. She was 15 years older than the Prophet. In spite of his married life, the Prophet continued his religious pursuits. He spent hours in meditation. At the age of 40, angel Gabriel gave Muhammad the message of God. He was told by the angel that he had been sent to this world to spread the faith of Allah. After this event, Prophet Muhammad devoted the rest of his life to spread the message of Allah in the world. He condemned idol worship and the superstitions prevailing among the Arabs. However, his own tribe called Kuraish was incharge of Kaaba which had 360 idols. His relatives lived on income from idol worshippers. As the condemnation of idolatory by Prophet Muhammad was against the vested interests, he was abused and stoned. An attempt was made even to take his life. Things became so bad that in 622 A.D., Prophet Muhammad had to leave Mecca for Madina. The Hijri era dates from July 622 A.D. This is in the memory of the Prophet having left Mecca.

During his stay at Madina, thousands of people became the followers of Muhammad and embraced Islam. It was here that the Holy Quran was compiled and the teachings of Muhammad took a definite shape. The teaching of Muhammad was that "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah." Muhammad emphasized the unity of God. He asked his followers to have faith in angels who brought messages from God. The Holy Quran was declared to be a revealed book and its authority was not to be questioned by any Muslim. The followers were asked to have faith in a final resurrection. There was to be a Day of Judgment when everybody was to be punished or rewarded according to his deeds. The followers were required to perform five duties. They were required to recite Kalma and have a living faith in God and the Prophet. They were required to give Zakat or one-fortieth of their total income in charity. They were to say their prayers or Namaz five times a day. They were to observe Rozas or fasts during the month of Ramzan. They were to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca or do Haj. They were not to worship any idols. Their mosques were to have no image or portraits. Each mosque was to be "an open court surrounded by colonnades and unadorned, save for Quranic texts, a Mihrab, a niche showing the direction of Mecca, a pulpit and minaret where the muazzins utter the call to prayers."

It is to be noted that Islam or the "religion of the desert", spread rapidly in the world. After the death of the Prophet in 632 A.D., the task of the spread of Islam was taken over by the Omayyid Khalifas. During the regime of the first four Khalifas, *viz.*, Abu Bakar, Omar, Osman and Ali, Islam spread into the various parts of the world. Within a hundred years of the death of the Prophet, the Muslims overthrew two mighty Empires *viz.*, Sassanid Empire and Byzantine Empire. They overran the whole of Syria, Iran and Mesopotamia. To quote Gibbon, "At the close of the first century of the Hijrat, the Khalifas were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." The Muslim Empire became so vast that the Khalifas had to shift their headquarters from Madina to Damascus.

In 750 A D., a revolution was brought about by the Abbasids, the followers of Abul Abbas. The last of the Omayyids was hunted down and killed in Egypt. Abul Abbas became the founder of the new line of Khalifas. Abbas "began his reign by collecting into the prison every living male of the Omayyid line upon whom he could lay hands

and causing them all to be massacred. Their bodies, it is said, were heaped together, a leathern carpet was spread over them, and on this gruesome table Abbas and his councillors feasted. Moreover, the tombs of the Omayyid Caliphs were rifled and their bones burnt and scattered to the four winds." (H. G. Wells). In 762 A.D., the Abbasids changed their capital from Damascus to Baghdad. It is to be noted that while the Omayyids were Sunnis, the Abbasids were Shias. While the flag of the Omayyids was white, that of the Abbasids was black. Under the Abbasids, Baghdad became a centre of art and learning. The most important Abbasid Khalifas were Al-Mansur and Harun Rashid.

It is to be noted that the Arabs and the Turks played an important part in the spread of Islam. The former shaped its culture and the latter gave it ruthlessness and energy. However, it is the Arabs who were responsible for the conquest of Sindh in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. They did not succeed in pushing forward their conquests into the interior of the country. That task was accomplished by the Turks later on in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.

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CHAPTER II

CONDITION OF INDIA ON EVE OF ARAB CONQUEST OF SINDH

Before discussing the Arab conquest of Sindh, it seems desirable to describe the condition of India in the beginning of the 8th century.

Political Condition

As regards political condition, there was no paramount power in the country. India was a congeries of states, each one of which was independent and sovereign. *Afghanistan* was a part of India from the time of Chandragupta Maurya. Hiuen Tsang tells us that in his time a Kshatriya prince ruled over the Kabul Valley and his successors continued to do so till the end of the 9th century A.D. It was then that a Brahman dynasty founded by Lalliya was established. The new dynasty was called by Muslim writers as the Hindushahi Kingdom or the Kingdom of Kabul and Zabul. The exact name of the ruler who was ruling Afghanistan at the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh is not known.

As regards *Kashmir*, Durlabhavardhana founded a powerful Hindu dynasty in the 7th century. It was during his reign that Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir. He was succeeded by Pratapaditya who built the town of Pratapapur. Lalitaditya Mukatapida who ascended the throne about 724 A.D. was the greatest ruler of the dynasty and he is said to have conquered the Punjab, Kanauj, Dardistan and Kabul. It was during his reign that the Martand temple dedicated to the Sun god was built. Yasovarman, the King of Kanauj, was defeated by him about the year 740 A.D.

During the 7th century A.D., *Nepal* occupied the position of a buffer state between Tibet on the north and the empire of Harsha of Kanauj on the south. King Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty, was in close touch with Tibet on account of the marriage of his daughter to the ruler of that country. After the death of Harsha, troops from Tibet and Nepal helped Wang-hieun-tse, the Chinese envoy, against Arjuna, the usurper on the throne of Kanauj. At the beginning of the 8th century, Nepal was still dependent on Tibet. It was only in 703 A.D. that Nepal became independent.

As regards *Assam*, its ruler was Bhaskar-varman in the time of Harsha. He asserted his independence after the death of Harsha. It appears that his independence did not last long. Bhaskar-varman was defeated by Silastambha, a barbarian and Assam passed under the rule of the Malechhas for nearly 300 years.

As regards *Kanauj*, Arjuna usurped the throne of Kanauj after the death of Harsha. He opposed the Chinese mission under Wang-hieun-tse which arrived after the death of Harsha. The members of the mission were either massacred or taken prisoners and their property was plundered. Wang-hieun-tse managed to escape to Nepal and he came back after getting help from Nepal, Tibet and Assam. Arjuna was defeated and taken prisoner and carried away to China as a captive. There was a struggle for supremacy. For some time, the Pratiharas of Kanauj became supreme. Later on, their place was taken by the Palas. The Rashtrakutas held sway towards the west and south of the Deccan. Early in the 8th century, we find

Yasovarman on the throne of Kanauj. On account of his enterprising spirit, he was able to restore Kanauj to its former glory. He was a contemporary of King Dahir of Sindh.

Sindh was ruled by a Sudra dynasty and when Hiuen Tsang visited India, he found a Sudra ruler in that region. Although Sindh was subdued by Harsha, it became independent after his death. The last Sudra ruler was Sahsi. He was succeeded by Chacha, his Brahman minister, who established a new dynasty of his own. Chacha was succeeded by Chandra who in turn was succeeded by Dahir. It was this King who had to face the Arabs in Sindh.

As regards *Bengal*, Sasanka was a contemporary of King Harsha. After his death, there was anarchy in Bengal. It was in 750 A.D. that the people selected a person named Gopala as their ruler. Gopala ruled from 750 A.D. to 770. The dynasty founded by Gopala continued to rule up to 12th century A.D. The important rulers of the dynasty were Dharmapala, Devapala and Mahipala.

The earliest known settlement of *the Pratiharas* was at Mandor in Central Rajputana. It was there that the family of Harichandra ruled. A branch advanced southwards and established its power at Ujjain. Dantidurga, the Rashtrakuta king, is stated to have subjugated the Gurjara chief. Before their conquest of Kanauj, the Pratiharas were the masters of Avanti. Nagabhata I is stated to have crushed the large armies of the Malechha king. He was responsible for saving western India from the Arabs. Both Nagabhata I and Dantidurga tried to take advantage of the confusion created by the Arab raids and although Dantidurga got some initial advantage, he could not maintain the same for long. In spite of his initial failure, Nagabhata I was able to leave behind a powerful state comprising Malwa and parts of Rajputana and Gujarat.

According to Dr. Altekar, *the Rashtrakutas* were either the direct or collateral descendants of the Rashtrakuta king, Nannaraja Yudhasura, who ruled at Elichpur in Berar in the middle of the seventh century A.D. The Rashtrakutas began their career of greatness under Dantidurga. He fought on the banks of the Mahi, Mahanadi and Reva and won victories over Kanchi, Kalinga, Kosala, Malava, Lata and Tanka. He performed the Hiranyagarbha ceremony at Ujjain in which "kings such as the Gurjara Lords and others were made door-keepers". He defeated the Chalukya kings and also won victory over Vallabhi. He is said to have wrested supreme authority from the Chalukyas and "humbled the circles of proud kings from the Himalayas to the limit of Setu." Dantidurga was ruling when the Arabs attacked Sindh.

Pulakesin II, the greatest king of *the Chalukya dynasty*, was a contemporary of Harsha. In 655 A.D., Vikramaditya I came to the throne and he continued to rule upto 681 A.D. His son Vinayaditya ruled from 681 to 696 A.D. He was succeeded by Vijayaditya who ruled from 696 to 733 A.D. He conquered Kanchi and levied tribute from the Pallava king. He was ruling at the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh.

Narasimha-varman II was the ruler of *the Pallavas* at the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh. He ruled from 695 to about 722 A.D. He took up the titles of Rajasimha (lion among Kings), Agamapriya (Lover of scriptures) and Shankarbhakat (Devotee of Siva). He built the Kailashnath temple at Kanchi.

It is clear from a brief survey of the political condition of India on the eve of the Arab conquest of Sindh that there was no one powerful force in the country which could check effectively the Arab conquest of Sindh. There was no sense of unity which could bring together the various states of India in the face of a common danger. The clash of arms was not between people with any sense of territorial patriotism but between the loyal or mercenary personal adherents of ambitious monarchs.

Administration

As regards the *administrative* system, monarchy was the most popular. The law of primogeniture was usually followed. Sometimes rulers were also elected. We are told that Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty, was elected by the important political elements of the region. At the time of a crisis, a ruler was selected by the important persons in the State. Such a thing happened in the case of King Harsha of Thanesar and Kanauj. We have many examples of women being rulers in certain parts of India. The kings excercised unlimited and absolute powers and also believed in the Divine Right of Kings to rule. The king was the head of the executive, the Commander of the Army and the fountain of justice. He could not afford to be a tyrant as he was required to rule accoding to Raj-dharma.

As it is impossible to rule without assistance, the king was helped by ministers. Their number depended upon the circumstances and requirements of the situation. There seem to have been two kinds of ministers known as Mantries and Sachivas. The names of some of the ministers were Sandhivigrahika (Minister of War & Peace), Sumant (Foreign Minister), Mahadandanayaka, Mahabaladhikrita, Amatya, Akshapatadhikrita etc. In addition to the above-mentioned ministers, there was a Purohita or Rajguru who was in charge of the department of religion. The position of a minister depended upon his own character, brilliance and the amount of confidence reposed by the king in him. The office of a minister became sometimes hereditary in a particular family. In the ultimate analysis, everything depends upon the attitude of the king towards the ministers.

Every kingdom was divided into many provinces known as Bhukti in the north and Mandala in the South. The terms Rasthra or Desa are also used in this connection. Every province was in charge of an officer called Uparika. A province was divided into many districts known as Vishyas and each Vishya was under Vishyapati. Districts were further divided into unions of villages and the village was the unit of administration. Each village had a headman and a Panchayat consisting of the elders of the village. In every Panchayat, there were many sub-committees to look after the various needs of the village. The headman of the village was known as Adhikari or Adhikarin. A city was under a Nagarpati who was assisted in some cases by an assembly elected by the residents of the city. The main sources of income of the state were land revenue from the crown lands, tributes from vassal chiefs and taxes such as excise duties, irrigation charges, road cess, ferry charges, income from mines etc. The share of the State from land was fixed at 1/6th of the produce and was known as the Bhag.

Religious Condition

As regards the *religious condition*, it is true that Buddhism was

on the decline but it had its followers in Bengal and Bihar even upto the times of the Palas and Senas. The great Buddhist academy of Vikramashila, with its 107 temples and 6 colleges, was established by Dharampal who ruled from 770 to 810 A.D. Jainism survived longer, particularly in the south. In all the principal dynasties of the south, there were some patrons of Jainism. It flourished in the dominions of the Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Gangas and Hoyasalas till the rise of Vaishnavism and Saivism. Kumarila Bhata, Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya and Madhavacharya were the outstanding religious teachers who brought about a change in the spiritual outlook of Hindu society. The revived Hinduism was a potent faith. Most of the rulers were followers of Hinduism but they were tolerant to all other religions. There was no religious persecution as such.

Social Condition

As regards the social condition, caste system was becoming more and more rigid. We have references to Brahamanas working as soldiers and the Kshatriyas working as merchants. We have also references to Vaishyas and Sudaras as powerful rulers. There were restrictions on inter-caste marriages and in most cases people married within their castes. Most of the people were vegetarians and they abstained from taking even onions or garlic. Untouchability was prevalent. There was polygamy in the Hindu society, but women were not allowed to marry a second time. *Sati* was becoming popular. Education was widely spread. There were many Universities and Colleges where all kinds of knowledge was given. In spite of this, the lives of the most of the people were controlled by superstition. On the whole, the Hindu social system, with its various divisions and mutual jealousies, was not strong enough to withstand the Mohammadan onslaught.

CHAPTER III

ARAB CONQUEST OF SINDH

It is true that Sindh was actually conquered by the Arabs in 712 A.D., but it does not mean that no efforts had been made earlier in that direction. We are told that in 636-37 A.D., during the Khalifat of Omar, a naval expedition was sent for the conquest of Thana near Bombay, but it failed. Another attempt was made in 644 A.D. by land through the Makran Coast into Western Sindh. It was sent by Khalifa Osman under the leadership of Abdullah-bin-Amar. The later conquered Sistan and then advanced towards Makran. He defeated the rulers of Makran and Sindh. In spite of these victories, it was not considered worthwhile to annex Sindh. It was reported to the Khalifa that in Sindh *"water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold ; if a few troops are sent, they will be slain, if many, they will starve."* In spite of difficulties, the Arabs continued to attack the frontiers of Sindh both by land and sea. They concentrated their attacks on Kikan which was hilly region round the Bolan Pass. Al-Haris won some success in 659 A.D. but was ultimately defeated and killed in 662 A.D. Another successful attempt was made by Al-Muhallab in 664 A.D. Abdullah made another unsuccessful attempt and he was killed. Ultimately, the Arabs were able to capture Makran or Baluchistan in the first decade of the 8th century A.D. and this prepared the way for the conquest of Sindh.

Causes

It is stated that the Arabs were provoked to undertake the conquest of Sindh in 711 A.D. Various reasons have been given for that. It is stated that the King of Ceylon was sending to Hajjaj, the viceroy of the Eastern provinces of the Khalifa, the orphan daughters of the Muslim merchants who had died in his dominions and his vessels were attacked and plundered by pirates off the coast of Sindh. According to another account, the King of Ceylon had himself embraced Islam and was sending troop and valuable presents to the Khalifa and those were plundered off the coast of Sindh. According to another account, the Khalifa had sent agents to India to purchase female slaves and other commodities and those agents, on reaching Debal, the principal sea port of Dahir, were attacked and plundered by pirates. The Khalifa demanded reparations from Dahir, the ruler of Sindh, but the latter refused to do so on the ground that the pirates responsible for the plunder were not under his control and consequently he was not responsible for the payment of compensation. However, the real cause of the Arab invasion of Sindh was the determination of the Arabs to conquer Sindh with the object of spreading Islam and also enriching themselves with plunder. The Arab conquest of Sindh was merely a part of their general aggressive policy which brought under them vast regions in Western Europe, Africa and Europe.

An expedition under Ubaidullah was sent in 711 A.D. but he was himself defeated and killed. Another expedition was sent under Budail, but that also failed. It was under these circumstances that

an expedition was sent in 712 under Mohammad-bin-Qasim to conquer Sindh.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The story of Mohammad-bin-Qasim's invasion of Sindh is one of the romances of history. His blooming youth, his dash and heroism, his noble deportment throughout the expedition and his tragic fall have invested his career with the halo of martyrdom." Mohammad Qasim started at the head of an army consisting of 6000 Syrian horse, the flower of the armies of the Caliphs, 6000 camelry and a baggage train of 3000 Bactrian animals. Mohammad Qasim had reinforcements from the Governor of Makran, Mohammad Harun, who brought with him 5 catapults or Balistas which served as Mediaeval artillery. Each catapult was worked by 500 trained men and thus the total of artillery men was 2500. Abul Aswad Jahan had been sent in advance to join Mohammad Qusim on the borders of Sindh. The army of Mohammad Qasim continued to increase till it was 50,000 strong when it marched down to Multan.

Debal

From Makran, Mohammad-bin-Qasim proceeded to Debal. On the way, the Jats and Meds joined Mohammad-bin-Qasim against Dahir. It was in the spring of 712 A.D. that Mohammad-bin-Qasim reached the port of Debal and besieged it. A nephew of Dahir was in charge of the town and he offered stiff resistance. It is stated that the Brahmanas of Debal prepared a *talisman* and placed it near the great red flag which flew from the temple. The Arabs were not able to conquer Debal inspite of best efforts. However, a Brahman deserted Dahir and disclosed the secret of the *talisman* to the Arabs. The result was that the Arabs made the flagstaff the target and broke the *talisman*. Once the red flag was pulled down, the people surrendered in despair. There was a great massacre for three days. The Hindus and Buddhists of Debal were given the option to become Muslims and those who refused to do so were murdered or enslaved. All those who were above 17 were put to the sword. Huge booty fell into the hands of the Arabs. "700 beautiful females under the protection of Buddha" were among the prize of Mohammad-bin-Qasim. A part of the booty and women were sent to Hajjaj and the rest were distributed among the soldiers. A mosque was constructed in place of the damaged temple. Mohammad-bin-Qasim wrote thus to Hajjaj : "The nephew of Raja Dahir, his warriors and principal officers have been dispatched, and the infidels converted to Islam or destroyed. Instead of idol-temples, mosques and other places of worship have been erected. Khutbah (Friday prayer) is read, the call to prayer is raised, so that devotions are performed at stated hours. The *takbir* and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening."

Nerun

From Debal, Mohammad-bin-Qasim advanced to Nerun. It was then in the hands of Buddhist priests and Sramanas. The Buddhists surrendered without a fight. They argued thus : "We are a priestly class ; our religion is peace. According to our faith, fighting and slaughter are not allowable."

Sehwan

From Nerun, the Arabs marched on to Sehwan which was held by a cousin of Dahir named Bajhra. He surrendered after some feeble resistance. No general massacre of the people of Sehwan was ordered.

Dahir

Mohammad-bin-Qasim ordered a bridge of boats to be constructed in order to cross the Indus. Dahir was taken by surprise and with his men he fell back upon *Rawar*. It was here that the Arabs met an imposing array of war elephants and a powerful army thrusting to give battle to the Muslims. Dahir was seated on an elephant. His frightened elephant took him into the river Indus. Although the king saved himself and continued to fight after mounting a horse, the army thought that they have lost their leader and fled away. Ultimately, Dahir was defeated and killed. Ranibai, the widow of Dahir, put up a heroic defence from fort of Rawar and her garrison 15,000 strong, rained stones and missiles on the Arabs. When they could not hold out, they saved their honour by performing the ceremony of Jauhar so that they may not fall into the hands of foreigners.

Brahmanabad

From Rawar, Mohammad-bin-Qasim proceeded towards Brahmanabad which was defended by Jai Singh, the son of Dahir. The fighting was bitter. As many as 8,000 or 20,000 persons were killed. When Jai Singh found that further resistance was useless, he retired from Brahmanabad. It was after the fall of Brahmanabad. that Mohammad-bin-Qasim captured Rani Ladi, another widow of Dahir and his two daughters Suryadevi and Parmal Devi.

Aror

Aror, the capital of Sindh, was held by another son of Dahir. It was stoutly defended for some time. It was in this way that the conquest of Sindh was completed.

Multan

In the beginning of 713 A.D., Mohammad-bin-Qasim proceeded towards Multan, the chief city of the Upper Indus. There was tough resistance everywhere, but in spite of that Mohammad-bin-Qasim appeared before the gates of Multan and captured it through treachery. A deserter told Mohammad-bin-Qasim the stream from which the people got their water supply and by cutting off the water supply, Mohammad-bin-Qasim was able to capture Multan. The Arabs got so much of gold that they named Multan as the city of gold.

After capturing Multan, Mohammad-bin-Qasim began to draw a plan of conquering the rest of India. He sent an army of 10000 horse under Abu Hakim to conquer Kanauj. However, before that could be accomplished Qasim himself was finished.

Death of Qasim

There is a difference of opinion with regard to the circumstances which led to the death of Mohammad-bin-Qasim. One view is that Surya Devi and Parmal Devi, the daughters of Dahir, were sent to the Khalifa as presents from Qasim. The Khalifa selected Surya Devi for the honour of sharing his bed but she stated that she was not worthy because Qasim had dishonoured her and her sister before sending them to the Khalifa. This annoyed the Khalifa who wrote with his own hand directing that Mohammad-bin-Qasim should suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and thus despatched to the capital. When the order reached Mohammad-bin-Qasim, it was at once obeyed. He caused himself to be sewn up in the hide and thus the box containing his body was sent to Damascus. When the box

was opened in the presence of Surya Devi and the Khalifa, the Khalifa pointed out to the dead body as evidence of the obedience which he was able to get from his servants. However, Surya Devi told the Khalifa at that time that her charge against Mohammad-bin-Qasim was false and she had merely invented the story to have revenge against him. The Khalifa was so much annoyed that he ordered both the sisters to be tied to the tails of horses and dragged until they died.

Another view is that there were two rival groups in the court of the Khalifa and one group was opposed to Hajjaj whose cousin and son-in-law was Mohammad-bin-Qasim. The rivals of Hajjaj poisoned the ears of the Khalifa against Qasim and orders were passed to torture him to death.

The work of conquest of Sindh started by Mohammad-bin-Qasim was cut short by his death. The Khalifa also died in 715 A.D. Under his son, Omar II, Jai Singh, the son of Dahir, became a convert to Islam. However, even his conversion did not save him. Junaid, the Governor of Sindh under Khalifa Hisham (724-43 A.D.), invaded his territory and killed him. In 750 A.D., there was a revolution at Damascus and the Omayyids were replaced by the Abbasids. The control of the Khalifas became more and more loose and the governors and chiefs of Sindh became more and more independent. By 781 A.D., the authority of the Khalifa in Sindh became virtually extinct. The Arab chiefs established two independent kingdoms, one in Mansurah or Sindh proper up to Aror on the Indus and the other comprising Multan.

Administration

The provinces of Sindh and Multan remained parts of the empire of Khalifa for about 150 years. During that period, the Arabs had to carry on the administration of those territories. In the first flush of victory of Debal. Mohammad-bin-Qasim acted like a Muslim conqueror in an infidel country. The vanquished were given the choice to become Muslims and those who refused to do so were either put to the sword or enslaved. The women and treasures were appropriated. After Debal, a policy of partial toleration was followed. The privileges of the Zimmi (Hebrews and Christians) were given to the Hindus and Buddhists of Sindh. The mosques were built on the ruins of the temples. The infidels were also taken into civil and military service. Hindu women were married. Lands were restored to some of the native chiefs without forcing them to become Muslims. Idolatry was connived at. Some idols instead of being destroyed were sent to Hajjaj as curios along with other gifts. A large number of Hindus were employed in revenue administration. The new policy was given in these words : "The temples shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the synods of the Jews and the altars of the Magians—subject to the Jizya and other taxes".

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Hajjaj was "a bitter persecutor" and "knew nothing of the lax interpretation which tolerated idolatry on payment of a tribute." If we believe the account given in the Chachanama, even Hajjaj had to change his mind. The people of Brahmanabad appealed to Mohammad-bin-Qasim, and Hajjaj's reply was : "As they have made submission and have agreed to pay taxes to the Caliph, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection and we cannot, in any way, stretch our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given to

them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like." Mohammad-bin-Qasim passed the following orders: "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan, and if distribution is required, make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed."

The Arabs got a lot of booty from Sindh. They carried away maunds of gold to their country. In addition to that, the people were heavily taxed, particularly those who did not become Muslims. The annual income from Sindh and Multan was estimated to be 1½ crores of Dirhams (£270,000). A lot of money was realised by the imposition of Jizya which was levied in three grades, *viz.*, 48 Dirhams, 24 Dirhams and 12 Dirhams. The distinction was made on the basis of the social status of the person taxed and also his ability to pay. Children and women were exempted. The Khiraj or land tax was levied according to produce. It amounted to 2/5th of wheat and barley in the lands watered by public canals and it was one-forth in other cases. The state demand was one-third in the case of garden produce like grapes and dates. It was one-fifth on fish, wine and pearls. Taxes could be increased in case of necessity. According to Elliot, "With the progress of luxury, the wants of people and its servants increased, and their zeal diminished ; so that it became requisite to employ more people and to give them higher pay. Consequently, the taxes were gradually increased till the proprietors and working classes were unable to pay them, which led to continual changes in the Government."

The Arabs divided Sindh into a number of districts called Iqtas and an Arab military officer was put in charge of a district. The officers incharge of the district were given a lot of discretion in the matters of administration but were required to render military service to the governor. Soldiers were given lands as Jagirs. Endowments of lands were also given to Muslim saints and scholars. A large number of military colonies came into being. The names of some of those colonies were Mansura, Mahfuza and Multan. The people of Sindh were allowed to manage their local affairs.

Rough and ready justice was given to the people. There was no uniformity of law or uniformity of courts. Everything was haphazard. The Arab chiefs were allowed to have their courts and they could inflict capital punishment on their dependents. There was a Qazi at the capital and there were similar Qazis in the district towns. They all decided cases according to Islamic law. Punishments for the Hindus were very severe. If a Hindu committed a theft, he was burnt to death. In some cases, even the members of his family were also burnt to death. The Hindus decided their disputes regarding marriage, inheritance and other social matters in their Panchayats.

The lot of the common people of Sindh was not happy. They were not allowed to put on good clothes. They were not allowed to ride on horses. They could not cover their heads or feet. They were required to get themselves branded on their head. They were required to feed every Muslim traveller for three days and nights. They were made to submit to many other humiliations. The Arabs substituted one kind of oppression for another kind of oppression to which the people had to put up before the coming of the Arabs. Only those persons of Sindh gained who became Muslims as they were treated better.

Effects of Arab Conquest

According to Stanley Lane-Poole, "The Arabs had conquered Sindh but the conquest was only an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results." According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Of the Arab conquest of Sindh there is nothing more to be said. It was a mere episode in the history of India and affected only a small portion of the fringe of that vast country. It introduced into one frontier tract the religion which was destined to dominate the greater part of India for nearly five centuries, but it had none of the far-reaching effects attributed to it by Tod in the Annals of Rajasthan. Mohammad-bin-Qasim never penetrated to Chitor in the heart of Rajputana ; the Caliph Walid I did not 'render tributary all that part of India on this side of the Ganges' ; the invader was never 'on the eve of carrying the war against Raja Harchund of Kanauj' much less did he actually prosecute it ; if Harun-ur-Rashid gave to his second son, al-Ma'mun, 'Khorasan, Zabulisthan, Cabulisthan, Sind and Hindusthan', he bestowed on him at least one country which was not his to give ; nor was the whole of northern India, as Tod maintains, convulsed by the invasion of the Arabs. One of these, as we have seen, advanced to Adhoi in Cutch, but no settlement was made, and the expedition was a mere raid ; and though the first news of the irruption may have suggested warlike preparations to the princes of Rajasthan their uneasiness cannot have endured. *The tide of Islam, having overflowed Sindh and the lower Punjab, ebbed, leaving some jetsam on the strand.* The rulers of states beyond the desert had no cause for alarm. That was to come later, and the enemy was to be, not the Arab, but the Turk, who was to present the faith of the Arabian prophet in a more terrible guise than it had worn when presented by native Arabians." (P. 10, Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.)

When the Arabs settled in Sindh, they were dazzled by the ability of the Indians. Instead of influencing them, they were themselves influenced by them. The Arab scholars sat at the feet of the Brahmanas and Buddhist monks and learnt from them philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicines, chemistry etc. and later on transmitted the same to Europe. It is contended that the numerical figures which the Europeans learnt from the Arabs were originally learnt from the Indians. The Arabic name for figure, *Hindsa*, points out to its Indian origin. During the Khilafat of Mansur in the 8th century A.D., Arab scholars went from India to Baghdad and they carried with them the Brahma Sidhanta and Khanda-khandyaka of Brahma Gupta and those were translated into Arabic with the help of Indian scholars. The Arabs also learnt from them the first principles of scientific astronomy. Hindu learning also was encouraged by the ministerial family of Barmaks during the Khalifat of Harun from 786 to 808 A.D. They invited Hindu scholars to Baghdad and asked them to translate Sanskrit books on medicine, philosophy, astrology etc. into Arabic. They also put the Hindu physicians in charge of their hospitals.

According to Havell, from a political point of view, Arab conquest of Sindh was a comparatively insignificant event but its importance on account of its effect upon the whole culture of Islam was great. For the first time, the nomads of the Arabian desert found themselves in the holy land of the Aryans in close contact with Indo-Aryan civilization, which from all points of view politically, economically

and intellectually had reached a far higher plane than their own. To the poetic imagination of the Arab tribesmen, India seemed a land of wonders. In all the arts of peace, India then stood at the pinnacle of her greatness. The Arabs were charmed by the skill of the Indian musicians and the cunning of the Hindu painter. The dome of the temple *Mandapam* became the dome of the Muslim mosque and tomb. The simplified symbolism of Muslim ritual was all borrowed from India. The pointed arcs of the prayer carpet and *mihrab* was a symbolic arc of the Buddhist and Hindu shrines. The cathedral mosques of the Muslim royalty were like the Vishnu temple. The entrances of the mosque corresponded to the temple Gopurams and gates of the Indian villages. The minars of the mosques were adaptations of the Indian towers of victory. Havell points out that in Sindh, the Arab shaikhs had their first practical lessons in Indo-Aryan statecraft under the guidance of their Brahman officials. They learnt to adapt their own primitive patriarchal polity to the complicated problems of the highly organised systematic government evolved by centuries of Aryans Imperial rule. The court language, etiquette and literary accomplishments were borrowed from the Iranian branch of Aryan civilisation. All these scientific elements which made the Arabs famous in Europe were borrowed directly from India. Islam was able to tap the inexhaustible resources of India, spiritual and material and became the agent for their distribution over the whole of Europe. The Indian Pandits brought to Baghdad the works of Brahmgupta and those were translated into Arabic. In the palmy days of the great Harun, the influence of Indian scholars was supreme at the Baghdad court. Hindu physicians were brought to Baghdad to organize hospitals and medical schools. Hindu scholars translated Sanskrit works into Arabic. The Arabs also went to Indian universities for acquiring knowledge. Havell points out that *it was India and not Greece that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals and inspired its most characteristic expression in literature, art and architcture.* The Arabs never won for themselves a permanent political footing in India nor did the Western School of Islam ever take any strong hold upon the mentality or religious feelings of the Indian Muslims.

It is wrong to maintain that the Arab conquest of Sindh had absolutely no effect on India. It cannot be denied that the Arab conquest of Sindh sowed the seed of Islam in India. A large number of persons in Sindh were converted to Islam. The footing got by Islam in Sindh proved to be permanent. It is pointed out that the legacy of Arab conquest of Sindh lies in the "debris of ancient buildings which proclaimed to the world the vandalism of the destroyer or a few settlements of a few Muslim families in Sindh as the memorial to Arab conquest of Sindh."

Causes of Arab Success

It is desirable to refer to some of the causes which were responsible for the initial success of the Arabs in Sindh. The people of Sindh did not present a united front to the invaders. There were Buddhists and Jains in Sindh and they had a grievance against Dahir, the Hindu ruler. The result was that they joined hands with the invaders against Dahir. Moreover, the Jats, Meds and certain other orders of the society also had their grievances against the Hindu ruler of Sindh. They also joined hands with the enemy. The people of Sindh

were divided among themselves and no wonder failed to check the advance of Mohd.-bin-Qasim.

The unpopularity of Dahir also helped the Arabs. Chacha, the founder of the dynasty, was only a Minister of Sahasi. On the death of his master, he usurped the throne and married the widow queen. This was hated by the people, but Chacha, the Brahman ruler, ruled with an iron hand. The Jats were not allowed to carry arms, or ride on saddled horses. They were not allowed to wear silk. They were forced to walk bare-headed and bare-footed. They had to carry with them dogs to indicate their presence. Dahir was the son of Chacha and he also was hated by the people.

Sindh was a very poor country and consequently its rulers could not afford to maintain a huge standing army which could meet the invaders. Moreover, the Arab forces were better equipped. Those were also superior in number. All this contributed towards Arabs' success.

Sindh was isolated from the rest of India and consequently nobody took any interest in Sindh and the same was conquered by the Arabs.

The betrayal by Sindh generals and other private individuals helped the Arabs to win.

The spirit of adventure and fanaticism also helped the Arabs to win. They were inspired to fight harder as they felt that they were fighting for the cause of Islam.

Another cause of Arab success was the folly of Dahir himself. Even when he found that the danger from the Arabs was real and the Arabs were very near him, he did not make preparations to advance towards them and check them. He continued to wait till the arrival of the foreigners in his own neighbourhood. He did not bother to stop Qasim till he reached Debal and besieged it. Moreover, Dahir put his trust in pitched battles. He ought to have adopted other tactics against the foreigners.

Why Arab Conquest an Episode ?

Many factors were responsible for the failure of the Arabs to leave any permanent effect behind. The most important cause was the premature death of Mohammad-bin-Qasim. He was a young man at the time of his death and if his life had been spared, he might have completed his work which was otherwise less incomplete. The enthusiasm of the followers was damped and the further expansion of the Arabs in India was thus halted.

Another cause was the rivalry of the two groups for the Khilafat. In 750 A.D., there was a revolution as a result of which the Ummayyaids were overthrown and the Abbasids came to power. As the Ummayyaids had started the conquest of Sindh, the Abbasids sent their officers to Sindh with orders to turn out the Ummayyaids governors and officers. That must have resulted in the lowering of the prestige of the Arabs in Sindh. The governors and chiefs of Sindh became practically independent.

The Arabs entered India from the wrong quarter. Sindh was a very poor country and it could not give the Arabs the necessary resources with which the rest of India could be conquered. As it was not very profitable, not much attention was given to Sindh.

The lack of a paramount power in India added to the difficulties

of the Arabs. If the whole country had been under one rule, the whole of India could have been conquered by defeating that one ruler. As it was, there were too many rulers in India to be conquered and that was practically an impossible task. According to Elphinstone, "Even the divisions of the Hindus were in their favour, the downfall of one Raja only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind, and the invader diminished his numbers and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion."

The Arab conquerors settled in Sindh and married Indian women. They lost their fanaticism and ultimately failed to absorb the Hindus. In the time of Harun, the empire "lost touch with everything original and vital in Islam" and "speculative philosophy and highliving" took the place of "Qoranic orthodoxy and Arabian simplicity". According to Sir Mark Sykes, "The solitary bond which could have held the empire together, sternness and plainness of the Muslim faith, was completely neglected by both the Caliph and his advisers." Racial, religious and political factions broke the brotherhood of Islam. The Arabic Khilafat fell before the Turks and Karmatian and other heretics flocked to Sindh.

According to Lane-Poole, "It has been supposed that the crude civilization and austere creed of the Muslims stood paralyzed in face of the rich and ancient culture, the profound philosophy, and the ritual of the Hindus; but these contrasts did not check the later successes of Islam in the same land. The more obvious explanation of the Arabs' failure is found in the as yet unbroken strength of the Rajput kings on the north and east, and in the inadequate forces dispatched by the Caliphs for so formidable a projects as the conquest of India. After the first expedition under the ill-fated Mohammad-bin-Qasim, we hear of no reinforcements, and twenty years after his death the Arabs were still so insecure on the Indus that they built a city of refuge as a retreat in times of jeopardy. The province was not only imperfectly subdued but also extremely poor, and the Caliphs soon abandoned it in all but name as too unremunerative to be worth maintaining." (Pp. 7-8, Medieval India).

SUGGESTED READINGS

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CHAPTER IV

RISE AND FALL OF THE GHAZNAVIDES

It is true that the Arabs were the first Muslim conquerors to invade India but their invasion was nearly an episode in the history of India. However, the work started by the Arabs was completed by the Turks. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Turks got the upper hand over the Khalifas of Baghdad. The Turks were different from the Arabs. They were more aggressive than the Arabs and they spread Islam at the point of the sword. They were brave and full of boundless energy. They were thoroughly materialistic in their outlook. They were full of ambition. They were eminently fitted for establishing a military empire in the East. Dr. Lane-Poole describes the expansion of the Turks as "the master movement in the Mohammaden Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries".

Alaptgin

The first Turkish adventurer whose name is associated with the story of Muslim conquest of India was Alaptgin. He was a man of great ability and courage. He was originally a slave of Abdul Malik, the Samanid king of Bukhara. By dint of sheer ability, he rose to the rank of Hajib-ul-Hujjab. He was appointed the Governor of Khorasan in 956 A.D. When Abdul Malik died in 962 A.D., there was a struggle for succession to the throne between his brother and uncle. Alaptgin took up the cause of uncle but in spite of that, Mansur, the brother of Abdul Malik, gained the throne. It was under these circumstances that Alaptgin settled in Ghazni in Afghan territory with his personal retainers who numbered about 800. He frustrated the plots of Mansur to dislodge him from Ghazni and retained the mastery of the city and its neighbourhood. Alaptgin died after a successful reign of eight years.

Subuktgin (977-97)

After the death of Alaptgin, there was once again struggle for power and it was in 977 A.D. that Subuktgin became the king of Ghazni. Subuktgin was also originally a slave. He had been purchased by Alaptgin from a certain merchant who had brought him from Turkestan to Bukhara. As Subuktgin appeared to be a promising youngman, he was given promotions by his master. He was given the title of Amir-ul-Umra. Alaptgin also married his daughter to him.

After settling himself on the throne, he started a career of conquest which brought him into prominence in the eastern world. He conquered Lamghan and Sistan. After years of continued fighting, he was able to secure the province of Khorasan in 994 A.D. Ambitious as he was, Subuktgin directed his attention towards the conquest of India, a country full of riches and the worshippers of idols. The first Indian ruler he had to meet was Raja Jai Pal of the Shahi dynasty whose kingdom extended from Sarhind to Lamghan (Jalalabad) and from Kashmir to Multan. Shahi kings had their capital successively at Und, Lahore and Bhatinda. In 986-87 A.D., Subuktgin attacked the Indian territory for the first time. He conquered forts

and captured cities "which had upto that time been tenanted only by infidels and not trodden by the camels and horses of Musalmans." This was too much for Jai Pal. He collected his troops and marched into the valley of Lamghan where he was met by Subuktgin and his son. The battle dragged on for several days. A snow-strom upset all the calculations of Jai Pal. It was under these circumstances that he sued for peace. Subuktgin was willing to accept the terms of peace but Mahmud, his son, asked him to continue the war for "the honour of Islam and of Musalmans." He addressed his father in these words : "Cry not for peace nor demand it, for you are the highest and God is with you, and will not suffer your affairs to fail." In spite of his initial failure, Jai Pal sent the following message to Subuktgin : "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any calamity befalls them, as at this moment. If, therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants, and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, dead bodies, and scattered bones." After this, peace was made and Jai Pal agreed to pay a tribute of one million Dirhams, 50 elephants and some cities and fortresses situated in his dominions. He was also to send two hostages to Subuktgin as a guarantee for fulfilling the terms of the treaty.

It is stated that as soon as Jai Pal found himself out of danger, he decided to violate the terms of peace and imprisoned the officers of Subuktgin who had accompanied him. Subuktgin was very much annoyed and he appeared like a "foaming torrent". He at once marched towards India to punish Jai Pal for his "wickedness and infidelity". The border lands of Jai Pal were ravaged and the town of Lamghan was captured. When Jai Pal found that "his chiefs had become the food of vultures and hyenas, and that weakness had fallen on his arm, he resolved to fight once more against the Muslims". He organised in 991 A.D. a confederacy of the rulers of Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj and started at the head of more than a lac of soldiers to meet the enemy. There was bitter fighting and ultimately the Hindus "turned their tails towards their heads like frightened dogs, and the Raja was contented to offer the best things in his most distant provinces to the conqueror on condition that the hair on the crowns of their heads should not be shaven off". Subuktgin got a lot of booty including 200 elephants of war. Jai Pal paid a heavy tribute. The sovereignty of Subuktgin was acknowledged by Jai Pal. Subuktgin appointed one of his officers with ten thousand horses to the government of Peshawar.

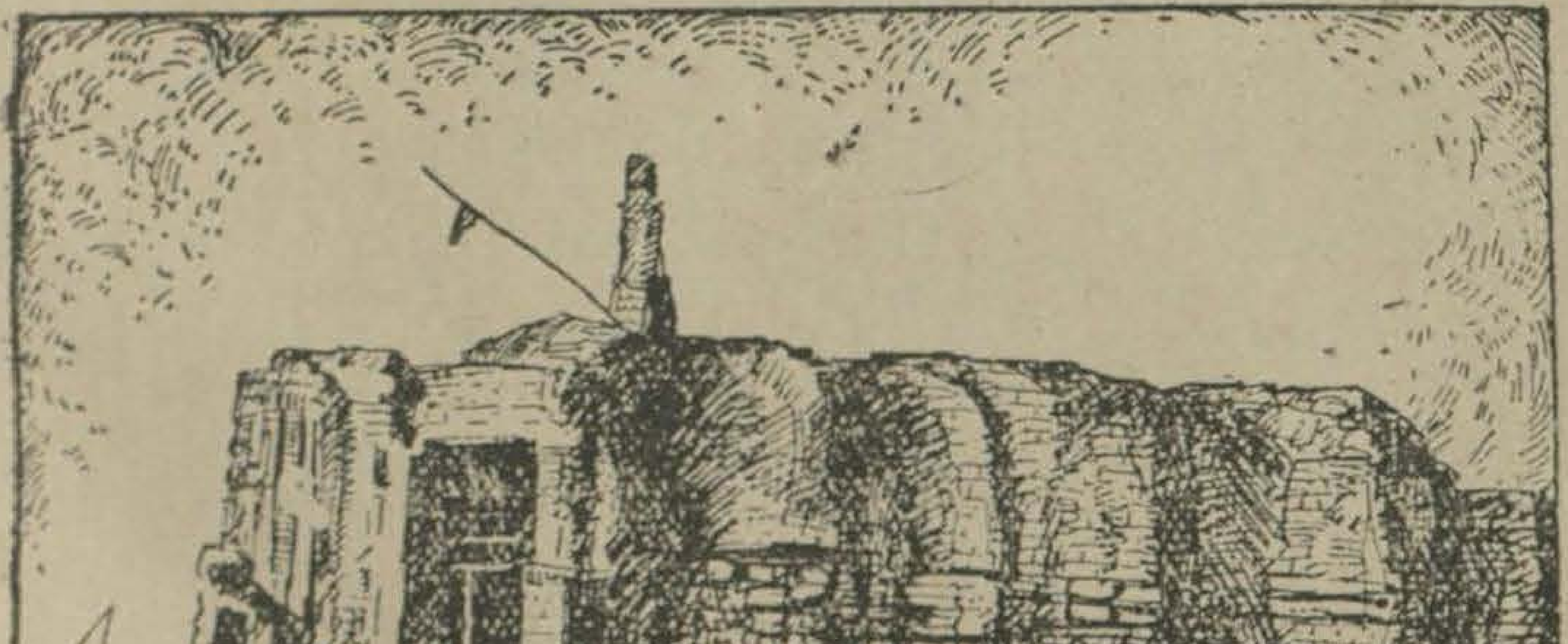
In 997 A.D. Subuktgin died, leaving behind him a large and well-established kingdom for his son, Mahmud. There is no doubt that Subuktgin was a brave and virtuous ruler. He ruled his territory for about 20 years with prudence, equity and moderation.

Mahmud of Ghazni (997-1030 A.D.)

Mahmud, son of Subuktgin, was born in 971 A.D. His mother was the daughter of a noble of Zabulistan, a district round Ghazni. It is for this reason that Mahmud is sometimes called Mahmud Zabuli. Very little is known about the early career of Mahmud but all contemporaries tell us that Subuktgin took a lot of interest in giving all kinds of training to Mahmud. He was not only given



Subuktgin



Somnath



Sultan Mahmud

training in the arts of warfare and administration, but was also made an expert in the science of statecraft. He was given a responsible position in the battle of Lamghan. The whole of Khorasan was put under his charge. Thus, he was eminently fitted to be a successor to his father.

The relations between Subuktgin and Mahmud were not cordial at the time of the death of Subuktgin and consequently the later nominated his younger son **Ismail** his successor. The result was that Ismail was put on the throne by the nobles. Mahmud was not prepared to tolerate this. He asked his brother, Ismail, to divide the kingdom and keep Balkh for himself and give Ghazni to him. The suggestion was not accepted by Ismail and consequently Mahmud marched against him, defeated and imprisoned him. After that, he asked the Samanid ruler of Bokhara to confirm him in the dominion of Balkh and Ghazni. Khalifa Al-Qadir-Billah gave Mahmud a robe of honour and also conferred on him the title of Yamin-ud-Daulah (the right hand of the Empire) and Amin-ul-Millat (Custodian of the Faith).

It is stated that when the Khalifa appointed Mahmud as his Lieutenant, he asked him to lead every year an expedition against India and no wonder Mahmud led a very large number of expeditions against India. According to Sir Henry Elliot, Mahmud led as many as seventeen expeditions. However, some historians give the number as 12. It appears that the number 17 is more correct.

Expeditions

(1) The first expedition of Mahmud was directed against the frontier towns in 1000 A.D. Many fortresses and districts were captured. After that, Mahmud returned to Ghazni. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, this expedition was "apocryphal" or doubtful. This expedition does not seem to have been noticed by the contemporary writers.

(2) Mahmud led his second expedition against India in the same year at the head of 10,000 horsemen for the purpose of "exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth and of strengthening the power of justice". Jai Pal also collected all the available troops. A bloody battle was fought at Peshawar in which the Hindus were defeated. 15,000 Hindus were killed. They were spread like a carpet over the ground and they provided the food of beasts and birds of prey. Jai Pal was captured with his sons, grandsons and a number of important relatives and officers. According to Utbi, they "being strongly bound with ropes, were carried before the Sultan, like as evil-doers, on whose faces the fumes of infidelity are evident.........and will be bound and carried to Hell. Some had their arms forcibly tied behind their backs, some were seized by the cheek, some were driven by blows on the neck". A treaty was made by which Jai Pal agreed to pay two and a half lacs of Dinars as ransom. He also agreed to give 50 elephants. His sons and grandsons were taken as hostages for fulfilling the conditions of peace. Mahmud followed his victory by advancing to Waihand which was the capital of Jai Pal. He returned to Ghazni with the laurels of victory and with a lot of booty. As regards Jai Pal, he did not survive the shock of humiliation and burnt himself to death. He was succeeded by his son Anandpal in 1002 A.D.

(3) The third expedition of Mahmud was againt the Raja of Bhira who in spite of his promises, had failed to help Mahmud. It is true that Raja put up a stiff resistance but ultimately he ran away from the battle-field. He was pursued and ultimately he stabbed himelf to death. A large number of Hindus were massacred and only those were spared who became converts to Islam.

(4) The fourth invasion of Mahmud was against Abdul-Fatah Daud, the ruler of Multan, in 1006 A.D. Daud belonged to the sect of Qarmatian heretics. The latter did not confirm to orthodox Islam. In 930 A.D., they had invaded Mecca and carried away the Black Stone and other sacred relics. They had contempt for the ritual of Islam. They had no objection to taking forbidden meat. No wonder, in the eyes of Mahmud, Daud was as bad a Kafir as a Rajput. Mahmud started from Ghazni in 1006 A.D. to conquer Multan. As his route was through the Punjab, Anandpal, its ruler, offered resistance but he was over-powered. Mahmud pursued him to Kashmir and drove him away. After that, Mahmud advanced upon Multan and captured it by assault after fighting for seven days. He "levied upon the people twenty thousand Dirhams with which to respite their sins". Mahmud put Sukhpal alias Nawasa Shah (grandson of Jai Pal) in charge of the Punjab and Multan and retired to Ghazni.

(5) After some time, Mahmud was told that Sukhpal alias Nawasa Shah had declared himself independent and also given up Islam. In order to punish Sukhpal, Mahmud invaded India once again, defeated Nawasa Shah and took over the administration in his own hands. Sukhpal alias Nawasa Shah was defeated, arrested and imprisoned.

(6) The sixth expedition of Mahmud was directed against Anandpal in 1008 A.D. According to Firishta, Anandpal had organized a confederacy of rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer. The truth of this statement of Firishta is doubted but it is admitted that Anandpal invited his fellow princes to attend the confederacy which aimed at fighting against Mahmud. The huge army was collected by Anandpal to fight against the Turks. We are told that so great was the enthusiasm among the people that well-to-do Hindu ladies sold their jewellery and melted down their golden ornaments to help their husbands. The poor contributed whatever little they earned by manual labour. The Khokhars from Multan area also joined the Hindus against Mahmud. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The forces of race, religion and patriotism were arrayed against him for the preservation of Hindu culture and civilization, the Hindu hearth and the home from the barbarian inroad". There was a closely contested battle. 30,000 Khokhars bare-footed and bare-headed with daggers and spears in their hands, plunged themselves into the battle and killed three to four thousand Muslims. Mahmud was so much disappointed that he decided to sue for peace. Unfortunately, the elephant on which Anandpal was seated, got frightened and ran away from the battle-field. Utter confusion prevailed among the Hindus and they ran away from the battle-field. A large number of Hindus were captured and put to death. A huge booty fell in the hands of Muslims.

(7) In 1009 A.D., Mahmud led the next expedition against Nagarkot in Kangra Hills. The fort of Nagarkot stood on the top of a hill and the Hindus had deposited a lot of money in that fort. The fort was besieged by the Muslims. When the Hindus saw them

coming like a swarm of locusts, they opened the gates of the fort out of fear and "fell on the earth like sparrows before a hawk or rain before lightning". According to Firishta, Mahmud carried away seven lacs of gold, gold Dinars, 700 maunds of gold and silver plates, 200 maunds of pure gold in ingots, 2000 maunds of unwrought silver and 20 maunds of jewels, pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones. According to Utbi, "The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand royal Dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred maunds in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen yards. It could be broken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty yards broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles which had been cast in moulds".

It is stated that Mahmud came back to Ghazni where he displayed the "jewels and unbored pearls and rubies shining like sparks, or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh springs of myrtle and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates". According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The acquisition of vast treasures whetted the rapacity of these adventurers and they repeated their raids with astonishing frequency".

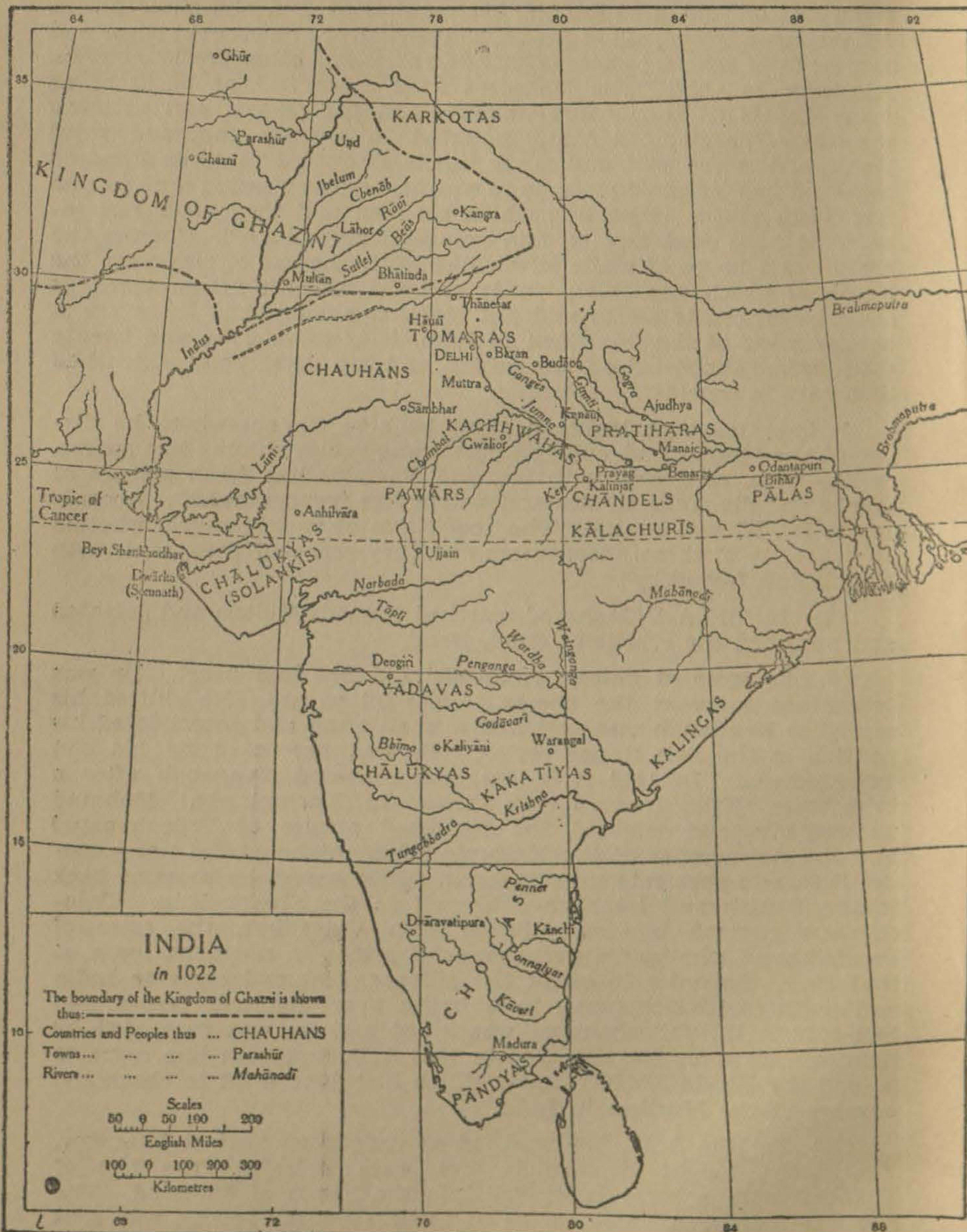
(8) In 1010 A.D. Mahmud marched towards Multan and defeated and punished the rebellious chief, Daud.

(9) In spite of defeat, Anandpal did not lose heart. He was determined to resist the enemy to the bitter end. He shifted his capital to Nandanah and gathered a small army and consolidated his position in the Salt Range region. He was succeeded by his son Trilochanapal. In 1014 A.D. Mahmud captured Nandanah after a brief siege. Trilochanapal took shelter in Kashmir but Mahmud pursued him and defeated the combined armies of Trilochanapal and the Commander of the Kashmir ruler. Mahmud did not consider it safe to penetrate into Kashmir. Trilochanapal also came back to the Punjab and established himself in the Sivalik Hills. Trilochanapal entered into an alliance with Vidyadhar, the ruler of Bundelkhand who was a very powerful prince in northern India at that time. In order to break the alliance, Mahmud came to India and defeated Trilochanapal in a battle near the Ram Ganga. In 1021-1022 A.D., Trilochanapal was killed and he was succeeded by Bhimpal, his son. He also died in 1026 A.D. and with him came to an end the Hindu Shahi dynasty which had done a lot to check the advance of the Muslims in India.

(10) In 1014 A.D., Mahmud led an expedition against Thanesar. The Hindus fought desperately but were defeated. The fort of Thanesar with a large booty fell into the hands of Mahmud. The city was plundered. The image of Chakra Swami Temple was sent to Ghazni where it was thrown in the public square.

(11) Between 1015 and 1021 A.D., Mahmud made two unsuccessful attempts to conquer Kashmir but on both the occasions he was unsuccessful. Ultimately he gave up the idea of conquering Kashmir.

(12) The next expedition was directed against Kanauj which was famous as the imperial capital of Hindustan. Mahmud started in 1018 A.D. from Ghazni. He captured all the forts on the way.



He reached Baran or Bulandshahr. Haradatta, its ruler, surrendered and became a convert to Islam along with 10,000 men. After that, Mahmud marched against Kulchand, the ruler of Mahawan, which is now the headquarters of a Tahsil in Mathura district. The Hindus

put up a gallant fight but were defeated. About 50,000 men were killed and drowned in the river Jamuna. Kulchand killed his wife and also himself. A huge booty including 185 elephants fell into the hands of Mahmud.

(13) Mahmud marched against Mathura which was the sacred city of the Hindus. It was a city of temples, solidly built and of exquisite designs. Regarding Mathura, Utbi says, "He (Mahmud) saw a city of wonderful fabric and conception, so that one might say this is a building of paradise, but its accidents or qualities could only come by the aid of the infernals an intelligent man would hardly receive favourably the account of it......Around it and at its sides they had placed one thousand castles built of stone which they had made idol temples, and had (cemented) fastened them well. And in the midst of the city they built a temple higher than all, to delineate the beauty and decoration of which the pens of all writers and the pencils of all painters would be powerless, and would not be able to attain to the power of fixing their minds, upon it and considering it." It is also stated that "if anyone should undertake to built a fabric like that, he would expend thereon one lac bags of a thousand Dinars and would not complete it in two hundred years, with the assistance of the most ingenious architects." Utbi tells us that the temples contained idols of pure gold. Five of the six idols were of the size of five cubits in the air. On one of the idols, there was a jacinth "such a one that if the Sultan had seen it exposed in the Bazar, he would have considered as underpriced at fifty thousand Dinars and would have bought it with great eagerness." On another idol, there was a sapphire. "of one solid piece, of azure water, of the value of 400 Miskals". From the two feet of a third idol alone, they got four lacs of Miskals of gold. The idols of silver "were a hundred times more, so that it occupied those who estimated their standard weight a long time in weighing them." Mahmud devastated the entire city of Mathura and plundered it from one corner to the other.

(14) The same was the fate of Brindaban which had a number of forts. Its rûler ran away on the approach of the invading army. Mahmud plundered the forts and temples and got a huge booty.

Mahmud appeared before the gates of Kanauj in January 1019 A.D. We are told that Kanauj had seven forts and ten thousand temples. Rajyapala, the Pratihar ruler of Kanauj, submitted without any fighting. All the 7 forts were captured in one day. All the 10,000 temples were destroyed. The inhabitants were slain and their wealth was plundered.

On his way back, Mahmud captured the forts of Munj, Asni and Sharwa. The booty carried by Mahmud to Ghazni was 30 lacs of Dirhams. 55,000 slaves and 350 elephants.

(15) The cowardly act of submission by Rajyapala of Kanauj was resented by other Rajput rulers, particularly Gonda, the Chandela, ruler of Kalinjar. Gonda entered into an alliance with the ruler of Gwalior and attacked and killed Rajyapala. When Mahmud got the information about the murder of his vassal, he decided to punish the Chandela Prince. He left Ghazni in the autumn of 1019 and advanced into the Chandela country in the teeth of opposition. According to Firishta, the army of Gonda consisted of 36,000 horses 45,000 foot and 640 elephants was ready to give battle to Mahmud. When

Mahmud saw the huge army against him, he was sorry for his hasty decision and prayed to God before his followers to give him victory. Unfortunately, Gonda also gave up all hopes of success and ran away from the battle-field. The result was that Mahmud won an unexpected victory and also got a huge booty.

(16) In 1021-22 A.D., Mahmud laid siege to Gwalior and forced its ruler to submit. After that, Mahmud proceeded towards Kalinjar, the famous fortress of Gonda. As Gonda felt that Mahmud was very strong, he made peace with him. After getting a lot of booty, Mahmud went back to Ghazni.

(17) The most important of all the expeditions of Mahmud was against Somnath. Mahmud started from Ghazni in October, 1024 A.D. He made elaborate preparations for passing through the desert of Rajputana. Every trooper was required to carry with him food, water and fodder for seven days. 30,000 camels were employed to carry provisions. When Mahmud arrived at Anhilwara in January, 1025 A.D., its ruler, Raja Bhima Deo, ran away from the capital with all his followers. Those who remained behind were defeated and plundered. After that, Mahmud made his way to Somnath.

Al Qazmini describes the temple of Somnath in these words: "Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnath. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it form below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musalman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it, whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies, in accordance with the doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Everything of the most precious was brought there as offering, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (the Ganges) which is called sacred, between which and Somnath the distance is 200 *parasangas*. They used to bring water of this river to Somnath every day, and wash the temple with it. A thousand Brahamns were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark, but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 maunds. When a portion of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of Brahmans to perform worships."

Ibn-al-Athir tells us that when the army of Mahmud reached Somnath, it found that the people of Somnath were amusing themselves on the walls of the fort at the expense of the Muslims telling them that their deity would cut off their heads and destroy them all. Next day when the Muslims advanced for assault, the Hindus left their posts on the walls. The Muslims planted their ladders against the walls and gained the summit. They proclaimed their success with the cries of Allah-u-Akbar. Then followed a fearful slaughter. A body of Hindus hurried to Somnath, cast themselves before the

diety and besought him to grant them victory. Night came on and the fight was suspended. Next morning early the Muhammadans renewed the battle and made greater havoc among the Hindus, till they drove them from the town to the house of their idol Somnath. A dreadful slaughter followed at the gate of the temple. Band after band of defenders entered the temple and with their hands clasped round their necks wept and passionately entreated Somnath. Then again they issued forth to fight until they were slain, and but few were left alive. These took to the sea in boats to make their escape but the Muslims overtook them, and some were killed and some were drowned."

It is stated that when after the fall of Somnath, Mahmud wanted to break the idol, the Brahmans requested him not to do so and take whatever he pleased. However, the reply of Mahmud was that he did not want to be known as 'idolseller' but would prefer to be known as "Mahmud, the breaker of idols." This story is related by Firishta, but rejected by Professor Habib and Dr. Nazim who have done a lot of research on the subject in modern times. The idol was broken by Mahmud and its pieces were sent to Ghazni. The treasures of the temple were looted and huge booty of diamonds, rubies and pearls fell into his hands.

After Somnath, the ruler of Anhilwara was attacked on account of his taking part in defence of Somnath. He took refuge in the fort of Khandah, which was encircled by the sea. Mahmud forded the sea at low tide. On hearing of the approach of Mahmud, the Raja ran away and the country was subjugated. The invaders entered the town, killed the males and captured women who were made slaves. It is stated that Mahmud was so much impressed by the climate of Gujarat and the wealth and beauty of its people that he decided to transfer his court from Ghazni to Anhilwara. However, he gave up the idea on account of opposition from his followers. After entrusting Gujarat to Bhim Deo, Mahmud prepared for his homeward journey. He retired to Ghazni *via* Sindh.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad: "The victory of Somnath added fresh laurels to Mahmud's brow. To him and his followers it was a triumph of the cause to which they were so intensely devoted. The Khalifa who rejoiced in the success of Muslim arms in an infidel land sent letters and robes of honour for him and his sons. The Muslim world rang with the praises of Mahmud and he appeared to many as a great hero who had appeared upon the earth to extirpate infidelity and establish the true faith. This accounts for the legends and stories which have clustered round his name."

The last expedition of Mahmud was directed against he Jats of the Salt Range. When Mahmud was coming back from Somnath, the Jats molested his army on the way. The object of this expedition was to punish the Jats. Mahmud ordered the construction of 1,400 boats, each of which was furnished with arms and guarded by 20 archers with bows and arrows, grenades and naphtha. The Jats also had a flotilla of 8,000 boats but in spite of that they were defeated. Many of them were killed. Mahmud died in 1030 A.D.

Mahmud's Character

Mahmud was a man of medium height but of strong built. He did not look like a king. His personality did not impress. However,

he was a very ambitious person. He was a great general and a great soldier. He was extremely intelligent and shrewd. He possessed cool courage, prudence and resourcefulness. He was an expert in state-craft.

Professor Habib tells us that the outlook of Mahmud on life was essentially secular and he did not follow the Ulema blindly. He was not a fanatic at all. However, it is pointed out that this view is not correct. Utbi, his court historian, looked upon the expeditions of Mahmud to India as Jihad or holy war for the destruction of Hindus and spread of Islam. Utbi tells us that "Mahmud at first designed in his heart to go to Sijistan, but subsequently preferred engaging previously in a holy war against Hind." The same writer tells us that Mahmud called a council "in order to secure a blessing on his designs of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice." It is clear from above that in the minds of Mahmud's contemporaries the main object of his expeditions was to serve Islam. However, it cannot be denied that Mahmud had his greed for wealth and that also brought him to India. His thirst for winning military glory was also partly responsible for his so many invasions of India.

According to Professor Browne, "As regards Mahmud's character, we naturally find in the verses of his court-poets (save such as were disappointed of their hopes like Firdausi) and in the works of state historians nothing but the most exaggerated praise, but Ibnu'l-Athir (under the year H. 421, A.D., 1030) in his obituary notice of this monarch says, after praising him for his intelligence, devoutness, virtue, patronage of learned men, and strenuousness in waging war on the unbelievers, that his one fault was love of money and a certain lack of scruple in his methods of obtaining it. 'There was in him', he says, 'nothing which could be blamed save that he would seek to obtain money in every way.' Thus, to give one instance, being informed of a certain man from Nishapur that he was of great opulence and copious wealth, he summoned him to Ghazna and said to him, 'I have heard that you are a Carmathian heretic. 'I am no Carmathian', replied the unfortunate man; 'But I have wealth wherefrom what is desired (by your Majesty) may be taken, so that I be cleared of this name.' So the Sultan took from him some portion of his wealth, and provided him with a document testifying to the soundness of his religious views. In the eyes of most Muslims, so great a champion of the faith, one who was such as courage to idolaters and so conspicuous an iconoclast, is raised above all criticism; but there is no doubt that Ibnu'l-Athir has laid his finger on a weak spot in the Sultan's character and that, besides being greedy of wealth (which, no doubt, largely explains the persistence with which he prosecuted his Indian campaign), he was fanatical, cruel to Muslim heretics as well as to Hindoos (of whom he slew an incalculable number), fickle and uncertain in temper, and more notable as an irresistible conqueror than as a faithful friend or magnanimous foe."

Estimate of Mahmud

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "To the Musalmans of his day he was a Ghazi, a champion of the faith, who tried to extirpate infidelity in heathen lands. To the Hindus, he is to this day an inhuman tyrant,

a veritable Hun, who destroyed their religious susceptibilities. But the unbiassed enquirer who keeps in mind the peculiar circumstances of the age must record a different verdict. In his estimate, Mahmud was a great leader of men, a just and upright ruler according to his own lights, an intrepid and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters and deserves to be ranked among the greatest kings of the world." (Medieval India, p. 105).

According to Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole, "A great soldier, a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body, Mahmud was no constructive or far-seeing statesman. We hear of no laws or institutions or methods of government that sprung from his initiative. Outward order and security was all he attempted to attain in his unwieldily empire ; to organise and consolidate was not in his scheme. He left his domininons so ill knitted together that they began to fall as under as soon as he was no longer alive to guard them by his vigilant activity. But so long as he lived he strove to govern every part with even justice. The most sagacious and high-minded Asiatic statesman of the Middle Ages, the famous Seljuk vezir Nizam-al-Mulk, in his treatise on the art of government, cites many anecdotes of Mahmud's conscientious exercise of justice and the pains he took to protect his widely scattered subjects. 'Mahmud', wrote the great vezir, 'was a just sovereign, a lover of learning, a man of generous nature and of pure faith."

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Mahmud is one of the most prominent figures in the history of Islam. During the reign of thirty two years, he extended his empire over the whole of the country now known as Afghanistan, the greater part of Persia and Transoxiana and the Punjab. He is stated to have made a vow to wage every year a holy war against the misbelievers of India, and he invaded the country no fewer than 17 times, extinguished ruling house of the Punjab, crossed the Ganges, penetrated into Bundelkhand and reached the western sea."

According to Havell, the Muslmans of Mahmud's time were justified in declaring that Mahmud "was endowed with all the qualities of a Prince and reflected lustre upon the faith." Mahmud was a brilliant commander in the field. As a dashing cavalry leader, he had no equal. He exploited the culture of India and Persia as systematically and zealously as he plundered the temples of the Hindus. He had no constructive genius as a statesman nor any profound religious convictions. He would have sacked Baghdad with as little compunction as he plundered Somnath if the undertaking had seemed profitable and easy. He did not hesitate to threaten the Khalifa with death when the latter refused to give him Samarkand. Havell refers to the cheating of Firdousi by Mahmud and his exactions from his subjects. We are told that a citizen of Nishapur had a lot of wealth. Mahmud summoned him and charged him as the worshipper of idols and an apostate from Islam. The reply of the citizen was that he was neither an idolator nor an apostate, but he possessed a lot of wealth. He told the Sultan that he could take away his money but he should not rob him of his good name. Mahmud accepted the proposal and after having got all the wealth from the citizen, gave him a certificate under the Royal seal that he was not a worshipper of idols or an apostate but a good Muslim. Havell also refers to the fact that Mahmud took away from India not only its gold and precious stones but also Indian craftsmen so that the

latter could be employed for purposes of constructing great buildings in Ghazni.

According to Professor S. R. Sharma, Mahmud was a seasoned soldier. Fear did not find any place in his heart. His army won against the rulers of India "like a comb through a poll of hair." "Forts and cities surrendered as the great Sultan passed by; abject chiefs placed their followers at his disposal. He fought when necessary but more often triumphed by mere prestige." Mahmud was an angel to his Muslim subjects at Ghazni and the devil incarnate to infidels abroad. Whatever his greatness at home, he was namely a gifted condottiere so far as the people of India were concerned.

According to Elphinstone, "Even his Indian operations, for which all other objects were resigned, are so far from displaying any sense of system or combination that their desultory and inconclusive nature would lead us to deny him a comprehensive intellect, unless we suppose its range to have been contracted by the sordid passions of his heart."

According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mahmud appears to the historians of India merely "as an insatiable invader. He was neither a missionary for the propagation of religion in this country nor an architect of empire. The main object of his eastern expeditions seems to have been the acquisition of the 'wealth of Ind' and the destruction of the morale of its custodians. The annexation of the Punjab was a measure of necessity rather than of choice. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that his invasions had no permanent political results in India. He drained the wealth of the country and despoiled it of its military resources to an appalling extent. The Ghaznavid occupation of the Punjab served as the key to unlock the gates of the Indian interior. Big cracks were made in the great fabric of Indian polity, and it was no longer a question of whether but when that age-old structure would fall. Neither the Arabs nor the Ghaznavid (Yamini) Turks succeeded in adding India to the growing empire of Islam, but they paved the way for the final struggle which overwhelmed the Gangetic kingdoms some two hundred years later."

According to Professor Habib, "No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Musalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride. It is easy to twist one's conscience and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives. Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the Shariat justified the uncalled for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the shameless destruction of places of worship is condemned in law of every creed. And yet Islam, though it was not an inspiring motive, could be utilised as an *a posteriori* justification of what had been done. It was not difficult to mistake the spoilation of non-Muslim populations for a service to Islam, and persons to whom the argument was addressed found it too much in consonance with the promptings of their own passions to examine it critically. So the precepts of Quran were misinterpreted or ignored and the tolerant policy of the second Caliph was cast

aside, in order that Mahmud and his myrmidons might be able to plunder Hindu temples with a clear and untroubled conscience."

Mahmud was a great patron of art and letters. Great architects, poets and artists flocked to his court. According to Lane-Poole, "From the cities of the Oxus and the shore of the Caspian, from Persia and Khorasan, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters, and compelled them not unwillingly, to revolve round his sun like planets in his firmament of glory." Utbi was a great literary figure of the time of Mahmud. He was his court historian. His Kitab-Ul-Yamni or Tarikh-I-Yamni is one of the most important authorities on the life and work of Mahmud. However, Utbi cared more for language and style than for facts. He also does not give dates and details.

Firdausi was the most famous poet at the court of Mahmud. He was the author of famous Shahnama which is one of the best pieces of literature. Firdausi has been described as "the immortal Homer of the East". The Shahnama has made the name of Mahmud immortal. We are told that Mahmud promised Firdausi 60,000 mishkals of gold for writing the Shahnama. However, when the work was done, Mahmud offered the poet only 60,000 silver Dirhams. The poet was so much annoyed that he left Ghazni for good. Later on, Mahmud realised his mistake and sent 60,000 gold coins to the poet. Unfortunately, when money reached the poet, his dead body was being carried to the grave. Before his death, Firdausi wrote a satire on Mahmud in which he referred to his low birth. That satire has been translated by Browne thus :

> Long years this Shahnama I toiled to complete,
> That the king might awarded me some recompense meet,
> But naught save a heart writhing with grief and despair,
> Did I get from those promises empty as air!
> Had the sire of the king been some prince of renown,
> My forehead had surely been graced by a crown.
> Were his mother a lady of high pedigree,
> In silver and gold had I stood to knee!
> But, being by birth not a prince but a boor,
> The praise of the noble he could not endure!

Al-Beruni also belonged to the court of Mahmud. This versatile genius was born in 973 A.D. in the territory of modern Khiva. When Khiva was conquered by Mahmud in 1017 A.D., Al-Beruni was also captured. He came to India along with Mahmud and stayed here for some time. He was a great mathematician, philosopher, astronomer and Sanskrit scholar. He has given a full account of the social and political condition of India. He was very much impressed by the learnings of the Hindus. He criticised the Hindus for their isolation from the nations of the world and their want of sympathy and communication with peoples of other countries whom he called Mlechchhas. Early marriage was common but there was no custom of widow re-marriage. Marriages were arranged by the parents of children. The Hindus worshipped a large number of gods. The educated Hindus believed in God who was one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life etc. The administration of justice was liberal and humane. Written complaints were filed and sometimes even oral complaints were entertained. Cases were decided on the testimony of witnesses. Criminal law was comparatively mild. There was no principle of

equality of law among the Hindus. Brahmans were exempted from capital punishment. The punishment for theft varied in accordance with the value of the property stolen. The share of the state was 1/6th of the produce and Brahmans were completely exempted. Politically India was disunited and rival States fought against one another completely ignoring the interest of the country. The word "national" had no meaning for them. There was a rigid caste system and that made the task of the unification of the country difficult. The country was divided into a large number of small States. Al-Beruni refers to the States of Kashmir, Sind, Malawa, Gujarat, Bengal and Kanauj. He has also referred to the effects of the invasions of Mahmud on India in these word: "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason too why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Banaras and other places."

Asjadi, another poet of Mahmud, wrote the following :—

I do repent of wine and talk of wine,
Of idols fair and chains like silver fine,
A lip-repentance and a lustful heart,
O God, forgive this penitence of mine.

Baihaki, another writer in the court of Mahmud, has been described by Lane-Poole as "the oriental Mr. Pepys." He wrote Tarikhi-Subuktgin. Farabi was a philosopher and he also belonged to the court of Mahmud. Uzari was a poet of Mahmud. He came from Raye in Persia. He was given by Mahmud 14,000 Dirhams for writing a short panegyric. Asadi Tusi was a native of Khorasan. Unsuri was the greatest genious of the age and he had a large number of students and many acknowledged him as their master. Mahmud set up a university at Ghazni. He also set up a museum in which were placed the various things brought to Ghazni.

Mahmud patronized artists and architects. A large number of Madrasas, Khankahas and mosques were built in Ghazni. The Celestial Bride, which is described as "a wonder of the East", was one of the most important buildings of Mahmud. It was a big mosque which was surrounded by 3000 quarters for the residence of the teachers and students of the university. The Band-i-Sultan, a bridge across the river Nawar, was constructed. Under Mahmud, Ghazni became a cradle of Islamic culture. She became one of the most beautiful cities of Central Asia.

Mahmud was very strict in the administration of justice. It is stated that once upon a time a person came to the Sultan with a complaint that his nephew had an evil eye on his wife and was not prepared to desist from visiting her in spite of his protests. Mahmud asked the person to come to him once again when his nephew paid a visit to his wife. The man did as ordered. Mahmud went personally to the house where the nephew was and cut off his head with his own hands. It is said that a merchant brought a suit against Prince Masud, the son of Sultan Mahmud. The only way for the Prince to escape from appearing before the Qazi was that he paid him the money.

A Muslim mystic referred to the work of Mahmud in these words : "He is a stupid fellow, without being able to manage what he already possesses, he yet goes out to conques new countries." The result was that within a few years of his death, the Empire founded by Mahmud disappeared. There was no law and order in the country. The brigand chiefs did whatever they pleased. There was no well-organized system of police. There was no sense of unity within the Empire. All the officers of Mahmud were worried more about the expansion of the Empire than about the establishment of a good system of administration. No wonder, the whole of the superstructure fell.

Successors of Mahmud

The rule of the successors of Mahmud lasted from 1030 to 1186 A.D. It was marked by discord, degeneracy and decay. There were in all 15 rulers after Mahmud. One of them—Ibrahim—ruled as many as 40 years. Bahram Shah ruled for 35 years. Khusru Malik ruled nominally for 26 years. In all their troubles and misfortunes, India was the asylum of the successors of Mahmud.

Masud (1030 to 1040 A.D.)

Before his death, Mahmud divided his empire between his two sons, Masud and Muhammad. However, there was no peace after his death. There was a struggle for supremacy between Masud and Muhammad and ultimately Masud was successful and he blinded his brother Muhammad and put him in prison. Masud got the blessings of the Khalifa on whom he bestowed enormous gifts.

Masud was a true son of his father. He was full of ambition, courage and war-like zeal. He had a reputation for being a Rustam.

The court of Ghazni in the time of Masud was without an equal at that time. Baihaki refers to the splendour of the court of Masud. The habit of drinking was taken to extremes and Masud himself became the leader of a notorious party of drunkards and debauchees. The following is a contemporary account: "On Tuesday the 12th of Muharram the Amir went to the Firozi Garden and sat in the Green Pavilion on the Golden Plain. A sumptuous feast was ordered. The Amir Maudud (Masud's son) and the Minister came and sat down, and the army passed in review before them. First passed the star of Amir Maudud, the canopy, waving standards and two hundred slaves of the household with jackets of mail and spears, and many led horses and camels, and infantry with their banners displayed, and a hundred and seventy slaves fully armed and equipped with all their stars borne before them. After them came Irtigin the Chamberlain and his slaves to the number of eighty, and then fifty military slaves of the household, preceded by twenty officers finely accoutred, with many led horses and camels followed by other officers till all had passed.

"It was now near mid-day prayer, when the Amir bade his son and the Minister and the chief Chamberlain and the officers to sit down to the feast. He too sat down and ate bread. ... The Amir said, "Let us begin without ceremony, for we have come into the country, and we will drink in the Firozi Garden." Accordingly much wine was brought immediately from the pavilion into the garden, and fifty goblets and flagons were placed in the middle of a small tent.

"The goblets were sent round and the Amir said, 'Let us keep fair measure and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no un-

fairness.' Each goblet contained nearly a pint. They began to get jolly and the minstrels sang. Bu-l-Hasan drank five goblets, his head was affected at the sixth, he lost his senses at the seventh, and began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried him off. Bu-l-Ala the physician dropped his head at the fifth cup, and he also was carried off. Khalil Daud drank ten; Siyabiruz nine, and both were borne away to the hill of Dailaman. Bu-Naim drank twelve and ran away. Daud Maimandi fell down drunk, and the singers and buffoons all rolled off tipsy, when the Sultan and Khwaja Abdur Razak alone remained.

"When the Khwaja had drunk eighteen cups he made his obedience and prepared to go, saying to the Amir, "If you give your slave any more, he will lose his respect for your Majesty as well as his own wits." The Amir laughed and gave him leave to go, when he got up and departed in a most respectful manner.

"After this the Amir kept on drinking and enjoying himself. He drank twenty-seven full goblets of half a maund each (?). He then arose, called for a basin of water and his praying carpet, washed his face and read the mid-day prayers as well as the afternoon ones and so acquitted himself that you would have said he had not drunk a single cup. He then got on an elephant and returned to the palace.

"I witnessed the whole of this scene with mine own eyes—I, Abu-l-Fadil."

Hasnak

Hasnak was a minister of Masud. He was accused of Qarmatian heresy. He denied the charge but in spite of that he was sentenced to death. The ex-minister requested Khwaja Ahmad, the new minister, to have pity on him and his family and the Khwaja promised to grant his wish. However, the Khalifa directed Masud to execute Hasnak, the Qarmatian, who had offered fealty to the house of Egypt. Ultimately he was mercilessly hanged and his head was served up in a dish at a feast. When the mother of Hasnak heard of the end of her son, she said: "What a fortune was my son's; a king like Mahmud gave him this world and one like Masud, the next." After the dismissal of Hasnak, Masud placed the affairs of the state in the hands of Khawaja Ahmad Maimandi whom he liberated from prison. To begin with, the Khawaja hesitated but ultimately agreed to become minister. Masud invested Khawaja with a dignity second to his own and ordered all to execute the orders of the Khawaja as if they were his own. Under the Khawaja, the administration began to show new vigour and activity.

Ariyarak

As regards the affairs in India, Ariyarak had been in charge of the same. He was an ambitious man and he behaved like an autocrat without caring for the commands of his sovereign. He was contumacious and arrogant. Whenever an attempt was made to enforce the royal authority, he created trouble. He had given proof of his ambition even during the time of Mahmud but nothing came out of his designs on account of the might of Mahmud. Khawaja Ahmad Hasan was able to induce Ariyarak to go to Ghazni and he promised to intercede with Sultan Masud on his behalf. Ariyarak accompanied the Khawaja to Ghazni. There he was invited to a drinking feast and to his utter surprise was arrested by Baktagin, the captain of the guards. His feet were bound in fetters and he

was thrown into prison. Probably, he was poisoned afterwards. All his wealth was confiscated.

Niyaltgin

Ahmad Niyaltgin was put in charge of the Indian province in place of Ariyarak. He was asked to leave his son at Ghazni as a hostage. The new governor was as ambitious as Ariyarak and in the words of Baihaki, he also "turned away from the path of rectitude and took a crooked course."

When Niyaltgin came to India, he found that it was difficult to work with his colleague, Qazi Shiraz. The latter was a hot-tempered and pugnacious man. He wanted to impose his will in everything. Before appointing him the Governor, the Khwaja had warned him not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of Qazi Shiraz. The following were the instructions of the Khawaja to Niyaltgin : "You must not say anything to any person respecting the political or revenue matters, so that no one's word may be heard against you, but you must perform all the duties of a commander so that that fellow may not be able to put his hand upon your sinews and drag you down." In spite of this, Niyaltgin did not consult Qazi Shiraz in the discharge of his duties. Niyaltgin and Qazi Shiraz quarrelled over the appointment of the commander of an expedition. The matter was referred home and Niyaltgin was allowed to command the expedition. Niyaltgin took an expedition to Banaras which was wholly successful. A lot of booty fell into the hands of Niyaltgin. Qazi Shiraz sent spies to inform the Sultan that Niyaltgin was giving himself out as the son of Sultan Mahmud and was trying to become independent. The other enemies of Niyaltgin also poisoned the mind of Sultan Mahmud and impressed upon him the necessity of taking immediate action. The conduct of Niyaltgin himself confirmed the reports of his enemies as he did not send the share of the booty from Banaras to Ghazni. Ultimately, it was decided to send Tilak to India to restore order. Tilak was a Hindu of low birth but a man of great ability and courage. He was the private secretary of Masud and the official interpreter between the Hindus and the State. Referring to the appointment of Tilak, Baihaki observes thus : "Wise men do not wonder at such facts because nobody is born great, men become such. But it is important that they should leave a good name behind."

Tilak

When Tilak reached India, the followers of Niyaltgin disappeared and he himself had to run for his life. Niyaltgin was pursued by Tilak and defeated. He escaped from the battle-field but a price of 5 lacs of Dirhams was put on his head by Tilak. The Jats caught hold of Niyaltgin and cut off his head. Masud was happy to hear the news of victory.

Hansi

Masud was so very happy about the success of Tilak that he decided to fulfil his old vow of capturing the fort of Hansi, a place near Hissar in the Punjab. The Khawaja told Masud that it was not proper to undertake the expedition under the prevailing circumstances. However, the reply of the Sultan was : "The vow is upon my neck and accomplish it, I will, in my own person". Masud started from Ghazni in October 1037 A.D. and reached the town of Hansi. The fort was considered to be impregnable and a siege was laid to it. The Hindus defended the fort with great courage but in spite of that the Muslims took it by storm. The Brahmans and other men

of dignity were killed. Women and children were made slaves. From Hansi, Sultan Masud went to Sonipat a place near Delhi. Its ruler surrendered without any fighting and after getting a lot of booty, the Sultan went back to Ghazni.

The Khwaja was right in advising Sultan Mahmud not to lead an expedition to India. Events showed that the expedition was a blunder. The Saljuq Turks took advantage of absence of the Sultan from Ghazni and began to press hard on the territories of Ghazni. When the people of Balkh complained of the acts of high-handedness of the Turks, Masud decided to advance against them. Tughril Beg, the Suljuq Turk, attacked Ghazni and sacked a portion of the town. In 1037 A.D., he captured Nishapur and brought Khorasan under his rule. In 1040 A.D. Sultan Masud was overpowered by the Turks at a place near Merv. After his defeat, Masud decided to come to India although he was advised not to do so by his able Minister, the Khawaja. When the royal party reached Marigalah, a pass situated between Rawalpindi and Attock, a few miles east of Hasan Abdal, the Turkish and Hindu slaves mutinied and put on the throne Muhammad, his younger brother. Masud was put into prison and then put to death in 1041 A.D.

Firishta tells us that Masud was "a prince of uncommon personal strength and courage, affable and of easy access, generous to prodigality, particularly to learned men, whose company he was so extremely fond of, that many were induced to come from all parts to his court". Masud patronized men of letters. He built mosques. He endowed schools and colleges in various parts of his empire. He possessed dignity and a strong will. In spite of his splendour, he met with a terrible end. No wonder Baihaki observes thus: "Man has no power to strive against fate".

Successors of Masud

Masud was succeeded by his son, Maudud. He defeated Muhammad, his uncle, who was responsible for the death of his father. Maudud was succeeded by many weak rulers. During their reigns, the pressure of the Saljuqs continued. Qazi Minhaj tells us that during the reign of Ibrahim who ascended the throne in 1059 A.D., a fresh vigour came in the administration. "The troubles and disorders which had befallen upon that empire, through the vicissitudes of the times and continual warfare, were all, during his reign, remedied and rectified and the affairs of the empire of the great Mahmud assumed fresh vigour".

The advance of the Saljuq Turks continued. Arslan the last independent ruler of Ghazni, was defeated by the Saljuq Turks. He ran away to India where he died in the year 1117 A.D. The Saljuq Turks established themselves at Ghazni and controlled Bahram, the Ghaznavide ruler. As a matter of fact, Bahram owed the crown to the Turks. Unfortunately, quarrels arose between Bahram and the Maliks of Ghor. A Suri prince was put to death by the orders of Bahram. The brother of the deceased attacked Ghazni but was defeated and killed. Ala-ud-din Hussain of Ghor, another brother, took a vow to have revenge upon the house of Ghazni. He marched upon Ghazni at the head of a large army and won a victory in 1155 A.D. against Bahram. After the victory, men were slaughtered in thousands and women and children were enslaved. "Of all the noble buildings with which the kings had enriched their stately capital

INDIA BEFORE MUSLIM CONQUEST



hardly a stone was left to tell of its grandeur. The very graves of the hated dynasty were dug up and the royal bones scattered to the curs—but even Afghan vengeance spared the tomb of Mahmud, the idol of Muslim soldiers. That tomb and two lofty minarets, at a little distance from the modern town, alone stand to show that Ghazni was. On one of the minarets one may still read the resonant titles of the idol-breaker, and on the marble tomb an inscription entreats: *God's mercy for the great Amir Mahmud*". Ala-ud-din Hussain earned for himself the title of Jahan-soz, the World Burner.

King Bahram had escaped from Ghazni to India after its fall before Ala-ud-din Hussain. After some time, Bahram went back to Ghazni and recovered his lost power. After the death of Bahram, his son Khusrau Shah came to the throne. He was thoroughly incompetent to deal with the situation. He loved too much pleasure. No wonder, the administration fell into disorder. It became difficult to control the Amirs. The power of the house of Ghazni declined and that of the house of Ghor rose. After the death of Ala-ud-din Jahan-soz's son in 1163 A.D., his nephew Ghiyas-ud-din bin Sam succeeded to the territory of Ghor. He brought Ghazni under his control and gave it to his brother Muhammad Ghori. Muhammad Ghori led many attacks upon India. In 1181 A.D. Muhammad appeared before the gates of Lahore and forced Khusrau Malik to make peace with him and also hand over his son as security for the fulfilment of the obligations under the treaty. Muhammad Ghori once again besieged Lahore and over-ran the whole of the country. The fort of Sialkot was captured and garrisoned. In 1186 A.D., Lahore was captured. Khusrau Malik was persuaded to come out of the fort to receive his own son who was alleged to have been released by Muhammad Ghori. When Khusrau Malik did so, he was taken a prisoner and sent to Ghazni. After some years of imprisonment, he was put to death probably in 1201 A.D. Thus ended the rule of the successors of Mahmud.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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CHAPTER V

MUHAMMAD GHORI OR MUHAMMAD OF GHUR

The real founder of the Muslim Empire in India was Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam popularly known as Shihab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori or Muhammad of Ghur. It is true that Muhammad-bin-Qasim was the first Muslim invader of India but he failed to carve out a Muslim empire in India on account of his premature death. Mahmud of Ghazni also failed to set up a Muslim empire in India and the only permanent affect of his invasions was the annexation of the Punjab. It was left to Muhammad Ghori to build up a Muslim empire in India on a secure footing.

The district of Ghur is situated in the hills between Ghazni and Herat. It was an independent state in the 10th century but its ruler, Muhammad-bin Suri was defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1009 A.D. After that, the rulers of Ghur continued to be the vassals of the rulers of Ghazni. However, they took advantage of the falling fortunes of the house of Mahmud after 1030 A.D. There were other things which complicated matters. Under the orders of King Bahram of Ghazni, Malik Qutub-ud-din Hasan, a prince of Ghur, was put to death. The result was that Saif-ud-din Suri, the brother of the deceased, invaded Ghazni and defeated Bahram. Bahram also retaliated and put to death Saif-ud-din. The result was that Ala-ud-din Husain, the younger brother of Saif-ud-din, completely destroyed the city of Ghazni in 1155 A.D. Ala-ud-din also conquered Bamian, Turkistan, Jerun, Bast, Gharjistan and Herat. It is true that towards the end of his reign he lost Balkh, Turkistan and Herat but he maintained his hold over other parts of his dominions. He was succeeded by Saif-ud-din who in turn was succeeded by Ghiyas-ud-din. Ghiyas-ud-din recovered Ghazni and put it in the charge of his brother Muhammad Ghori. Muhammad Ghori enjoyed practically complete independence in Ghazni but he continued to inscribe the name of his brother on his coins and also treated him as his suzerain.

Many reasons have been given for the invasions of India by Muhammad Ghori. It is pointed out that he was a very ambitious and enterprising prince. He considered himself to be the heir to the Punjab which belonged to the empire of Ghazni. Reasons of security also demanded that he must defeat Khusrau Malik, the ruler of the Punjab and the Karmathians of Multan. His was an age of military glory and Muhammad Ghori was fired with the love of conquest and power. He would like to have prestige and wealth. Being a Muslim, he would like to conquer the Hindus of India and spread Islam in the country.

Multan and Sindh

The first invasion of Muhammad Ghori was directed against Multan in 1175 A.D. The heretics were easily defeated and Multan was captured. An orthodox governor was appointed for Multan. From Multan, he marched to Uch in Upper Sindh. The relations between the ruler of Bhatti and his wife were strained. Muhammad Ghori took advantage of them and promised to marry the daughter of that lady if she finished her husband. The queen poisoned her

husband but her daughter was not made the chief lady of the harem of Muhammad Ghori. Scholars doubt the genuineness of the story and point out that the Bhatti Rajputs did not hold any part of Sindh and the ruler of Uch at that time was most probably a Muslim. In 1182 A.D., Muhammad Ghori invaded Lower Sindh and compelled its Sumra ruler to submit.

Anhilwara

Muhammad Ghori also invaded Anhilwara or Patan, capital of Bhima II, the Vaghela ruler of Gujrat. However, he was defeated by its ruler. He had to retrace his steps. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The sufferings of the retreat far exceeded those of the advance and it was but a miserable remnant of the army that reached Ghazni". Habibullah says that Muhammad Ghori was lucky to escape with his beaten army.

Punjab

Muhammad Ghori realized that it was not possible to conquer India through Sindh and Multan and the key to Hindustan lay through the Punjab. No wonder, he decided to conquer the Punjab. In 1179 A.D., he attacked and captured Peshawar which was under the ruler of the Punjab. In 1181 A.D., Muhammad Ghori proceeded against Khusrau Malik. Instead of fighting, Khusrau Malik sent to Muhammad Ghori costly presents and his own son as a hostage. In 1185 A.D., he attacked the Punjab once again and plundered the countryside. He also captured the fortress of Sialkot and garrisoned it with his own troops. When Khusrau Malik found that Muhammad Ghori was determined to oust him from the Punjab, he entered into an alliance with the Khokhars. With their help, Khusrau Malik besieged Sialkot but he was unable to capture the same. In 1186 A.D., Muhammad Ghori once again came to the Punjab and besieged Lahore. He had been invited by Raja Chakra Deo of Jammu who was not on good terms with Khusrau Malik. When Muhammad Ghori failed to defeat Khusrau Malik in a pitched battle, he resorted to a stratagem.. He persuaded Khusrau Malik to pay him a visit and guaranteed him safe conduct. Muhammad Ghori also released the son of Khusrau Malik and when the latter came out to meet his son he was made a prisoner and later on put to death in 1192.

First Battle of Tarain (1191)

It is true that Muhammad Ghori had become the master of the Punjab, Multan and Sindh, but he was far from being the master of Hindustan. There were many wealthy and powerful Rajput kingdoms in the heart of India which were ready to check, his further advance in case he dared to invade their territories. The Rajputs were proud of their pedigrees and jealous of their honour. Fighting was their hobby and they could never think of surrender or flight. Prithvi Raj Chauhan or Rai Pithora, the rulers of Delhi and Ajmer, decided to check the advance of Muhammad Ghori. He marched against the Ghori chief at the head of a large army which, according to Firishta, include 2 lakh horses and 3000 elephants. He was also helped by his fellow Rajput princes. Jai Chandra, the Rathor Raja of Kanauj, was the only Rajput prince who kept aloof from the war as Prithvi Raj had insulted him by carrying away his daughter by force. The armies met at Tarain, a village 14 miles away from Thanesar in 1191 A.D. Muhammad Ghori followed the tactics of the right, left and centre and himself occupied a position in the middle of his army. The Rajputs attacked both the wings of

the Muslim army which was scattered in all directions. Muhammad Ghori attacked Govind Rai, the brother of Prithvi Raj, on the mouth with his sword and knocked out his teeth. Govind Rai returned the blow and struck Muhammad Ghori in the arm and gave a severe wound. Stunned by this blow, Muhammad Ghori turned back and began to bleed. His strength was exhausted and he was about to fall down from his horse. However, a Khilji soldier helped Muhammad Ghori and carried him off the field of battle. The Muslim army dispersed in all directions. It was pursued for 40 miles and after that the chase was given up. Muhammad Ghori went back to Ghazni. The Rajputs besieged Sarhind but were not able to capture it easily.

Second Battle of Tarain

When Muhammad Ghori reached Ghazni, he punished all those officers and soldiers who had run away from the battle-field. They were publicly disgraced and paraded round the city. It is stated that after the first battle of Tarain in 1191 A.D., Mohammad Ghori "never slumbered in ease nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety". In 1192 A.D., he marched from Ghazni at the head of a large army consisting of 1,20,000 men. He encamped once again near Tarain. There was a bloody battle. As many as 150 Rajput princes fought on the side of Prithvi Raj. To begin with, the Hindu cavalry was able to check the advance of the Muslims. The battle continued from morning till sun-set. However, towards the end, Muhammad Ghori with the help of 12 000 horses made a desperate charge and "carried death and destruction throughout the Hindu Camp". The Rajputs were not able to stand the charge and were defeated. According to Firishta, "Like a great building, this prodigious concourse of the Rajputs, once shaken, tottered to its fall and was lost in its ruins". Govind Rai was killed in the battle-field. Likewise, Khande Rai who had wounded Mohammad Ghori in 1191 A.D. was killed. Prithvi Raj got disheartened, got down from his elephant and tried to escape but was captured near the town of Sirsuti.

There are many versions about the death of Prithvi Raj. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, Prithvi Raj was captured and sent to hell. According to Hasan Nizami, Prithvi Raj was taken to Ajmer and later on was put to death as he was found to be guilty of treason. The view of Chand Bardai is that Prithvi Raj was taken to Ghazni and there put to death on account of his murdering Muhammad Ghori. The view that he was taken to Ajmer is preferred as certain coins of Prithvi Raj with the Sanskrit superscription "Hammira" have been found.

Minhaj-us-Siraj has given the following account of the 2nd battle of Tarain: "Next year the Sultan assembled another army and advanced to Hindustan, to avenge his defeat. A trustworthy person named Muin-ud-din, one of the principal men of the hills of Tolak, informed me that he was in this army, and that its force amounted to 120,000 horsemen bearing armour. Before the Sultan could arrive, the fort of Sarhind had capitualated, and the enemy was encamped in the vicinity of Narain (Tarain). The Sultan drew up in battle array, leaving his main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies, and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000 and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their arrows. When the enemy

collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted. the Almighty gave us the victory over them, and they fled."

The second battle of Tarain was a landmark in the history of India. It ensured the ultimate success of Muhammad Ghori against the Indian states. According to V. A. Smith, "The second battle of Tarain in 1192 may be regarded as the decisive contest which ensured the ultimate success of the Mohammadan attack on Hindustan. All the numerous subsequent attacks were merely consequences of the over-whelming defeat of the Hindu league on the historic plain to the north of Delhi".

There was a general demoralisation in the country and there was none among the Rajputs who could bring under his banner all his fellow princes to stop the further advance of the Muslims in India. The result was that the Muslims were able to capture Sirsuti, Samana. Kuhram and Hansi without much difficulty. Ajmer was captured and plundered. Thousands of people were put to the sword. The Sultan also "destroyed the pillars and foundations of idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges and the precepts of Islam and the customs of the law were divulged and established". A son of Prithvi Raj was put in charge of Ajmer and he promised to pay tribute. Leaving Qutb-ud-din Aibak in-charge of his Indian possessions, Muhammad Ghori went back to Ghazni In a short time, Qutb-ud-din conquered Meerut, Kol and Delhi and made Delhi the seat of his government.

Kanauj

It is true that when Prithvi Raj was defeated in 1192, Jai Chandra of Kanauj felt happy but he did not know that he would meet a similar fate before long. Muhammad Ghori realised the significance of Kanauj in India. Its ruler was considered to be the greatest king of India, having the largest territory. Such a ruler could not be allowed to remain independent. No doubt, Muhammad Ghori marched against Kanauj in 1194 A.D. and the Rathor ruler fell like the Chauhan. "When the two armies met, there was great carnage; the infidels sustained by their numbers and the Muslims by their courage; but in the end the infidels fled and the faithful were victorious. The slaughter of the Hindus was immense. None was spared, except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary". In the battle of Chandwara, Jai Chandra was struck in the eye by a fatal arrow and he fell down dead from the elephant. The Rajputs were demoralised and they ran away from the battle-field. Muhammad Ghori proceeded to the fortress of Asni where Jai Chandra had stored his treasure. Asni was captured and the treasure was plundered. From Asni, Muhammad Ghori proceeded towards Banaras. About 1000 temples were destroyed in Banaras and mosques were raised on their sites. Muhammad Ghori carried away treasures to Ghazni upon 14,000 camels. Ibu-al-Athir tells us that among the elephants captured by Muhammad Ghori, there was a wild elephant. A person who saw it told him that when the elephants were brought before Muhammad Ghori and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the wild elephant. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, "The fall of Jai Chandra at Chandwar made Muhammad the master of the political as well as the religious capitals of Hindustan, Kanauj and Banaras".

It is to be noted that the descendants of Jai Chandra continued

to rule over a fraction of their kingdom which Muhammad Ghori was not able to occupy. Even Kanauj was recovered by the Gahadwaras a few years after its conquest.

In 1195-96, Muhammad Ghori invaded India and defeated Jadon Bhatti Rajputs. He also advanced to Bihar and occupied a portion of it.

For the next few years, Muhammad Ghori was busy fighting the Turks in Central Asia. In his absence the affairs of India were managed by Qutb-ud-din Aibaq. The latter consolidated the Muslim position in Ajmer. He also waged war against Raja Bhim Deva of Anhilwara who had defeated even Muhammad Ghori. Kanwar Pal, the general of Bhim Deva, was defeated and killed. Huge booty fell into the hands of the Muslims.

Bundelkhand

In 1197-98 A.D., Aibaq captured Badaun from a Rashtrakuta Rajput. He reoccupied Banaras which had been lost after its first conquest. He also reoccupied Chandwara and Kanauj. He overran a part of Malwa. In 1202-3 A.D., Aibaq invaded Kalinjar which was the military capital of Paramardi Deva, the Chandela ruler of Bundelkhand. The Chandelas fought with courage and bravery. The fort of Kalinjar was besieged. The ruler was willing to make peace but he died before he could do so. The resistance was continued after his death. Ultimately, the Chandelas were made to come to terms as the water-supply of the fort was cut off. Thus Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajuraho were occupied.

Conquest of Bihar

While Qutb-ud-din Aibaq was thus busy, one of his commanders named Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji was planning the conquest of Bihar and Bengal. The commander was a curious specimen of the *genus homo* with his arms reaching upto the calves of his legs while standing erect. With these long arms, he reached the easternmost parts of Northern India. In 1197 A.D., Ikhtiyar-ud-din organized an attack against Bihar with 200 horsemen. Odantapuri, the capital of Bihar, was looted and plundered. Raja Indruman was a coward and without giving a fight, he ran away. The Buddhist monasteries in Bihar were destroyed. Thousands of monks were put to the sword.

Conquest of Bengal

Ikhtiyar-ud-din was so much emboldened by his success in Bihar that he planned the conquest of Bengal which was ruled by Lakshman Sena of the Sena dynasty. It is true that the ruler was not an old man but he was absolutely lethargic and negligent of his duties. Although the invaders were in Bihar, he did nothing to protect his territory. No wonder, Ikhtiyar-ud-din took advantage of this state of affairs in Bengal. Some time in 1204-5 A.D., he started at the head of his army and suddenly appeared at Nadia which was one of the two capitals of Bengal and the residence of its kings. It is stated that only 18 horse-men had accompanied him to Nadia and the rest of the army was left behind. The people thought that he was a merchant who had brought horses for sale. In this manner, he reached the gate of the palace of the Raja. He drew his sword and commenced the attack. The Raja was at his dinner. All of a sudden, a cry was raised at the gate of his palace and in the city. Before the Raja could ascertain what had occurred, Ikhtiyar-ud-Din rushed

into the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Raja fled bare-footed by the back door of the palace and his whole treasure and all his wives, maid-servants, attendants and women fell into the hands of the invader. When his main army arrived, the whole city was brought under subjection. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din moved towards North and established himself at Lakhnauti. Lakshman Sena took shelter in Eastern Bengal where he continued to rule for some time. No attempt was made by Ikhtiyar-ud-din to conquer the whole of Bengal.

Tibet

Ikhtiyar-ud-din began to dream of carrying his arms beyond the Himalayas. About the middle of the year 1205, he set out with an army of 10,000 horse on his new adventure. He entered into a treaty with the Raja of Kamrup who agreed not to molest him and to assist him, at least with advice. On the way, there was a river which was spanned by a stone bridge. Leaving a force to hold the bridge, Ikhtiyar-ud-din set out for Tibet. It is not certain in what direction he marched or what part of Tibet was his objective. After 15 days of marching, he reached a strong fortress standing in an open country which was well cultivated and thickly populated. The inhabitants joined the garrison of the fortress in opposing the invaders and though Ikhtiyar-ud-din held his ground throughout the day, his losses were very heavy and ultimately he decided to retreat. During his retreat, he found that the natives had destroyed or obstructed the roads and burnt all vegetation. There was neither fodder nor fuel and the army was forced to live on the flesh of its horses. The bridge had been destroyed and no boats were available. The Raja of Kamrup also attacked the retreating army and drove it into the river. Ikhtiyar-ud-din managed to reach Lakhnauti with about hundred horse-men. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "This was the greatest disaster which had yet befallen the Muslim arms in India. Armies had been defeated but Ikhtiyar-ud-din's force had been all but annihilated and it would have been well for him to have perished with it, for he could not show his face in the streets of Lakhnauati without encountering the gibes and reproaches of the wives and families of those whom he had led to their death......"

While this was what was happening in India,Muhammad Ghori was routed by the Turks at Andhkhud in 1204 A.D., "a defeat which dealt a fatal blow at his military reputation in India". Rumours even spread in India that Muhammad Ghori was killed. The result was that the Khokhars revolted under their leader, Rai Sal and defeated the Deputy Governor of Multan. They plundered Lahore and blocked the strategic road between the Punjab and Ghazni. As Aibaq failed to handle the situation, Muhammad Ghori found it necessary to come to India in person. At the close of 1205 A.D., the combined forces of Muhammad Ghori and Aibak inflicted a crushing defeat on the Khokhars, between the Jhelum and the Chenab. A large number of Khokhars were slaughtered and a still larger number was captured, and enslaved. The number of slaves was so large that five Khokhar slaves were sold for a Dinar in the camp.

Muhammad Ghori reached Lahore in February 1206 A.D. and made arrangements for going back to Ghazni in order to carry on his struggle against the Turks. Unfortunately, when he was on his way back to Ghazni, he was assassinated on the banks of the river Indus

on 15th March, 1206 by some Shia rebels and Hindu Khokhars. The body of the Sultan was carried to Ghazni and buried in his capital.

It cannot be denied that Muhammad Ghori was not so great a general as Mahmud of Ghazni. Unlike Mahmud, he suffered a number of defeats at the hands of Indian rulers. He did not possess the grandeur of Mahmud. However, he was superior to him as a constructive statesman. Mahmud kept himself busy in conquering and collecting riches but Muhammad Ghori was able to build up an empire which lasted for centuries. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Wealth, not territory, the extirpation of idolatory and not conquest, were the objects of his (Mahmud's) raids; and when these were accomplished, he cared nothing for the myriad people of India." However, Muhammad Ghori made up his mind from the very beginning to built up an empire in India and succeeded in planting the banner of the Crescent permanently on the Indian soil. Muhammad Ghori was not so fanatical as Mahmud but he was certainly more political than his great predecessor. He decided to take advantage of the rotten political condition of India and built up a Muslim empire in India.

According to Sir W. W. Hunter, "He (Muhammad Ghori) was no religious knight-errant of Islam like Mahmud of Ghazni but a practical conqueror. The object of his distant expeditions were not temples but provinces."

According to Stanley Lane-Poole, "Compared with Mahmud, the name of Muhammad Ghori has remained almost obscure. He was no patron of letters, and no poets or historians vied with one another to praise his munificence and power. Yet his conquests in Hindustan were wider and far more permanent than Mahmud's. A large part of those conquests were of course partial, and there were still revolts to be crushed and chiefs to be subdued : India was not to be subjugated in a generation. But the conquest was real and permanent, and though Muhammad was no Indian sovereign, but still king of Ghazni with eyes turned towards Persia and the Oxus, he left a viceroy in Hindustan who began the famous Slave dynasty, the first of the many Muslim kings that have ruled India.

"Of the two tides of Mohammadan invasion that surged into India, Mahmud's had left little trace. It had been but a series of triumphant raids, and when its violence was spent scarcely enough strength remained to hold a single province. That province however had been held, not without a struggle, and in the Panjab Muhammad Ghori found the base, the necessary leverage, whence to bear upon a wider territory than his precursor. He rose from even smaller beginnings than Mahmud, but his followers possessed the same hardihood and power of endurance as the earlier invaders from the same mountain valleys, and they carried their arms further and left surer footprints. The dynasty of Ghur relapsed into the insignificance of a highland chiefdom after its great Sultan's death; but the dominion it had conquered in India was not lost to Islam. It was consolidated under other rulers, and from the days of Muhammad Ghori to the catastrophe of the Indian mutiny there was always a Mohammadan king upon the throne of Delhi." (*Medieval India*, pp. 39-40).

Causes of Muslim Success

Considering the fact that the Rajputs were great warriors, it seems a little strange that they were defeated by the Muslims. Habibullah admits that in individual fighting, the Rajputs surpassed

the Turks. The view of Elphinstone, Lane-Poole and V. A. Smith was that the success of the Muslims was due to the fact that they came from cold climate and were non-vegetarians. That view is no longer accepted. The soldierly qualities of the Hindus are admitted even by their enemies and consequently that could not be a factor responsible for their failure. It is also not true that non-vegetarians are better fighters than the vegetarians. Moreover, there were a large number of Hindus who were non-vegetarians at the time when the Hindus and Muslims fought against one another. The real causes must be found somewhere else.

(1) A very important cause of Muslim success and Hindu failure was the *lack of political unity in the country.* There was no one paramount power in the country at that time which could fight against the Muslims. India at that time was a congeries of states. Various parts of the country were ruled by individual rulers. There were mutual jealousies and dissensions among the Rajput Chiefs. It is true that the Rajputs were good warriors but there was too much of a clannish spirit among them. The Rajput soldiers owed their allegiance to their petty chief and were prepared to fight against other Rajput soldiers under another Rajput Chief. It was in this way that they frittered away their energy. There was no national consciousness among them. The various Rapjut princes could not and did not think in terms of India as a whole. They were not prepared to sink their differences in the higher interests of the country and put up a united front against the Muslim invaders. The result was that they were defeated one by one and all their bravery was of no avail.

(2) The *military organization of the Rajputs was defective* and could not succeed against the Muslims. The Rajput armies were ill-organized and ill-equipped. The trouble with the Hindus was that they were satisfied with what they had. They did not try to keep themselves in touch with the latest developments in military organization and methods of fighting. The result was that they were defeated by the Muslims who were ahead of them in these matters. The Indians divided their armies into three parts : the right, centre and the left. They almost invariably made a frontal attack on the enemy. The Muslim armies, on the other hand, were divided into five parts. In addition to the right, centre and left, they had the Advance Guard and the Reserve. The Reserve was always ready to come to the help of any part of the army which was in difficulty or to give the final blow when the enemy was about to collapse. Moreover, the Hindus put too much reliance on elephants. These "mountain-like elephants" could not stand against the mobile Turkish cavalry. Once the elephants were frightened, they trampled their own men under their feet and thus proved themselves to be a greater liability than an asset. The Rajputs fought mainly with their swords while the Muslims were good archers. The Muslim archers from their horses were more than a match for the Rajputs who fought with their swords.

(3) The Rajputs looked upon a battle as a tournament in which they tried to show skill, bravery and chivalry. That was not the case with their enemies. They did not find themselves fettered by any rules of the game. They believed that all was fair in war. They were prepared to adopt any tactics which could bring them victory. They believed that end justifies the means and they did not care for

the consequences of their actions. They were prepared to defile a tank or a river from which their enemies got their water-supply. They were prepared to divert the course of a channel to stop the water-supply to the enemy and thereby bring about their surrender. They were prepared to destroy the whole of the neighbouring territory so that the enemy may be starved to submission. They were always ready to resort to shock-tactics to dishearten and demoralize their enemies. With lightning speed, they fell upon the people and destroyed them with fire and sword. They did this so often that an impression was created that it was impossible to face the Muslims successfully.

(4) Habibullah points out that one great defect of the Rajput military system was that they staked everything on the issue of a single battle. They did not make any distinction between a battle and a war. Lloyd George used to say that while others won battles he won the war. Unfortunately, the Rajputs could not think in terms of a defeat. If it was a question of defending a fort, they were prepared to ruin themselves while defending it. If they failed to defend it, they died fighting to a man and their women burnt themselves to death. The result was that after one defeat, nothing was left. It has rightly been said that the Raputs were notorious for turning a single military defeat in a catastrophe. They should have known that in a war it is sometimes politic to retreat and attack the enemy when the other party is weak.

(5) Habibullah points out that another defect in the Rajput military system was that they did not take the offensive against their enemies. To quote him, "Rarely did the Hindu princes take the offensive, but they bestirred themselves only when the enemy appeared before the strong-hold". Obviously, this is not the way of winning victory. A policy of defence alone does not help. A defensive policy has to be coupled with an offensive policy. As that was not done by the Rajputs, their people suffered terribly on account of the Muslim invasions.

(6) According to Dr. Ishwari Parshad, the wars between the Rajputs and the Muslims were "a struggle between two different social systems, the one old and decadent and the other full of youthful vigour and enterprise." The Hindus were divided into many castes. These castes created pride and prejudices. They also created inequality in society. The result was that all the Hindus could not pool their resources against the foreigners. Moreover, out of the four castes the work of fighting was left to only one caste. The people of the three other castes thought that they had nothing to do with the defence of the country and they seemed to be indifferent towards the same. The result was that about three-fourths of the people of India did not fight against the foreigners. Obviously, the rest of the one-fourth of the population could not be expected to fight against the enemy successfully. Islam is a great brotherhood and this equality among the Muslims was a great asset in their fight against the Hindus. Equality among Muslims brought unity among them and they fought shoulder to shoulder against their enemies. It has rightly been said that while the Hindus had no ideology before them to fight for, the Muslims certainly had one. They came to India with the fanatical zeal of crusaders. All their fight against the Hindus was a Jihad. They were convinced that if they won, they would become *Ghazis* and if they died fighting, they would go to

Bahisht or paradise and also get the honours of a *Shahid* or martyr. It is these beliefs that "led even the commonest Mussalmans to brave risks and cheerfully make sacrifices". It was with this spirit that the Muslim soldiers, with the cries of *Allah-hu-Akbar*, were able to defeat the Rajputs. The cries of *Har Har Mahadeva* of the Hindus were not strong enough to stop the Muslims.

(7) Another cause of Muslim success was their slave system. According to Lane-Poole, "While a brilliant father's son is apt to be a failure, the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved the equals of their master." The Muslim rulers had a large number of slaves and they were given high positions on the basis of their merit. The result was that these slaves helped their masters to build up an empire in this country. It is these slaves who were responsible for conquering various parts of this country while their masters were busy otherwise. Examples of such slaves were Qutb-ud-din Aibak and Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.

(8) Critics point out that the blunders of the Indian rulers also helped the Muslims to win. It is true that Jayapala was defeated by Subuktgin and Mahmud but instead of burning himself on a funeral pyre, he should have gone to fight against the enemies and defeated them. It is no part of bravery to kill oneself if one is defeated by the enemy. Raja Dahir of Sindh also made a mistake. He should not have gone to fight as an ordinary soldier in the battle. Like a General, he should have directed the army and not himself become the target of the enemy. The result was that although he was able to establish his reputation as a soldier, he lost the war by allowing himself to be made the target by the enemy. Similar blunders were committed by other Hindu rulers which facilitated the task of conquest of India by the Muslims.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SLAVE DYNASTY

The dynasty founded by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak in India is known as the slave dynasty. However, this description is not accurate. Out of all the kings belonging to the so-called Slave Dynasty, only three *viz.*, Qutb-ud-Din Aibaq, Iltutmish and Balban were slaves and even they were manumitted by their masters. Aibaq received a letter of manumission from Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud, the nephew and successor of Muhammad Ghori, before his elevation to the throne of Delhi. Iltutmish was also freed by his master. Balban who belonged to the forty Turkish slaves of Iltutmish was given freedom by his master. It is also not proper to describe the dynasty as Afghan dynasty or Pathan dynasty as all the rulers of the so-called slave dynasty were neither Afghans nor Pathans but Turks.

Qutb-ud-Din Aibaq (1206-10).

Qutb-ud-Din Aibaq was the real founder of the Turkish dominion in India. He was born of Turkish parents in Turkestan. When he was merely a boy, he was taken to Nishapur by a merchant where he was purchased by the local Qazi as a slave. The Qazi provided for his religious and military training along with his sons. When the Qazi died, he was sold by his sons to a merchant who took him to Ghazni where he was purchased by Muhammad Ghori.

His Rise

Qutb-ud-Din Aibaq was "endowed with all laudable qualities and admirable impressions" though "he possessed no outward comeliness. He attracted the attention of his new master by his courage, manly bearing and generosity. He proved himself to be so faithful to his master that he was appointed a commander of a section of the army of his master. He was also appointed Amir-i-Akhur or Master of the Stables. He rendered so valuable services to his master during his Indian expeditions that he was placed in charge of his Indian conquests after the second battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. Thus, he was left "untrammelled not only in his administration of the new conquests, but also in his discretion to extend them". Aibaq made Indraprastha near Delhi his headquarters.

In order to strengthen his own position, Qutb-ud-din Aibaq entered into matrimonial alliances with important personalities. He himself married the daughter of Taj-ud-din Yildoz. He married his sister to Nasir-ud-din Qabacha. To Iltutmish, he married his daughter.

In 1192 A.D. he crushed a rebellion in Ajmer and Meerut. In 1194 A.D., he crushed a second rebellion in Ajmer. In the same year, he helped his master Muhammad Ghori in defeating Jai Chandra, the ruler of Kanauj, in the battle of Chandwara. In 1197 A.D., he punished Bhimdev of Gujrat, plundered his capital and came back to Delhi by way of Hansi. In 1202 A.D., he besieged the fortress of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand and captured the same. He got a lot of booty. Thousands of persons were made prisoners. He marched to the city of Mahoba and took possession of it. Next he occupied



Pirthvi Raj



Mohd. Ghori



Qutb-ud Din



Raziya



Nasir-ud-Din



Ala-ud-Din Khalji



Timur



Krishna Deva Raya

Badaun which was one of the richest cities of Hindustan. One of his lieutenants, Ikhtiyar-ud-din, conquered Bihar and a part of Bengal. Thus, before his accession to the throne in 1206 A.D., Qutb-ud-din Aibaq was already in possession of almost the whole of northern India as a lieutenant of his master and his representative in India.

Succession

When Muhammad Ghori died in 1206 A.D., he left no male heir to succeed him. Taj-ud-din Yildoz, Governor of Kirman, ascended the throne of Ghazni. It seems that it was the desire of Muhammad Ghori that Qutab-ud-din should succeed him in India. That was probably the reason why Muhammad Ghori formally invested Qutb-ud-din with viceregal powers and conferred upon him the title of Malik. After the death of Muhammad Ghori, the citizens of Lahore invited Qutab-ud-din to assume sovereign powers. He went to Lahore and took up the reins of Government in his hands. However, his formal accession took place on 24th June, 1206.

The rise of Qutb-ud-din Aibaq aroused the jealously of Taj-ud-din Yildoz of Ghazni. Aibak charged him with exercising undue influence on Mahmud of Feruz Koh and marched against him. In 1208, he even occupied Ghazni and also won over Sultan Mahmud to his own side. He also secured from him a letter of manumission along with the paraphernalia of royalty or chattar and, Durbesh and also authority to rule over Ghazni and Hindustan. However, Aibak was driven out of Ghazni by Yildoz. Aibak came back to Lahore.

So far as Bengal and Bihar were concerned, the death of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Khalji threatened to break the relation of Delhi with Bengal and Bihar. Ali Mardan Khan declared himself independent at Lakhnauti, but the local Khalji Chiefs replaced him by Muhammad Sheran and threw him into prison. However, Ali Mardan Khan managed to escape from jail and went to Delhi. He also persuaded Aibak to intervene into the affairs of Bengal. The Khaljis agreed to recognize Aibak as their overlord. They also agreed to send the annual tribute to Delhi. On account of his being otherwise very busy, Aibak could not follow a policy of aggression against Rajputs. Aibak died in 1210 on account of injuries received as a result of fall from his horse while playing polo. By some writers, Aibak is not considered to be an independent Sultan of India. We have not come across any coin of Aibak. It is possible that he may not have struck any coin in his name. Ibn-Batuta, the Moorish traveller of the fourteenth century, does not include the name of Aibak in the list of Muslim Sovereigns of India. His name is also not included in the list of Sultans whose names had been ordered to be inserted in the Friday Khutba.

Aibak rendered great services to the cause of Islam in India. For the last two centuries, India was a part of Ghazni kingdom and the interests of the North-Western India suffered on account of the politics of Ghazni. By making Muslim India independent of Ghazni, Aibak "helped considerably in the expansion of power in India." Hasan-un-Nizami observes thus : "By his orders, the precepts of Islam received great promulgation, and the sun of righteousness cast its shadow on the countries of Hind from the heaven of God's assistance". He built one mosque at Delhi and another at Ajmer.

Aibak was a great military leader. He won a large number of victories in battlefields during the life-time of his master and thereby added to his glory. He rarely lost a battle.

According to Minhaj, Aibak was a "high-spirited and open hearted monarch. He was very generous." "His gifts were bestowed by hundreds and thousands". No wonder, he has been given the title of *Lakhbakhsh* or giver of lakhs. Hasan-un-Nizami, the author of *Taj-ul-Maasir*, tells us that Aibak "dispensed even handed justice to the people and exerted himself to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm". He was a great patron of learning and he patronized writers like Hasan-un-Nizami and Fakhr-ud-Din. Hasan-un-Nizami was the author of *Taj-ul-Maasir* and Fakhr-ud-din was the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarik Shahi.*

Aibak was so much busy otherwise that he did not find time to establish a sound system of administration in the country. The whole thing was based on the military. He kept garrisons not only at the capital but also in all important towns of his kingdom. The local administration was left in the hands of the people of the country. Muslim officers were merely put in charge of various departments and most of them were soldiers. The administration of justice must have been crude. It is too much to say that during his reign "wolf and the sheep drank water out of the same pond". It is also not correct to say that Aibak was kind to the Hindus as there is evidence to show that during his wars against Anhilwara and Kalinjar, the Hindus were enslaved and converted and mosques were built on the ruins of the Hindu temples. However, in times of peace Aibak was really tolerant.

Aram Shah (1210-1211)

When Qutb-ud-din Aibak dided all of a sudden at Lahore, the Amirs and Maliks of Lahore put Aram Shah on the throne "for the sake of restraining tumult, for the tranquillity of the commonalty and the content of the hearts of the soldiery". There is a difference of opinion with regard to the relationship of Aram Shah with Qutb-ud-din. One view was that Iltutmish was the son of Qutab-ud-din. This view is contradicted by the statement of Minhaj-us-Siraj that Qutb-ud-din had only three daughters and no son. However, Abul Fazal says that Aram Shah was the brother of Qutb-ud-Din. A new view has been put forward that Aram Shah was not a relation of Qutb-ud-din but he was put on the throne as he was the man who was available on the spot. No conclusive view can be given on this point.

Unfortunately, Aram Shah was a weak and worthless youngman. No wonder, the people of Delhi refused to accept him as their ruler. Powerful governors of different provinces like Qabacha of Multan and Ali Mardan of Bengal refused to recognize the suzerainty of Aram Shah. There was the danger of a civil war in the country and in order to avoid that, an invitation was sent to Malik Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish who was the Governor of Badaun at that time. The invitation was accepted and Iltutmish defeated Aram Shah in the plain of Jud near Delhi. Probably Aram Shah was put to death. His reign lasted for about eight months.

Iltutmish (1211-1236)

Iltutmish was the greatest of the slave kings. He was the slave who rose to eminence by sheer dint of merit. He was a Turk of Ilbari tribe in Turkestan. He belonged to a noble family. As a child, he was very beautiful and showed signs of intelligence and sagacity. He excited the jealousy of his brothers who managed to deprive him of his paternal home and care. He was sold to a merchant of Bokhara

and the latter sold him to another person who in turn sold him to Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Iltutmish rose step by step till he was made the Governor of Badaun. He was also married to the daughter of Qutb-ud-Din. He won his spurs in the battle against the Khokhars. In recognition of his services, Iltutmish, by the orders of Muhammad Ghori, was manumitted and given the rank of Amir-ul-Umara.

When Qutb-ud-din Aibak died in 1210, he was succeeded by Aram Shah. As he was found to be most incompetent, the nobles of Delhi decided to invite Iltutmish to the throne and their choice was in the best interest of the infant empire.

The election of Iltutmish was opposed by the commander of the guards of Qutb-ud-din but his opposition collapsed as there was no serious backing. The jurists headed by Qazi Wajih-ud-din opposed Iltutmish on the ground that he was not a free man. When Iltutmish showed them the letter of manumission, they also kept quiet.

Not Usurper

Iltutmish was not a usurper as there was nothing to usurp. There was no sovereign in India at that time. The sovereign power of Iltutmish was based on three things. In the first place, he was elected by the officials. Secondly, he could claim the right of conquest and the power to enforce. In the third place, he was formally recognized by the Khalifa of Baghdad. It is not clear whether Iltutmish made any special request to the Khalifa for the robe of honour or the Khalifa himself gave the same to him voluntarily. The Khalifa confirmed Iltutmish in the possession "of all the land and sea which he had conquered" as Sultan-i-Azam or Great Sultan. This act "fastened the fiction of Khilafat on the Sultanate of Delhi and involved legally the recognition of the final sovereignty of the Khalifa, and authority outside the geographical limits of India but instead that vague yet none the less real brotherhood of Islam". On his coins, Iltutmish described himself as the Lieutenant of the Khalifa.

His Difficulties

When Iltutmish became the ruler in 1211, he had a large number of difficulties to face. Instead of being disheartened by those difficulties, he faced them boldly and overcame them all. He took prompt action against Qutbi and Muizzi Maliks and gave them a crushing defeat in the neighbourhood of Delhi. He consolidated his position in the area around Delhi. He also secured a letter of manumission from Yildoz.

Yildoz

Taj-ud-Din Yildoz was a formidable foe of Iltutmish. He considered himself to be the successor of Muhammad Ghori and was not prepared to allow the Muslim empire in India to be independent. In 1214, Yildoz came to Lahore and occupied the same. This was too much for Iltutmish. He marched against Yildoz and defeated him in the battle of Tarain near Thanesar. Yildoz was made a prisoner and sent to fortress of Badaun where he was later on put to death. It was in this way that Iltutmish was successful in disposing of one of his enemies.

Qabacha

Iltutmish was also successful against Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha who ruled over Uch and Multan. After the death of Qutb-ud-Din, Qabacha had occupied even a portion of the Punjab. Iltutmish declared war against Qabacha. As Qabacha refused to recognize

Iltutmish as overlord, Iltutmish declared war against him in 1217 and he was successful in driving him out of the Punjab. As the power of Qabacha was not completely crushed, he managed to remain independent for another decade. In 1227, Iltutmish once again marched against him and was successful in capturing Uch without much resistance. Qabacha escaped from Uch and took shelter in Bhakkar. When Bhakkar also was besieged by Iltutmish, Qabacha lost heart and asked for peace. He sent his son Masud Bahram to negotiate the terms but he was imprisoned. Qabacha was so much upset that he tried to escape from Bhakkar but he was drowned in the river Indus. One view is that he was killed in an accident. Still another view is that he committed suicide. Whatever the truth, Iltutmish captured Bhakkar and appointed Vizir Muhammad Junaidi to complete that conquest of lower Sindh.

Bengal

After the death of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Ali Mardan declared himself independent in Bengal and took up the title of Ala-ud-Din. However, he died after two years. He was succeeded by his son Hisam-ud-Din Iwaz. The latter took up the title of Ghias-ud-Din and struck coins in his own name. Even the Khutba was read in his name. It was too much for Iltutmish to put up with such a defiance. No wonder, he sent an expedition against him in 1225 and himself followed the same. When Ghias-ud-Din heard the approach of Iltutmish, he at once submitted and agreed to pay a huge sum as tribute. The submission of Ghias-ud-Din was not a lasting one and after some time he once again raised the standard of revolt. Another expedition was sent against him by Iltutmish. Ghias-ud-Din was defeated and killed and Bengal was completely brought under the throne of Delhi. When Nasir-ud-din who had conquered Bengal died in 1229, the Khalji Maliks revolted in Bengal under Balka. Iltutmish himself went to Bengal at the head of the army and defeated Balka and put Ala-ud-Din Jani in charge of Bengal.

The Rajputs

After the death of Aibak, the Rajputs did their best to drive away the Turks. The Chandelas recovered Kalinjar and Ajaigarh. The Partiharas drove away the Muslim garrisons from Gwalior and reoccupied the city. They also occupied Narwar and Jhansi. The Chauhan ruler of Ranthambhor turned out the Turkish troops and brought under his control Jodhpur and the adjacent areas. The Chauhans of Jalor conquered once again Nadol, Mandor, Bharmer, Ratnapur, Sanchor, Radhadhara, Khera, Ramasin and Bhinamal. Jadon Bhattis established their sovereignty in Northern Alwar. Ajmer, Bayana and Thangir put an end to Turkish supremacy and became independent.

Iltutmish could not be expected to allow the Rajputs to remain independent for long. In 1226, he besieged Ranthambhor, captured it and regarrisoned it. Mandor, capital of the Parmara Rajputs, was also captured and regarrisoned. Next he besieged Jalor. Udai Singh, its ruler, offered stiff resistance. Ultimately, he was made to surrender. However, he was allowed to continue as ruler on condition of his payment of tribute. Bayana and Thangir were also recaptured. Ajmer was captured after stiff resistance. Nagair in Jodhpur was recovered. In 1231, Gwalior was besieged. Malayavarma Deva, its ruler, fought bravely but ultimately surrendered. Trilokyavarma, the ruler of Kalinjar, abandoned Kalinjar and the same was plundered. However,

the Chandelas were able to turn out the Muslims once again. Iltutmish led the attack on Nagada in person. However, he was defeated by Ksetra Singh, its ruler and Iltutmish suffered heavy losses. Iltutmish tried to subdue the Chalukyas of Gujrat but he was unsuccessful. In 1234-35, Iltutmish led an expedition to Malwa. He plundered Bhilsa and Ujjain. He also destroyed the temple of Mahakal at Ujjain. The contention of Sir Wolseley Haig is that Iltutmish conquered and annexed Malwa but it appears that it was merely a raid and not a war of conquest.

The Doab

Like the Rajputs, many Districts of what is now known as Uttar Pradesh, asserted their independence in the time of Iltutmish. Badaun, Kanauj, Banaras, and Katehar (Rohilkhand) etc. were some of those Districts. However, as soon as Iltutmish was able to re-establish his authority, he took action against them. One by one, Badaun, Kanauj and Banaras were recaptured. The same was the case with Katehar. An expedition was sent to Baharaich and the same was captured. Avadh was also brought under Delhi after stiff resistance. It was found difficult to defeat a local tribe which was fighting under their chief named Bartu or Pirthu. The Turks were defeated by them on many occasions and more than a lakh of the troops were destroyed by them. It was only after the death of Pirthu that the local tribes were subdued. Expeditions were also sent against Chandwara and Tirhut.

The Mongols

Iltutmish had to face a great danger from the Mongols during his reign. The Mongols were ferocious people who took pleasure in loot, murder, plunder and destruction. They were barbarians and they took pleasure in burning towns and organizing massacres. They were responsible for every kind of inhuman atrocity. They were the enemies of civilization. They destroyed mosques, temples and churches. They took pleasure in burning holy books. The poet Amir Khusrau himself was captured by them and he suffered terribly at their hands. This is what he says about the Mongols : "the Muslim martyrs dyed in the desert with their blood, while the Muslim captives had their necks tied together like so many flowers into garlands. I was also taken prisoner, and from fear that they would shed my blood, not a drop of blood remained in my veins. It ran about like water, here and there with innumerable blisters on my feet like bubbles on the surface of a stream. My tongue was parched and dry from excessive thirst and my stomach seemed to have collapsed for want of food. They left me nude like a leafless tree in winter or a flower that has been much lacerated by thorns. My Mongol captor sat on a horse like a lion bestriding the spur of a mountain, a disgusting stench came out of his mouth, etc., and on his chin there grew, like a hyacinth, a tuft of hair. If through weakness I lagged a little behind, he would threaten me sometimes with his frying pan and sometimes with his spear. I sighed and thought that release from such a situation was quite impossible. But thank God, I did regain my freedom without my breast being pierced by an arrow or my body cut into two by the sword."

In the year 1221, the Mongols appeared for the first time on the banks of the river Indus under their famous leader Changiz Khan. Changiz Khan had overrun the countries of Central and Western Asia with lightning rapidity. When he attacked Jalal-ud-Din

Mangabarni, the last Shah of Khwarazm or Khiva, the latter fled to the Punjab. He asked Iltutmish to give him shelter. Iltutmish felt that by helping Jalal-ud-Din he would be inviting trouble from Changiz Khan. Consequently he wrote back saying that although he had no objection to giving him shelter, he was afraid that the climate of the Punjab would not suit him. This was a very polite way of refusing the request. The result was that Jalal-ud-Din entered into an alliance with the Khokhars. He defeated Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha of Multan and plundered Sindh and northern Gujrat. After that he went away to Persia. The Mongols also retired. Thus, the infant Muslim empire in India was saved.

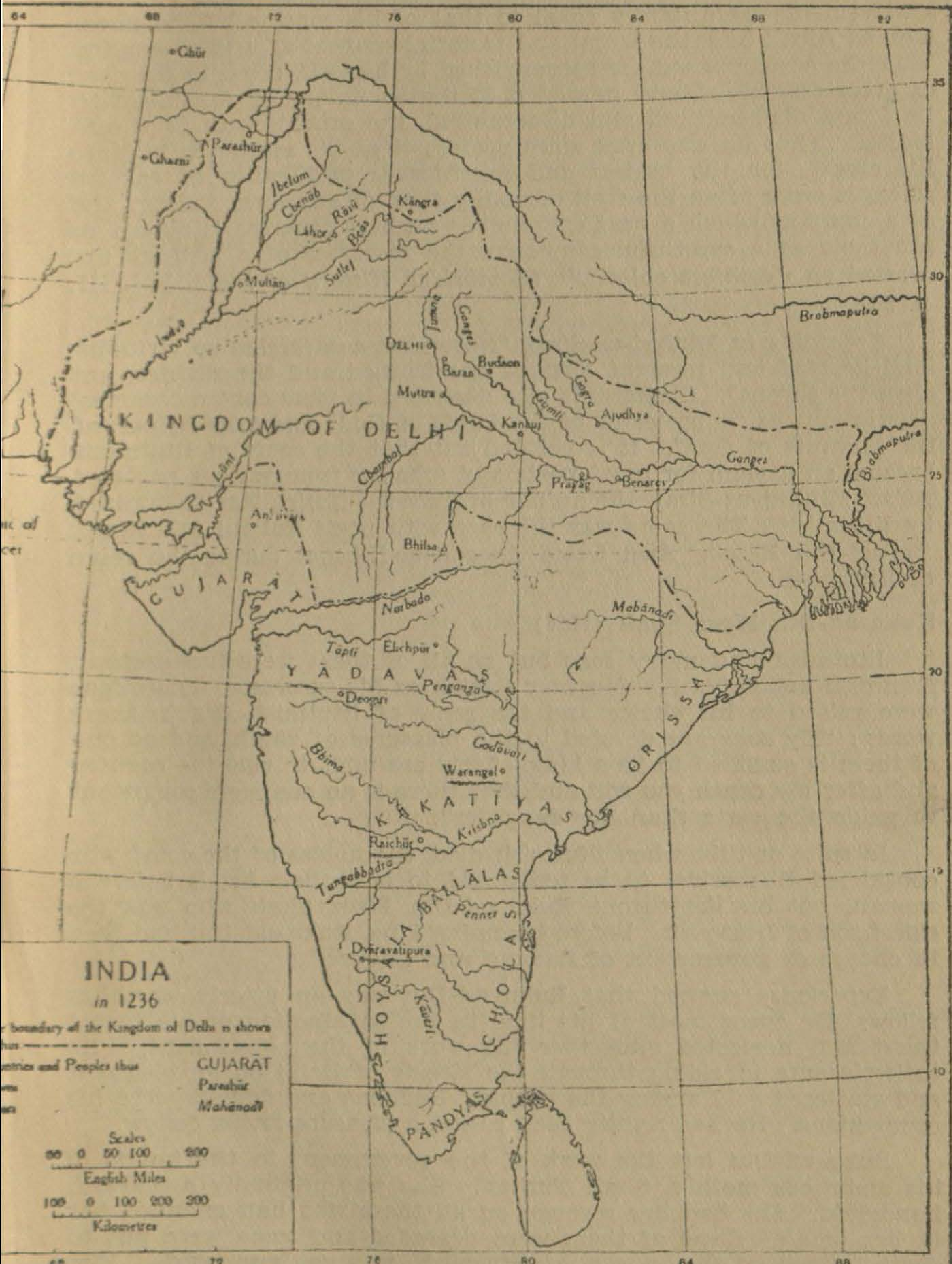
The last expedition of Iltutmish was directed against Banian. According to Raverty, this was situated in hill tracts of the Sind-Sagar Doab or in the country immediately west of the Salt Range. Iltutmish was attacked on the way by such a severe illness that he had to be carried back to Delhi in a litter. The disease of Iltutmish proved fatal and he died on 29th April, 1236.

The famous Qutb Minar at Mehrauli near Delhi was got completed by Iltutmish in the year 1231-1232. It stands as a testimony to the greatness of Iltutmish. The Qutb Minar was not named after Qutb-ud-Din Aibak but after Khawaja Qutb-ud-Din, a native of Uch near Baghdad who had come to live in Hindustan and was held in great esteem by Iltutmish and others. Out of gratitude, Iltutmish got the names of his patrons, Qutb-ud-din Aibak and Sultan Muiz-ud-Din inscribed on it. A magnificent mosque was also built by the orders of the Sultan.

With the help of Muhammad Junaidi and Fakhar-ul-Mulk Asmi, Iltutmish reorganized and overhauled the system of administration. According to Ibn-Batuta, Iltutmish fixed a chain and bell in his palace so that the aggrieved persons may not have any difficulty in approaching the Sultan with their difficulties. Iltutmish built a College at Delhi. Roads were constructed and jungles were cut down in his time. Iltutmish shifted his capital from Lahore to Delhi and there it remained during the Sultanate period.

Iltutmish inscribed upon his coins the proud legend "The Mighty Sultan, Sun of the Empire and the Faith, Conquest-laden, Iltutmish" and "Aid of the Commander of the Faithful". Before Iltutmish, the Muslim rulers issued small billion coins of the native form and inscribed their names sometimes in Nagari script and sometimes in Arabic. Those coins also bore symbols familiar to the Hindus, such as the bull of Shiva and the Chohan horseman. Iltutmish was the first who introduced a purely Arabic coinage. He adopted as his standard coin the silver tanka, the ancestor of the rupee, weighing 175 grains. Gold tankas of the same weight were introduced later on by Balban.

Iltutmish was a pious Muslim. He was very particular about his five daily prayers. However, he was intolerant towards the Shias. No wonder, the Ismail-Shias revolted against him but their revolt was crushed. A large number of them were put to death. His treatment of the Hindus was also not enlightened. He continued to persecute them. Iltutmish cannot be described as a constructive statesman. However, through his courage and bravery, Iltutmish was able to save the infant Muslim empire in India. He continued the work started by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak.


INDIA
in 1236
Scales
English Miles
Kilometres
Ghūr
Ghazni
Parashūr
Jhelum
Chenāb
Rāvī
Kāngra
Lāhor
Biās
Satlej
Multān
Indus
Jumna
Ganges
Delhi
Budaon
Baran
Muttra
KINGDOM OF DELHI
Kanauj
Gūmti
Gogra
Ajudhya
Brahmaputra
Ganges
Chambal
Prayāg
Benares
Lūni
Anhilvāra
Bhilsa
GUJARĀT
Narbada
Mahānadi
Tāpti
Elichpūr
YĀDAVAS
Penganga
Deogiri
ORISSA
Godāvari
Bhīma
Warangal
KAKATĪYAS
Krishna
Raichūr
Tungabhadra
HOYSALA BALLĀLAS
Pennar
Dvārāvatīpura
CHOLAS
Kāveri
PĀNDYAS

Estimate

As regads an estimate of Iltutmish, Sir Wolseley Haig was of the opinion that Iltutmish was the greatest of all the slave kings. "His achievements were hardly equal to that of his master but he never had, as Aibak had, the moral and material support of a great empire. What he accomplished, he accomplished by himself, often in the face of great difficulties, and he added to the dominions of Aibak, which he found dismembered and disorganized, the provinces of Sind and Malwa. That he was even more profuse than his master is little to his credit, for the useless and mischievous prodigality of eastern rulers is more often the fruit of vanity than of any finer feeling, and at a court at which a neat epigram or a smart repartee is almost as profitable as a successful campaign, the resources of a country are wasted on worthless objects." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 56).

According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, "Never has a sovereign so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines, sat upon the throne". Iltutmish is also described in some contemporaries' descriptions as "a protector of the lands of God" and "the helper of the servants of God". It is pointed out that the court of Iltutmish became an asylum for great poets and scholars from various parts of Asia. Minhaj-us-Siraj, the author of *Tabaat-i-Nasiri*, was patronized by Iltutmish. The same was the case with poets Ruhani and Malik Taj-ud-Din Rezab. Awfi wrote *Jawami-ul-Hikayat* during the reign of Iltutmish.

Rukn-ud-Din Firuz Shah (1236)

Iltutmish had many sons but as all of them were incompetent. Iltutmish appointed his daughter Raziah as his successor. Objections were raised to his choice and the reply of Iltutmish was in these words : "My sons are devoted to the pleasures of youth, and no one of them is qualified to be a king. They are unfit to rule the country and after my death you will find that there is no one more competent to guide the state than my daughter".

In spite of this, when Iltutmish died, the nobles of the court who considered themselves to be too proud to bow their heads before a woman, put on the throne Rukn-ud-Din Firuz Shah who was the eldest son of Iltutmish. Before becoming king, Rukn-ud-Din had been in charge of government of Badaun and Lahore.

Experience showed that Rukn-ud-Din was an utterly worthless fellow. He spent most of his time in the satisfaction of his sexual thirst and neglected altogether the work of the government. He took pleasure in riding through the streets of Delhi on an elephant and scattered gold among the people. Buffoons and fiddlers were his companions. He has rightly been called a pleasure loving fellow.

Rukn-ud-Din left the work of the government in the hands of his ambitious mother, Shah Turkan. She was originally a Turkish handmaid. She had her revenge on all those who had offended her in her youth. Some of them were degraded and some were put to death. Qutb-ud-Din, a son of Iltutmish, was got murdered. The result of all this was that rebellions occurred on all sides. The Governors of Multan, Hansi, Badaun and Lahore refused to acknowledge the authority of Rukn-ud-Din. It is true that the young king marched against them but he felt that he was deserted by his Wazir Muhammad Junaidi. A conspiracy was hatched to murder Raziya

but the same leaked out. All the Muslim nobles were disgusted and no wonder they put Shah Turkan to death. When Rukn came to the help of his mother, he too was defeated and put to death. The reign of Rukn-ud-Din lasted for six months and seven days.

Sultana Raziya (1236-1240)

After the death of Rukn-ud-Din Firuz Shah, Sultana Raziya was put on the throne. Dr. R. P. Tripathi points out that considering "the time and general outlook of the Muslim people, chiefly of the military and religious classes, the selection of Raziya was unique and most daring. Although her reign lasted for three years and a half, yet its significance cannot be measured by them. At least it indicates the freshness and robustness of the Turkish mind in the thirteenth century, which then seemed to be capable of taking such a bold step and trying such an experiment. It was left to only one solitary jurist to observe, some three centuries afterwards, that the selection of Raziya was most curious, and to express his surprise at the action of contemporary jurists and Shaikhs who confirmed it. He explains it away by suggesting that it must have been due to the united support and power of the maliks". (*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 29).

Raziya had remarkable talents. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj "Raziya was a great sovereign, sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent, and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings". She marched in person against her enemies. She put aside her dress as a woman. She gave up the veil and "donned the tunic and assumed the head-dress of a man." She conducted the affairs of the state with considerable ability in open Darbar. She tried to "play the king" in all possible ways. In spite of all this, her rule ended after a brief period of three years and a half for the simple reason that she was a woman.

The throne which was ascended by Sultana Raziya was not a bed of roses. The Governors of Multan, Badaun, Hansi and Lahore openly revolted against her. Wazir Muhammad Junaidi and some other nobles refused to reconcile themselves to have a woman as their ruler. For some time, by intrigues and diplomacy, Raziya was able to create dissensions among the rebel Governors and nobles. Wazir Junaidi was defeated and he retired and died. She was also able to win over some of Muslim nobles to her side.

During her reign, some unorthodox sects among the Muslims raised the standard of revolt. They were led by Nur-ud-Din. They entered the Jama Masjid of Delhi and tried to harass the orthodox people by performing their own prayers. Raziya took no time in sending a force against them. They were crushed and order was restored in the capital.

It is contended that if Raziya had not been a woman, she would have been a most successful ruler in India. Her great weakness was her sex. Elphinston points out that even "her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from (this) single weakness". She began to show undue favours to Jamal-ud-Din Yaqut, an Abyssinian slave, who was raised to the post of the master of stables. Ibn Batuta says that her fondness for the Abyssinian was criminal. However, no such allegation has been made by Minhaj-us-Siraj, the contemporary writer. He simply says that the Abyssinian "acquired favour

in attendance upon the Sultana". The only allegation made against Raziya by Ferishta is that "a very great degree of familirity was observed to exist between the Abyssinian and the Queen, so much so, that when she rode he always lifted her on horse by raising her up under the arms." According to Thomas, "It was not that a virgin Queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in submissive Prince Consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the palace harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her court, an Abyssinian moreover, the favours extended to whom the Turki nobles resented with one accord" (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 106). However, this view is not accepted by Major Raverty who contends that the attack of Thomas was without a just cause.

The nobles became jealous of Yaqut and turned against Raziya. There were simultaneous revolts in the various parts of the kingdom. The Governor of Lahore was the first to create trouble but he was defeated by Raziya. There was a serious rebellion in Bhatinda. Malik Ikhtiar-ud-Din Altunia, Governor of Bhatinda, refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Raziya. No wonder, Raziya accompanied by Yaqut marched against Altunia. On the way, the Turkish followers of Altunia murdered Yaqut and imprisoned Raziya. She was placed in charge of Altunia and her brother Bahram was proclaimed the Sultan of Delhi. Raziya felt that the only way out of the difficulties was to marry Altunia and she did accordingly. After that, the newly married couple marched towards Delhi. When she reached near Kaithal, she was deserted by the followers of Altunia. On 13th October, 1240, she was defeated by Bahram. On the next day, she was put to death along with her husband. Thus ended the brilliant career of a young lady who gave promise of her greatness.

Bahram Shah (1240-1242)

Muiz-ud-Din Bahram Shah was the third son of Iltutmish. He was put on the throne on the definite understanding that he would give a free hand to the Turkish Maliks and Amirs to administer the country without any interference on his part. The new post of *Naib-i-Mamlikat* was created and Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Aeitigin was appointed to that post. Although Muhazab-ud-Din continued to be the Wazir, he occupied a secondary position. All power was in the hands of the nobles and their nominee.

Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Aeitigin began to exercise all those powers which formerly were exercised by the king. He even exercised the prerogatives of the king. He married a sister of the king and began to consider himself more powerful than the king himself. This was obviously too much for the king to put up with and no wonder he got him murdered.

Badr-ud-Din Sunqar was the Amir-i-Hajib and he was one of the Forty nobles in the court. He appropriated all the power which was formerly exercised by the Naib-i-Mumlikat. Bahram Shah could not put up with this and consequently made common cause with the Wazir and banished Sunqar. As the latter came back to the court without permission, he was arrested and put to death.

The deaths of Aeitigin and Sunqar alarmed the Turks and they joined hands with the Ulema against the Sultan. A conspiracy was hatched and in pursuance of that, Bahram Shah was captured and put to death in May 1242.

It is to be noted that during the reign of Bahram Shah, the Mongols attacked India under Tair in 1241. Their first target was Multan but the Governor of Multan, Kabir Khan Ayaz, put up a stiff resistance. Without capturing Multan, the Mongols marched towards Lahore and captured it in December 1241. The Government of Lahore was taken unawares and unprepared. The garrison was ill-equipped on account of mutual dissensions. The merchants and people of Lahore who traded with Central Asia and had to get passports and other facilities from the Mongols, did not like the idea of opposing them. An army was sent by Bahram Shah under Wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk but nothing came out of it. Malik Qaraqash, Governor of Lahore, defended the city for some time but finding the job hopeless, escaped from the city. The city was captured and plundered. The residents of Lahore were massacred and after that the Mongols retired.

Ala-ud-Din Masud-Shah (1242-1246)

Masud Shah ruled for four years. He was the grandson of Iltutmish and the son of Rukn-ud-Din Firuz Shah. During his reign, the Turkish nobles were supreme. The new Sultan was forced to delegate all powers to the Forty. He was merely to enjoy the title of the Sultan. The job of the Naib-i-Mamlikat was created once again and that office was filled up by Malik Qutb-ud-Din Hasan. The other important positions in the administration were occupied by the other members of the Forty. Muhazab-ud-Din, the Wazir, occupied the same position as was formerly occupied by the Naib. Differences arose between the aristocracy and the Wazir and ultimately the Wazir was dismissed. Balban was appointed Amir-i-Hajib. Gradually, he was able to concentrate practically all power in his own hands.

It was during the reign of Masud Shah that Tughar Khan, Governor of Bengal, defied the authority of the Sultan and became independent. He also annexed Bihar. He went to the extent of invading Avadh. Multan and Uch also became independent. In 1245, Multan was invaded and occupied by Saif-ud-Din Hasan Qarlagh. In 1245, the Mongols appeared in India. They invaded Multan and drove out Hasan Qarlagh. After that, they laid siege to Uch. Sultan Mahmud advanced against the Mongols as far as the Beas and on hearing the advance of the king, the Mongols raised siege and left India.

A conspiracy was hatched in which Balban, Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud and his mother participated. Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud allowed himself to be hurried to the capital disguised as a sick man and then veiled as a woman. Masud Shah was deposed and Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud became king in June, 1246.

Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud (1246-1266)

Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud owed his throne to the Turkish aristocracy and the latter was bound to have tremendous influence in the administration. The new Sultan also knew the fate of those who opposed the powerful aristocracy. It is contended that Nasir-ud-Din resigned all powers into the hands of Turkish aristocracy, particularly Balban, and merely continued to reign only in name for about twenty years. It is also pointed out that he lived a very simple life, spending most of his time in copying the Holy Quran. He was so simple that he did not allow his wife to have a maid servant. It

is stated that on one occasion the fingers of his wife were burnt while cooking and she requested the Sultan to provide a maid-servant for her. The reply of the Sultan was that as he was merely a trustee of the State, he could not spend money on his personal comforts. This story is obviously incorrect as the wife of the Sultan was the daughter of Balban and it was too much to expect from such a lady that she would cook her food herself. Moreover, it is also known that Nasir-ud-Din had more than one wife and very many slaves.

Dr. P. Saran differs from the view of other writers with regard to the character of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud. He points out that the young Sultan began his reign with great enthusiasm but that was not palatable to Balban who wanted to keep all the powers in his own hands. The young Sultan was far-sighted and waited for an appropriate opportunity to challenge Balban. A time came when Balban became unpopular with the Turkish nobility, including his relatives and the Sultan took advantage of this opportunity and expelled Balban and brought in Imad-ud-Din Raihan. During the brief period of supremacy of Raihan the young Sultan was actually the ruler. When Balban became strong once again and Raihan was ousted, the Sultan had no hesitation in doing what he was ordered to do by Balban. On the bidding of Balban, Nasir-ud-Din banished *Malika-i-Jahan*, his own mother. The Sultan cared more for his own safety than the life of his mother. Dr. P. Saran also points out that when Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud became king, he was only a lad of seventeen and could not be expected to become recluse at that age. There is nothing to show that the Sultan had no interest in wordly affairs. On the other hand, the Sultan positively showed great energy and still in waging holy wars on the infidels. Mahmud is said to have led seven campaigns into the neighbouring territories. It is pointed out that despite his much proclaimed religiosity, the Sultan was as ambitious to enjoy wordly power and comforts as any virulent and materialist monarch. The way he took part in the conspiracy to depose Masud Shah also shows his true character.

The Mongols created trouble during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din. They made several raids upon Multan and Lahore and extorted a lot of booty in gold, silk and other valuables from the citizens. They also carried away a large number of people as captives from those cities. In November 1246, the Sultan crossed the river Ravi and advanced to the banks of the Chenab. He sent Balban to the Jud hills and the Salt Range to punish the Khokhars. Balban dealt with them effectively. When Balban was encamped on the banks of the river Jehlum, Mongol force made its appearance. However, it retired when they found that Balban was ready to meet them. It was in this way that the danger from the Mongols was met during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud.

Kishlu Khan was the brother of Balban. He had been appointed the Governor of Multan and Uch by Raihan. When Balban was restored, Kishlu Khan revolted and accepted the suzerainty of Hulagu Khan of Khorasan. Thus, Multan became a part of the Mongol dominions. In 1256, Qutlugh Khan, Amir of Bayana, moved into the Punjab to the bank of the Beas and joined the army of Kishlu Khan. The joint forces marched upon the fort of Samanah. It is true that the rebels were defeated by Balban but that led to an increase in bitterness. After a few months, the Mongol army under Nuyin Salin invaded the southern frontier, and it was joined by Kishlu Khan

from Uch. They destroyed the defences of Multan. There was a lot of terror among the people and Balban made preparations against the Mongols but as they had come merely to plunder, they retired from the country.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban (1266-86) : Early Life

Balban was the greatest of the slave kings. His original name was Baha-ud-Din. He was a Ilbari Turk. When he was young, he was captured by the Mongols and carried him to Ghazni and sold to Khawaja Jamal-ud-Din of Basra, a man of piety and learning. The latter brought him to Delhi in 1232 A.D. along with other slaves and all of them were purchased by Iltutmish. Balban belonged to the famous band of Turkish slaves of Iltutmish known as "The Forty (Chahelgan)". By his efforts, he became the Amir-i-Shikar or Lord of the Hunt in the reign of Raziya Sultana. He helped the Turkish nobles in overthrowing Raziya. He was given the jagir of Rewari in the Punjab by Bahram Shah. He was also given the district of Hansi. In 1246, he forced the Mongols to raise the seige of Uch. He was instrumental in overthrowing Masud Shah and putting Nasir ud-Din Mahmud on the throne of Delhi. As he was instrumental in putting Nasir-ud-Din on the throne, the latter placed all power in his hands. Kishlu Khan, the younger brother of Balban, was appointed Amir-i-Hajib or Lord Chamberlain. Sher Khan, his cousin, was appointed the Governor of Lahore and Bhatinda. In 1249, Balban was appointed Naib-i-Mumlikat. In the same year, he married his daughter to Sultan Nasir-ud-Din. It was in this way that all power came into the hands of Balban.

In 1253, there was a temporary eclipse in the power of Balban. There were many Turkish nobles who hated Balban as he had monopolized all power. Imad-ud-Din Raihan put himself at the head of all those who were opposed to Balban. The Sultan also joined them. The result was that in 1253, Balban and his brother were dismissed. Raihan became Prime Minister. This Raihan has been described as a renegade Hindu, vile upstart, usurper and a conspirator. The truth is that he was nothing of the kind. He was as good a Muslim as any Turk. He was neither a ruffian nor a scoundrel. However, he was a clever politician who took advantage of the dissatisfaction amongst the nobles and the Sultan and managed to usurp power. Raihan was not able to remain in power for long. The Turkish nobles joined hands once again with Balban and in 1254, Raihan was dismissed and Balban was re-appointed as Naib.

After his restoration, Balban continued the policy of consolidating his authority. Tughan Khan, the Governor of Bengal, had repudiated the authority of Delhi and even invaded Avadh. However, Tughan Khan requested Balban to help him when he was defeated by the Raja of Jajnagar in Orissa. Tamur Khan was sent by Balban with instructions to take charge of Bengal itself and the same was done by him successfully. Tughan Khan was compensated otherwise but he died soon after. Bengal gave trouble to Balban once again. One of the successors of Tughan Khan took up royal title, struck coins and got the Khutba read in this own name in about 1255. However, he died in 1257 and the rule of Delhi was established in Bengal. There was trouble once again when Arslan Khan, Governor of Kara occupied Lakhnauti and ruled Bengal as an independent ruler and this state of affairs continued till the end of the reign of Nasir-ud-Din.

Balban also took steps to crush the Hindus of Doab. There was a bitter fighting and a large number of Hindus were slaughtered and their women and children were made slaves. Balban also punished the people of Mewat with his usual brutality. Ranthambhor was captured after many expeditions. In 1247, Balban suppressed a rising of the Chandela Chief of Kalinjar. In 1251, he led an expedition against the ruler of Gwalior.

Balban as King

When Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud died in 1266, Balban himself became the Sultan. At the time of his succession to the throne, Balban had to meet many difficulties. The affairs of the state had fallen into confusion on account of the incompetence of the successors of Iltutmish. The royal treasury was practically empty. The prestige of the state had sunk low. The arrogance of the Turkish nobles had increased. To quote Barani, "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of the state, had departed from the hearts of all men and the country had fallen into a wretched condition". The Delhi Sultan was also exposed to Mongol raids. Balban proved himself to be more than an equal for the emergency.

The Doab

After creating a strong and efficient army, he dicided to restore order in the Doab and the neighbourhood of Delhi. On account of the predatory raids of the Rajputs of Mewat and different robber bands, life, property and commerce had become unsafe. The officers of the Sultan found it difficult to collect revenue. Soon after his accession, Balban was able to clear the neighbourhood of Delhi from robbers and rebels who were punished with a heavy hand. The jungles were cleared. He personally took part in the operations against the rebels in the Doab and Avadh. They were ruthlessly driven away. Military posts were set up at Bhojpur, Patiali, Kampil and Jalali and ferocious Afghan troops were put in them. In Katehar (Rohilkhand), Balban ordered his troops to attack the villages. The houses of the people were burnt and orders were passed to kill the whole of the adult male population. Women and children were made slaves. In every village and jungle, there were heaps of human corpses. The terror created was so great that the people of Katehar did not dare to raise their heads once again for a long time.

Bengal

Tughril Khan was the deputy of Balban in Bengal. He was an active, courageous and generous Turk and his administration was efficient. The old age of Balban and the Mongol invasions encouraged Tughril Khan to declare his independence. Balban was upset when he heard the news of the revolt of Tughril Khan. He sent a large army to Bengal under Alptgin entitled Amir Khan. However, Amir Khan was defeated and his troops went over to the side of Tughril Khan. Balban was so much annoyed that he ordered Amir Khan to be hanged over the gate of Delhi. In 1280, another army was sent to Bengal under Malik Targhi. This expedition was also unsuccessful. Balban "now devoted all his attention and energy to effect the defeat of Tughril" and decided to go to Bengal personally. Balban took his son Bughra Khan to Bengal. When Tughril Khan heard of the approach of Balban, he left Lakhnauti and fled into the jungles of Jajnagar. Balban advanced into Eastern Bengal in pursuit of Tughril Khan and his followers. They were incidentally discovered by Sher Andaz, a follower of Balban. Malik Muqaddir

brought Tughril Khan down with an arrow shot. His head was cut off and his body was thrown into the river. His relatives and most of his troops were captured. Balban inflicted exemplary punishments on the relatives and followers of Tughril Khan. Barani tells us that "on either side of the principal bazar (of Lakhnauti), in a street more than two miles in length, a raw of stakes was set up and the adherents of Tughril were impaled upon them. None of the beholders had ever seen a spectacle so terrible and many swooned with terror and disgust". The Sultan appointed Bughra Khan as Governor of Bengal. Before leaving, Balban addressed Bughra Khan in these words : "Understand me and forget not that if the Governors of Hind or Sindh, of Malwa or Gujrat, Lakhnauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then such punishment, as has fallen on Tughril and his dependants, will fall upon them, their wives and children, and all their adherents". Bughra Khan and his descendants continued to rule in Bengal upto 1339 A.D.

The Mongols

The menace of the Mongols became very great during the time of Balban. Their raids became more frequent and powerful. Balban always kept himself in readiness to meet the danger on the frontiers. He made it a point never to go very far from Delhi. He was not satisfied with the negative policy of defence and consequently followed an aggressive policy of subjugating or crushing the Khokhars and other tribes which had never ceased to plunder and ravage the frontier districts of the Delhi Sultanate. His plan was to bring their territory under the Delhi Sultanate so as to deprive the invaders of the advantage of a safe passage through the tribal country. Balban led an attack on the Salt Range and chastised the Khokhars. It is to be noted that Balban failed to establish a permanent foot-hold on the land. He also failed to win over the friendship of the Khokhars.

Balban adopted other measures for the defence of the Western frontier. He maintained forts on the routes of the invaders in perfect preparedness. Those forts were fully garrisoned and equipped. He built new forts or watch-posts wherever necessary. He kept a vigilant watch on the routes. He appointed as wardens of the marches tried and experienced military officers such as Sher Khan Sanqar. The latter was a very distinguished warrior of that period. He had been the Governor of Bhatinda, Bhatnir, Sunam and Samana. His presence on the frontier was a guarantee of security. Both the Mongols and the Khokhars dreaded him. Unfortunately Balban became jealous of him and brought about his death by poison.

The result of the death of Sher Khan Sanqar was that the Mongols, Khokhars and other tribes once again started their raids in 1271. Balban put Timur Khan in charge of Sunam and Samana. The other Amirs were put in charge of the other Iqtas and forts. The arrangements did not succeed. It was under these circumstances that Balban put his son Muhammad in charge of the southern frontier. Muhammad made Multan as his headquarters. The Mongols invaded again in 1279 and 1285. These invasions were so great that they strained all the might and resources of the Sultan. The Mongols were defeated and driven away. In 1286, the Mongols re-appeared and this time Prince Muhammad was killed. Poet Amir Khusru was also captured. It is true that Balban re-occupied Lahore but his authority did not extend beyond that. The whole of the region

beyond the river Ravi continued to be under the control of the Mongols.

Death

It is to be noted that Balban did not live long after the death of his son, Muhammad, in 1286 at the hands of the Mongols. The shock was so great that the Sultan never recovered from it. When Balban found his end coming near, he called his son Bughra Khan from Bengal to stay with him but he was so afraid of the stern nature of his father that he slipped away to Bengal. The result was that Balban appointed Kai-Khusrau, the son of Muhammad, as his heir and died soon after in 1286.

Destruction of "The Forty"

Balban was responsible for the destruction of "The Forty". Balban knew full well that "The Forty" would never allow him to exercise all the powers of the Sultan. He had not forgotten that they had reduced the Sultan to the position to a figure-head by usurping all his powers. Balban promoted junior Turks to important positions and put them on a position of equality with "The Forty". Whenever any member of "The Forty" made any mistake, he was severely punished. It is stated that when Malik Baqbaq, Governor of Badaun caused his servant to be beaten to death, Balban ordered Baqbaq to be publicly flogged. Haibat Khan was the Governor of Avadh. He was found guilty of killing a man while drunk with wine. Balban ordered him to be flogged with 500 stripes and he was handed over to the widow of victim. Haibat Khan had to pay 20,000 tankas to the widow and he never left his house after that till his death. Balban got Amin Khan, Governor of Avadh, hanged at the gate of the city of Ayodhya. Sher Khan Sanqar was got poisoned as Balban was jealous of him. The result was that Balban was able to destroy "The Forty". Those nobles who escaped death or dismissal, became submissive on account of terror.

Spy System

Balban organised a very efficient system of espionage. Secret reporters were put in every department. Secret news-writers were stationed in every Province and in every district. The news-writers were given good salaries and kept independent of the Governors and the Commanders and they were required to send correct news unmindful of the person involved. They were severely punished if they failed in their duty. It is stated that the news-writer of Badaun did not report the conduct of Malik Baqbaq and consequently he was hanged over the city gate. It was with the help of this spy system that Balban was able to strengthen his position.

Cancellation of Grants

Balban reorganized his army and made it an efficient instrument. In the time of Iltutmish, some lands had been granted on condition of military service. The grantees continued to enjoy those lands although some of them were dead and others had become old. Their descendants had "taken possession of the grants as an inheritance from their fathers and had caused their names to be recorded in records of the Ariz (Muster-master)". There was a general tendency on their part to evade service in the field. Balban resumed the old grants but allotted subsistence allowances to the grantees according to their age. There was a lot of discontentment and ultimately

Balban cancelled the orders for the resumption of lands. The result was that the abuse continued.

Balban put Imad-ul-Mulk in charge of the army. He was appointed Diwan-i-Ariz or Army Minister. He was a very competent officer. He was made independent of the Minister of Finance. He took keen interest in matters relating to recruitment, salary and equipment of the troops. The result was that strict discipline was enforced in the army which became really efficient.

Conception of Kingship

Balban's conception of kingship was similar to that of the theory of divine right of kings. He cast a halo of superiority round monarchy. He took up the title of *Zilli Illah* or shadow of God. Although the Khalifa of Baghdad was no more, he continued to inscribe the name of the deceased Khalifa on his coins. That was due to the fact that he felt that he would be respected and feared more if the royal title was in line with the religious beliefs of the Muslims. Balban expounded his views on monarchy to his son Bughra Khan in these words: "The heart of the King is the special repository of God's favour and in this he has no equal among mankind."

Balban believed in despotism. His conviction was that only a despot could exact obedience from his subjects and ensure the security of the state. He claimed descent from the mythical Turkish hero, Afrasiyab of Turan and always kept himself aloof from the people. As soon as he came to the throne, he gave up wine and jovial company. He introduced the *Sijda* or prostration and *Paibos* or kissing the feet of the monarch in the court as the normal form of salutation for the king. He introduced the system of *Nauroz* to add to the dignity of his court. By all these means, Balban was able to restore the prestige of the king.

Estimate

According to Lane-Poole, "Balban, the slave, water-carrier, huntsman, general, statesman and Sultan is one of the most striking figures among many notable men in the long line of the kings of Delhi." According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "A great warrior, ruler and statesman, who saved the infant Muslim state from extinction at a critical time, Balban will ever remain a great figure in medieval Indian history. He was the precursor of Ala-ud-Din; but for the security and stability which he imparted to the struggling power of the Muslims in India, it would have been impossible for Ala-ud-Din to withstand successfully the Mongol attacks and to achieve conquests in distant lands, which have won for him an honoured place in the Walhalla of Muslim history." (*Medieval India*, p. 199).

According to Barani, "Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban was a man of experience in matters of government. From being a Malik, he became a Khan and from Khan he became a king.........In the first and second years he assumed great state, and made great display of his pomp and dignity. Muslims and Hindus would come from distances of one or two hundred leagues to see the splendour of his equipage, which filled them with amazement. No sovereign had ever before exhibited such pomp and grandeur in Delhi. For the twenty-two years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour, and majesty of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. Certain of his attendants who waited on him in private assured me that they never saw him otherwise than in full dress. During the whole time that

he was Khan and Sultan, extending over nearly forty years, he never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation, and never indulged in any familiarity, either with friends or strangers, by which the dignity of the Sovereign could be lowered. He never joked with any one, nor did he allow any one to joke in his presence; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit any one in his Court to laugh. As long as he lived no officer or acquaintance dared to recommend for employment any person of low position or extraction. In the administration of justice he was inflexible, showing no favour to his brothers or children, to his associates or attendants and if any of them committed an act of injustice he never failed to give redress and comfort to the injured person. No man dared to be too severe to his slaves or hand-maids, to his horsemen or footmen."

It cannot be denied that Balban was very harsh and cruel. In the achievement of his goal, he did not care for the means. He was very cruel towards all those who could in any way challenge his authority. Clemency and forgiveness were not known to him. The only consolation that he had in his mind was that he was able to rule for many decades without any serious challenge to his authority.

In his private life, Balban was affectionate and tender-hearted. The shock of the death of his eldest son, Prince Muhammad, practically killed him. He gave shelter to thousands of refugees from Central Asia. He was often found in tears while attending a funeral.

Balban was a great patron of learning. A large number of learned men from Central Asia were welcomed. They were given liberal maintenance allowances and also separate quarters. Amir Khusru, one of the greatest Persian poets, flourished in his time and lived in the court of his son, Prince Muhammad. Likewise, Amir Hassan was patronized by Prince Muhammad.

Balban occupies a very prominent place in the history of Muslim rule in India. He raised the prestige of the Delhi Sultanate and gave peace to the people.

Kaiqubad (1287-1290)

Before his death, Balban had nominated his grand-son, Kaikhusrau, son of Prince Muhammad, as his successor. However, Fakhr-ud-Din, the Kotwal of Delhi, set aside the nomination of his master and put Kaiqubad, son of Bughra Khan, on the throne. The new king took up the title of Muiz-ud-Din Kaiqubad.

When he became king, Kaiqubad was only 17 years old. A lot of check had been put on his life by Balban. The result was that when he became king, he tried to make up for his past deficiency by indulging in wine and women. The example set by the king was followed by his courtiers. The result was that administration was completely neglected. All power was taken into his hands by Nizam-ud-Din, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-Din, Kotwal of Delhi and the Sultan became a puppet in his hands.

The Mongols.

The Mongols attacked in the time of Kaiqubad. Their leader was Tamar Khan of Ghazni. They carried rapine and plunder as far as Samana. However, the well-organised defence measures set up by Balban were still strong and no wonder the Mongols were defeated and they had to go back after terrible losses. Malik Baqbaq played an important part in the defeat of Mongols.

Bughra Khan in Delhi

It is stated that Bughra Khan, the father of Kaiqubad, marched towards Delhi at the head of a big army with a view to snatch the throne from the hands of his son. Another view is that his only object was to advise his son to give up a life of ease and pleasure and attend to his work as king with devotion. Bughra Khan reached the Ghaghra near Ayodhya in 1288. Kaiqubad also proceeded against his father at the head of an equally big army. However, a reconciliation was brought about between the father and the son. Bughra Khan agreed to pay homage to the Sultan of Delhi and he actually did so. However, towards the end of the ceremony, Kaiqubad broke down and fell at the feet of his father and took him to the throne. Bughra Khan remained with his son for a few days and then retired to Bengal. However, before leaving he advised his son to give up his life of ease and pleasures and attend to his duties as king whole-heartedly. Kaiqubad cared for the advice of his father for some time but after that, he again gave himself up to a life of pleasure.

After the death of Nizam-ud-Din, Jalalud-Din Firuz was given the important fief of Bulandshahr and was also appointed the commander of the army of the Sultan. The new appointment was resented by all the Turkish nobles who considered Jalal-ud-Din as a non-Turk. Kaiqubad also suffered from paralysis. The Turkish nobles took advantage of the situation and put a son of Kaiqubad on the throne. The new king was given the title of Shams-ud-Din Kayumars. An attempt was made to dispose of Jalal-ud-Din but the latter was on his guard. He occupied Delhi and got Kaiqubad murdered. He himself became the regent of the infant king who after some time was put to death and thus Jalal-ud-Din Firuz seated himself on the throne in March 1290. Thus, the so-called Slave Dynasty came to an end after a rule of about 84 years.

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, the rule of the Slave kings, though disfigured by some intolerance and by gross cruelty towards the disaffected, was as just and humane as that of the Norman kings in England and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and the Netherlands.

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CHAPTER VII

THE KHALJI DYNASTY

Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji (1290-1296)

Jalal-ud-Din Khalji was the founder of the Khalji dynasty. He came to power after the overthrow of the so-called Slave Dynasty. This event has been described by Dr. R. P. Tripathi as Khalji Revolution. Dr. Tripathi is of the opinion that "One of the most significant consequences of the Khalji Revolution was that it gave a heavy blow to the growing sentiment of loyalty that was gathering round the throne of Delhi and was likely to bear good results. If the Khaljis had not nipped in the bud the traditions of dignity and loyalty and had allowed them to grow up and reach full stature, the element of militarism would have been minimized, and new traditions of rights and duties of command and obedience, would have properly crystallised as in some other countries of the world. Unfortunately, Khalji Revolution threw into shade the civil side of the government, and accentuating the military aspects established a dangerous precedent that continued to sap the vitality of the Delhi Sultanate."

The assumption of royal power by Jalal-ud-Din Khalji was not universally accepted. The leading Turkish Amirs hated the Khaljis who were considered to be low-born Afghans. Some of the relatives of Balban like Malik Chhajju were still alive and they would like to overthrow Jalal-ud-Din. The people of Delhi were also not happy over his accession to the throne and consequently Jalal-ud-Din had to remain at Kilokhri for a year before he could shift to Delhi. Kilokhri was a new city which had been built by Kaiqubad a few miles away from Delhi. The new Sultan entered Delhi only when he felt that he had won over the people by his acts of generosity. Malik Chhajju was allowed to retain the governorship of Kara Manikpur. Malik Fakhr-ud-Din was confirmed as the Kotwal of Delhi. The Sultan confirmed the Turkish nobles in the offices they held during the previous reign. Malik Ahmad Chap was appointed Amir-i-Hajib or Master of Ceremonies. Ala-ud-Din and Almas Beg were also rewarded.

It is true that before becoming king, Jalal-ud-Din had won many battles and was known to be the most experienced and powerful Turkish nobleman, but after becoming king, he decided to follow a policy of peace. He refused to shed blood of any Muslim for political or territorial gains. He was not prepared to use his sword even to punish rebels, thieves or *Thugs*. No wonder, Professor S. R. Sharma calls him "Clemency King Firuz". He further observes that Firuz was too kind to be a king in an age when blood and iron alone could tell. His mild policy was resented by his followers and the same was attributed to his old age and cowardice.

Revolt of Malik Chhajju

During the second year of his reign, Jalal-ud-Din had to face the revolt of Malik Chhajju. The original name of Chhajju was Kishlu Khan. He was a nephew of Balban and would like to put himself on the throne, if possible. He opposed Jalal-ud-Din before

he became king but after his accession, he submitted and was given the Jagir of Kara. In spite of this, Chhajju entered into an alliance with Hatim, Governor of Avadh and raised the standard of revolt. At the head of his followers, Chhajju marched towards Delhi. Arkali Khan, son of Jalal-ud-Din, was sent against Chhajju. Chhajju was defeated and he and his followers were captured and brought before the Sultan. Instead of punishing them, the Sultan pardoned them and fed them from the royal kitchen. Chhajju was sent to Multan and arrangements were made for his comforts. The Sultan also praised the loyalty of the followers of Chhajju to their master. The young Khaljis, led by Ahmad Chap, protested against this policy and warned the Sultan of the consequences of such a weak policy. However, the Sultan did not pay any heed. Kara was given to Ala-ud-Din, the son-in-law of Jalal-ud-Din.

Thugs and Thieves

A similar policy was followed by Jalal-ud-Din while dealing with thieves and robbers. It is pointed out that thefts and robberies had become common on account of the general confusion prevailing in the country. Once upon a time, a number of thieves were arrested and brought before the Sultan. Instead of punishing them, the Sultan gave them a lecture on the evils of stealing.

On another occasion, thousands of thugs and murderers who had made the lives of the people of Delhi intolerable, were captured. Instead of punishing them, the Sultan sent them to Bengal in boats down the Ganges and there they were set free.

The Amirs

Some Amirs were so disgusted with the mild policy of the Sultan that they began to discuss openly plans to overthrow him. In one of the social gatherings, plans were drawn to depose and murder Jalal-ud-Din and put Taj-ud-Din Kuchi or Ahmad Chap on the throne. However, the Sultan came to know of those plans and rebuked the Amirs for their conduct. He threw his sword before them and challenged any one of them to have the courage to use the same against him. That had the desired effect. After a stern warning, the Sultan pardoned the Amirs.

Siddi Maula

However, there was one departure from his policy of leniency in the case of Siddi-Maula. The Maula was a disciple of Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar of Pak-Pattan. The Maula had built a very big Khankah. He fed thousands of poor people daily. The big nobles of the kingdom also went to the Maula for religious instructions. The allegation was that a plot had been formed by a number of Amirs to murder the Sultan and put Siddi Maula on the throne. The plot was unearthed and Siddi Maula and his principal followers were arrested. While arguing with Siddi Maula, Jalal-ud-Din lost his temper and had him put to death by an elephant. A Muslim fanatic who was opposed to Siddi Maula, slashed the Maula several times with a razor and stabbed him with a packing needle. The Sultan who had pardoned rebels, traitors and thieves was responsible for the death of a man of peace whose fault had yet to be established. It is said that at the time of the death of the saint, there was a huge storm and the people attributed it to the great injustice done to the Darvaish.

Ranthambor

As regards his foreign policy, he led his first expedition against Ranthambor in 1290. The ruler offered stiff resistance. The result was that the Sultan gave up the campaign and came back to Delhi. The plea put forward by the Sultan was that "he did not value the fort so much as the hair of one Mussalman". Ahmad Chap tried to impress upon the Sultan the dangers of such a policy but that had absolutely no effect on the Sultan.

Ala-ud-Din Exploits

Another expedition was undertaken against *Mandawar* which was captured in 1292. In 1292, Ala-ud-Din invaded *Malwa* and captured the town of Bhilsa. On his return, Ala-ud-Din was made the Governor of Avadh in addition to that of Kara. In 1294, Ala-ud-Din defeated Ram Chandra Deva, the ruler of *Devagiri*. He brought from there a lot of wealth.

The Mongols

India was attacked by the Mongols during the reign of Jalal-ud-Din. Abdullah, grandson of Halaku, attacked India in 1292 and advanced as far as Sunam. In spite of his old age, Jalal-ud-Din went in person to oppose them and was successful in defeating them. However, the Sultan allowed some of the Mongols to settle in India. The descendants of those Mongols came to be known as New Mussalmans.

Devagiri

Ala-ud-Din was the nephew and son-in-law of Jalal-ud-Din. He was a very ambitious man. He heard of the wealth of the Deccan and decided to have the same. He started for the Deccan at the head of 18,000 horsemen. While proceeding towards the Deccan, he gave out that he was dissatisfied with his uncle and was going to the South to have service under some Hindu ruler. The result was that no resistance was offered to him on the way. However, when he entered the boundaries of Devagiri, Raja Ram Chandra decided to give battle to Ala-ud-Din Khalji but he was defeated. At that time, a large number of soldiers of Devagiri had gone to the South to fight against a fellow Hindu Raja. It was due to this reason that the ruler of Devagiri was defeated and he was made to pay a heavy tribute. When the son of Ram Chandra came back from the South with his troops, he refused to pay tribute as promised and decided to fight. It is true that for some time the Hindu armies had the upper hand but ultimately they were defeated. Ala-ud-Din came back to Kara after getting a lot of riches.

Murder of Jalal-ud-Din

It is contended that when Ala-ud-Din had gone to Devagiri, the advisers of the Sultan tried to impress upon him that Ala-ud-Din was a very ambitious person and had his eye even on the throne and timely action should be taken against him. The only reply of Jalal-ud-Din was that he loved Ala-ud-Din as his son and was prepared to do anything for him. Ulugh Khan, brother of Ala-ud-Din, tried to impress upon the Sultan that Ala-ud-Din was anxious to present to the Sultan the wealth he had got from Devagiri but he was afraid of coming to Delhi as he had undertaken the expedition to Devagiri without the consent of the Sultan. Disregarding the warnings of his advisers, Jalal-ud-Din decided to go to Kara to meet his son-in-

law there. The Sultan left Delhi for Kara. Ala-ud-Din crossed the Ganges to Manikpur. While keeping his army in readiness, he sent his brother Ulugh Khan to persuade the Sultan to fall into the trap laid for him. Ulugh Khan met the Sultan and persuaded him not to allow his army to cross to the eastern bank of the river Ganges as Ala-ud-Din was still afraid of the Sultan and might either commit suicide or take refuge by flight. The Sultan acted accordingly in spite of the protests of his followers. Jalal-ud-Din went to meet his son-in-law with a few unarmed attendants. Jalal-ud-Din embraced Ala-ud-Din but the latter gave a signal to Muhammad Salim who gave two sword-blows to the Sultan. Jalal-ud-Din tried to escape crying "Ala-ud-Din, wretch! What have you done?" It was then that another follower of Ala-ud-Din cut the head of the Sultan from his body. The other followers of the Sultan were also put to death. The head of Jalal-ud-Din was put on a spear and paraded through the Provinces of Kara, Manikpur and Avadh. It was in this way that "one of the basest murders in history" was prepetrated.

As regards an estimate of Jalal-ud-Din, he was a successful general before becoming king but gave up the policy of aggression after becoming the Sultan. He followed a policy of peace and reconciliation towards all. He was very modest. It is stated that he did not ride in the courtyard of the palace of Balban and also refused to sit upon it on the ground that he used to stand before it as a servant. The Mongols were successfully repulsed by the Sultan. However, the Sultan was intolerant towards the Hindus. He destroyed and desecrated their temples and broke their images. He was responsible for the death of Siddi Maula.

Ala-ud-Din Khalji (1296-1316)

Accession

Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the nephew of Jalal-ud-Din Firuz. As Ala-ud-Din was fatherless, he was brought up by Jalal-ud-Din with affection and care and also made his son-in-law. When Jalal-ud-Din became the Sultan, he gave Ala-ud-Din the fief of Kara in the district of Allahabad. It was here that Ala-ud-Din became ambitious. Barani tells us that "crafty suggestions of the Kara rebels made a lodgement in his brain, and, from the very first year of his occupation of that territory, he began to follow up his design of proceeding to some distant quarter and amassing money". Due to the intrigues of Malika-Jahan, his mother-in-law, and his wife which made him unhappy, Ala-ud-Din decided to make himself independent of Delhi. In 1292, he successfully invaded Malwa and captured the town of Bhilsa. He was also given the fief of Avadh. Ala-ud-Din also invaded Devagiri and defeated its ruler. He came back to Kara with a lot of booty in gold, silver, silk, pearls and precious stones. He had no intention of sharing this wealth with Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and through cleverness was able to bring about his murder. On 19th July, 1296. Ala ud-Din was proclaimed Sultan in his camp. Barani rightly points out that Ala-ud-Din also "did not escape retribution for the blood of his patron......Fate at length placed a betrayer in his path (Malik Kafur) by whom his family was destroyed......and the retribution which befell upon it never had a parallel even in any infidel land".

Rival on Throne

The murder of Jalal-ud-Din did not put Ala-ud-Din on the throne of Delhi. As soon as *Malik Jahan* learnt about the murder of her

husband, she put her younger son **Qadir Khan Rukun-ud-Din** (Ibrahim) on the throne and called for her elder son Arkali Khan from Multan. Without wasting any time, Ala-ud-Din marched towards Delhi from Kara. On his way to Delhi, he scattered small gold and silver coins among the people. The distribution of the gold brought by Ala-ud-Din from the South won for him a large number of followers. He was also able to win over the bulk of the army by fair and foul means. When Ibrahim found that resistance was impossible, he fled towards Multan with his mother and Ahmad Chap. Ala-ud-Din entered Delhi and occupied the palace of Balban. On 3rd October, 1296, he was proclaimed the Sultan of Delhi.

It is true that Ala-ud-Din was on the throne of Delhi but he knew that his position was still insecure. No wonder, he sent a large army under his brother Ulugh Khan to capture his rivals. Ulugh Khan captured Multan and blinded Ibrahim, Arkali Khan and Ahmad Chap. Malika Jahan, widow of Jalal-ud-Din, was imprisoned.

Destruction of Jalali Nobles

Ala-ud-Din also had to deal with the Jalali nobles who were not loyal to him. Nusrat Khan was deputed to take strong measures against them. Their Jagirs were confiscated. Those nobles who had been won over by Ala-ud-Din with the help of money were also punished. The contention of Ala-ud-Din was that those nobles who had not been faithful to his uncle and could be bought with gold by him, could also betray him if an opportunity arose. The result was that some of those nobles were blinded, some were thrown into prison and some were put to death. Their Jagirs were incorporated in the Khalsa land. The wealth confiscated from them was put in the state treasury. It is estimated that Nusrat Khan added about a crore to the royal treasury.

Mongol Invasions

Ala-ud-Din had to face more than a dozen Mongol invasions. These invasions started from the end of 1296 and continued up to 1308 A.D. The Mongols threatened not only the Punjab, Multan and Sindh but even Delhi and the Ganga-Yamuna Doab.

The first Mongol invasion took place at the end of 1296. Zafar Khan was despatched against them. He defeated the Mongols near Jullunder and a large number of them were killed.

The second invasion took place in 1297. The Mongols had become so bold that they were able to capture the fort of Siri near Delhi. However, Zafar Khan who was responsible for the defence of the north-western frontier, defeated the Mongols and recaptured the fort of Siri. The Mongol leader along with 1700 followers was captured and brought to Delhi.

The third Mongol invasion took place in 1299 under their leader Qutlugh Khwaja. The Mongol leader had an army of more than two lakhs under his command. The Mongols had come to India this time not to plunder but to conquer the territory. Consequently, they did not plunder the people on the way to Delhi and after reaching the capital, they besieged the same. The situation was so grave that Ala-ud-Din consulted his friend Ala-ul-mulk, the Kotwal, regarding the course of action to be adopted. The Kotwal advised Ala-ud-Din not to fight against the Mongols but to come to terms with them. However, Ala-ud-Din rejected his advice and attacked the Mongols. The advance guard of the army was led by Zafar Khan who defeated

the Mongols and pursued them relentlessly. However, Zafar Khan was surrounded by the Mongols and killed in the battle-field. This did not improve matters and after some time the Mongols lost heart and retreated. The terror created by Zafar Khan in the minds of the Mongols was so great that whenever their horses did not drink water, the Mongol soldier urged them "by asking whether they had seen Zafar Khan that they feared to slake their thirst". Ala-ud-Din did not mind the death of Zafar Khan as he considered him to be dangerous to his own position.

The fourth Mongol invasion took place in 1303 when Ala-ud-Din was busy with the siege of Chittor. A Mongol army 12,000 strong under Taghi, its leader, reached Delhi. The movements of the Mongols were so quick that the governors were not able to send their contigents to Delhi. Ala-ud-Din was forced to take shelter in the fort of Siri which was besieged by the Mongols for two months. During this interval, the Mongols plundered not only the surrounding territory but also Delhi itself. Luckily, the Mongols retreated as they did not know the art of capturing towns by a regular siege.

The seriousness of the Mongolian invasion forced Ala-ud-din to take effective measures. Not only the old forts in the Punjab, Multan and Sindh were repaired, new ones were also built. Those forts were garrisoned with troops. An additional army was created for the purpose of guarding the frontier and a special governor known as the Warden of the Marches was appointed to protect the frontier. However, in spite of these measures, a Mongol army under the leadership of Ali Beg invaded the Punjab and appeared in the neighbourhood of Amroha. The Mongols plundered and burnt the territory on the way. Ghazi Malik and Malik Kafur were sent against them. They overtook the Mongols when they were going back with their plunder. The Mongols were defeated and their leaders were made prisoners. The top-most Mongol leaders were trampled to death by elephants. The other prisoners were also put to death and their heads put in the walls of the fort of Siri.

The Mongols appeared once again in 1306. They crossed the Indus near Multan and proceeded towards the Himalayas. Ghazi Malik who had been appointed the Governor of the Punjab in 1305, intercepted the Mongols and a large number of them were killed. 50,000 Mongols were made prisoners including Kabk, their leader. They were put to death and their children and wives were sold as slaves.

The last Mongol invasion took place in 1307-8 under their leader Iqbalmand. It is true that he crossed the Indus but he could not make any headway after that. He was defeated along with his followers and was also killed. A large number of Mongols were made prisoners and sent to Delhi where they were all put to death. The Mongols did not dare to attack India after 1308. Ala-ud-Din was able to reign in peace.

Ala-ud-Din followed the frontier policy of Balban. He strengthened the defences of the frontier. The most capable and trusted officers were put in charge of that area. Ghazi Malik was appointed the Governor of the Punjab in 1305 and he was able to check the Mongol invasions. All important forts on the route of the Mongols were repaired. New workshops to manufacture improved types of weapons were set up. Powerful armies were stationed at Dipalpur, Samana and Multan. The Mongols who had embraced Islam and

settled in India were massacred. Even their wives and children were brutally murdered. However, these harsh measures frightened the Mongols to such an extent that they gave up the idea of conquering India.

The Mongol policy of Ala-ud-Din was very successful. Ala-ud-Din had to keep a large standing army ready to meet the danger from the Mongols. However, when as a result of the successful frontier policy, the danger from the Mongols disappeared, the same army was utilized in the conquest of Southern India. Khalji militarism was also due to the fact that Ala-ud-Din had to maintain a large army to check the Mongol invasions. Most of the economic measures of Ala-ud-Din were adopted to meet the expenses of the huge army which had to be set up to meet the Mongol danger.

Conquest of Gujarat

After the first Mongol invasion, Ala-ud-Din sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to conquer Gujarat in 1299. Although it had been occasionally conquered, it had remained unsubdued. At that time, it was being ruled by Rai Karan Deva II, a Bagela Rajput Prince. The Delhi army besieged Anhilwara and captured it. Kamla Devi, the beautiful queen of Karan Deva II, fell into the hands of the invaders and she was taken away to Delhi where she was made the favourite queen by Ala-ud-Din. However, Karan Deva and his daughter, Deval Devi, took refuge with king Ram Chandra Deva of Devagiri. The Delhi army plundered the rich ports of Gujarat and took away a large amount of booty and a eunuch named Kafur. This Kafur ultimately rose to be the most influential person in the state. He became virtually the master for some time before and after the death of Ala-ud-Din. There was some trouble with regard to the division of the spoils and the New Mussalmans revolted but they were ruthlessly put down and practically exterminated.

Dreams of Ala-ud-Din

It is pointed out that Ala-ud-Din achieved great success during the first three years of his reign. Sons were born to him. Victories were won by his generals and a lot of wealth was brought by them. He had no enemy or rival to fear. According to Zia-ud-din Barani, "All this prosperity intoxicated him. Vast desires and great aims far beyond him formed their germs in his brain and he entertained fancies which had never occurred to any king before him. In his exaltation, ignorance and folly, he quite lost his head, forming the most impossible schemes and cherishing the most extravagant desires. He was bad-tempered, obstinate and hard-hearted, but the world smiled upon him, fortunate befriended him and his schemes were generally successful, so he only became the more reckless and arrogant". The Sultan began to cherish the dream of founding a new religion and conquering the world like Alexander, the Great. Ala-ud-Din began to dream like this: "God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the law and religion were established, and through this establishment of law and religion, the name of the Prophet will endure to the Day of Judgment. God has given me also four friends, Ulguh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan, and Alap Khan, who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed; and my sword, and the swords of my friends, will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and those of my friends will

remain among men to the last day, like the names of the Prophet and his friends........I have wealth, and elephants, and forces beyond all calculation. My wish is to place Delhi in charge of a vicegerent, and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world."

Ala-ud-Din consulted Malik Ala-ul-Mulk, uncle of Zia-ud-Din Barani, and the latter gave the following advice: "Religion and law spring from heavenly revelation; they are never established by the plans and designs of men. From the days of Adam till now they have been the mission of Prophets and Apostles, as rule and government have been the duty of kings. The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some Prophets have discharged the functions of royalty. My advice is that Your Majesty should never talk about these matters. Your Majesty knows what rivers of blood Chingiz Khan made to flow in Muhammadan cities, but he never was able to establish the Mughal religion or institutions among Muhammadans. Many Mughals have turned Mussalmans but no Mussalman has ever become a Mughal." The Sultan agreed to accept the advice of Malik Ala-ul-Mulk and took to the task of conquering the whole of India.

Ranthambor

Although Ranthambor had been conquered by Qutb-ud-Din and Iltutmish, it had become independent. At the time of Ala-ud-Din, it was being ruled by Hamir Deva, a Rajput chief. Two reasons have been given for the invasion of Ranthambor by Ala-ud-Din. The first reason was that Hamir Deva had given shelter to some New Muslims and this offended Ala-ud-Din. He would like to punish Hamir Deva for his audacity. Another reason was that Ala-ud-Din considered it as his pious duty to recover a fortress that had once formed a part of the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1299, Ala-ud-Din sent an expedition under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan. They reduced Jhain and encamped before Ranthambor. However, they were beaten by the Rajputs. Nusrat Khan was killed by a stone discharged from a catapult. Jhain was also recovered by the Rajputs. When Ala-ud-Din heard of this, he personally proceeded against Ranthambor. When Ala-ud-Din was on his way to Ranthambor, he was attacked and wounded by his nephew Akat Khan, in concert with some New Muslims. However, Akat Khan was captured and put to death along with his associates. As regards the capture of Ranthambor, Ala-ud-Din resorted to treachery. He seduced Ran Mal, Prime Minister of Hamir Deva. It was with the help given by Ran Mal that the besiegers were able to climb up the walls of the fortress and they took possession of it in July, 1301. Hamir Deva and the New Muslims who had taken shelter with him, were put to death. Amir Khusro tells us that "One night the Rai lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames and, rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair". The author of *Hammir-Mahakavya* gives a different account of the death of Hamir Deva. It is stated there that the defeat of Hamir Deva was due to the defection of his two generals, Ratipal and Krishnapal. Hamir Deva was severely wounded and when he felt that his end was near, he cut off his head with his own sword instead of submitting to the Muslims.

It is to be noted that Ran Mal was not spared by Ala-ud-Din. It was felt that if he could be faithless to his master, nothing could be

expected of him in future. No wonder, he was put to death by the orders of Ala-ud-Din.

Mewar

The next expedition was sent by Ala-ud-Din against Mewar, the land of the brave Guhila Rajputs. This expedition was the outcome of the ambitions of Ala-ud-Din for territorial expansion. There is a tradition that the immediate cause of the expedition against Mewar was the desire of Ala-ud-Din to marry Padmani, the wife of Rana Ratan Singh of Chittor. The fort of Chittor was besieged and Ala-ud-Din pitched his canopy on the top of an adjacent hill known as Chittauri. The siege lasted for about 5 months and all attempts to capture it failed. The brave Rajputs put up such a stiff resistance that even their enemy admired their bravery. However, when further resistance become impossible, the Rajputs preferred death to disgrace. According to Tod, the Rajputs performed "that horrible rite, the *Jauhar*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat', in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Chittor beheld in procession the queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Padmani closed the throng......... They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element". The fort of Chittor was captured by Ala-ud-Din on 26th August, 1303. The government of Chittor was put in the hands of Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Ala-ud-Din. Chittor was also named as Khizrabad after the name of Khizr Khan. It is to be noted that on account of the pressure of Rajputs, Khizr Khan was forced to leave Chittor in 1311. When this happened, Chittor was given by Ala-ud-Din to Maldeva, the chief of Jalor. Chittor was once again recovered by the Rajputs under Hamir or his son and it once again became the capital of Mewar.

Story of Padmani

A reference may be made to the story of Padmani. It is stated that when the siege of Chittor was going on and a critical situation arose, Ala-ud-Din offered to go away without capturing Chittor if he was shown the face of Padmani through a mirror. Rana Ratan Singh accepted this suggestion and arrangements were made to show Padmani in the mirror. After seeing Padmani through a mirror, the determination of Ala-ud-Din to have Padmani became all the more greater and he made Ratan Singh a prisoner. A message was sent to Padmani that her husband would be released if she agreed to come in the harem of Ala-ud-Din. Padmani sent the reply that she was coming with her attendants. 700 litters said to be carrying her attendants, but actually carrying brave Rajput warriors, entered the camp of Ala-ud-Din and rescued Rana Ratan Singh. Thus, Ala-ud-Din was out-witted. Although Gora and Badal resisted the invaders at the outer gate of the fort of Chittor, they could not stand against the Delhi army for long and thus Chittor was captured but before its fall, Padmani burnt herself and refused to fall into the hands of the Muslims.

Scholars like Gauri Shanker Ojha, Dr. K. S. Lal and others have rejected the story of Padmani as a mere "poetic fancy." In his *Rajputana-ka-Itihas*, Gauri Shanker Ojha points out that the contemporary writers like Zia Barani and Amir Khusro do not relate the

romantic story of Ala-ud-Din and Padmani. Had there been any truth in it, there would have been a mention of the same in their writings. The opinion of Ojha is that the whole story of Padmani was probably borrowed from Malik Muhammad Jayasi who wrote the romantic story in the sixteenth century in his book known as *Padmavat*. Ferishta and later Muslim historians must have borrowed the story from *Padmavat*. However, it is pointed out that these arguments are based on a superficial study of the writings of Amir Khusro. It is pointed out that Amir Khusro does make a reference to the story of Padmani when he compares Ala-ud-Din with Solomon. He refers to his Seba as being in the fort of Chittor. Amir Khusro describes himself as Hud-Hud which was the bird which brought the news of Bilquis, the queen of Seba, to Solomon. It is true that Malik Khusro has omitted many things which might have been disliked by his master Ala-ud-Din such as the murder of Jalal-ud-Din by Ala-ud-Din, but it is too much to believe that the whole story of Padmani was concocted by Jayasi. It cannot be denied that Jayasi derived the main story of his Padmavat from *Khazain-ul-Futuh* of Amir Khusro. The details of romance of Jayasi's Padmavat may be imaginary but the main plot is most probably based on historical truth. Had there been no truth in the story, the Rajput bards would never have included it in their traditional songs, particularly when the whole story is a slur on the honour of Rajputs.

Malwa.

In 1305, Ala-ud-Din sent an army to Malwa under Ain-ul-Mulk Multani. Rai Mahlak Deva of Malwa and his Pradhan, Koka, opposed the army but they were defeated and slain in November or December, 1305. The victory helped the Muslims to occupy Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar and Chanderi. Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed the Governor of Malwa.

Jalor

Kanera Deva of Jalor also submitted and acknowledged the suzerainty of Ala-ud-Din. In spite of this submission, Kanera Deva boasted that he was prepared to meet Ala-ud-Din in the battlefield at any time. When this fact was brought to the notice of Ala-ud-Din, he got annoyed and sent an army against Kanera Deva under Gul-i-Bihisht, a female servant of his palace. Jalor was besieged and when Kanera Deva was about to surrender, she died. Her son was defeated and killed by the Rajputs. When fresh troops came from Delhi, Kanera Deva was defeated and he and his relations were put to death and Jalor was annexed.

Conquest of the Deccan

It is to be noted that by the end of 1305, practically the whole of Northern India fell into the hands of Ala-ud-Din and he could very easily afford to direct his attention towards the conquest of the Deccan. There must have been both political and economic motives behind the campaigns of Ala-ud-Din and his lieutenants in the South. The wealth of the Deccan was too tempting to an enterprising adventurer. His ambition to establish his control over the South which had so far not been conquered by the Muslims, must have led Ala-ud-Din to think of conquering Southern India. The political condition in the South was also favourable to Ala-ud-Din. There were four kingdoms in that region at that time. The first was Yadava kingdom of Devagiri under Ram Chandra Deva (1271-1309). Telingana with its capital at Warangal was under Pratap Rudra Deva I of the Kakatiya dynasty. The Hoysala kingdom with its capital at

Dwarsamudra was under its ruler Vira Ballala III (1292-1342). The Pandya kingdom of Madura was being ruled at that time by Maravarman Kulasekhara (1268-1311). There were some minor rulers like Manma-Siddha ruling in the Nellore district, Bhanu-Deva ruling in Orissa, Ravi-Varman ruling from Kollam and Banki-Deva-Alupendra ruling from Mangalore. The Hindu rulers of the South were quarrelling among themselves and consequently they were not in a position to put up a united front. No wonder, they were disposed of one by one.

Conquest of Devagiri

In March, 1307, Ala-ud-Din sent an expedition under Malik Kafur against Ram Chandra Deva of Devagiri. The latter had not sent the tribute for the last three years and also given refuge to Rai Karan Deva, the fugitive ruler of Gujarat. Malik Kafur was also asked to bring with him Deval Devi, daughter of Kamla Devi, who had escaped at the time of the conquest of Gujarat. It is stated that Karan Deva II had made arrangements to marry Deval Devi to a Prince named Shankar who was the eldest son of Ram Chandra Deva of Devagiri. When she was being escorted towards Devagiri, she fell into the hands of Alp Khan, Governor of Gujarat, who was going to join Malik Kafur in his expedition against Devagiri. Deval Devi was sent to Delhi and was married to Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Ala-ud-Din. Malik Kafur marched through Malwa and advanced to Devagiri. He destroyed the whole country and captured a lot of booty. Ram Chandra was forced to sue for peace. He was sent to Delhi where he was treated kindly by Ala-ud-Din. He was sent back to his kingdom after six months. Ram Chandra Deva continued to rule Devagiri as a vassal of Ala-ud-Din.

Telingana

As regards Telingana, an attempt had been made in 1303 to capture Warangal but that had failed. Another attempt was made in 1307 by Ala-ud-Din to bring Telingana under his control. Ala-ud-Din had no desire to annex Telingana and his only object seems to have been to get the wealth of that kingdom and also force its ruler to acknowledge his authority. Ala-ud-Din is said to have given the following instructions to Malik Kafur who was in charge of the expedition: "If the Rai consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Naib Kafur was to accept these terms and not to press the Rai too hard." The Delhi army marched via Devagiri and was given all assistance by Ram Chandra Deva. Pratap Rudra Deva, the ruler of Telingana, put up a stiff resistance. The fort of Warangal was besieged. When the situation became critical. Pratap Rudra Deva sued for peace in March, 1310. The Raja gave to Kafur 100 elephants, 7000 horses and large quantities of jewels and coined money. He also agreed to send tribute to Delhi every year. Amir Khusro tells us that Malik Kafur came back to Delhi with an immense booty carried "on a thousand camels groaning under the weight of treasure".

Dwarsamudra

The next expedition was against Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler. The latter was taken by surprise and was defeated. His capital, Dwarsamudra, was captured. Malik Kafur plundered the rich temples of the town and got a lot of gold, silver, jewels and pearls. He sent to Delhi all the captured property and also the

Hoysala Prince. The Prince came back to Dwarsamudra in May 1313 but the Hoysalas became the vassals of Delhi.

Pandya Kingdom

From Dwarsamudra, Kafur marched against the Pandya kingdom. At that time, there was going on a dispute for succession to the throne between two brothers, Sundara Pandya and Vira Pandya. Sundara Pandya was defeated by Vira Pandya. The former went to Delhi and asked for the help of Ala-ud-Din. That was exactly the thing that Ala-ud-Din would like to have. No wonder, Malik Kafur reached Madura which was abandoned by Vira Pandya. Malik Kafur plundered Madura and destroyed its temples. He then reached Rameshwaram on the island of Pamban. At Rameshwaram, he destroyed the great temple and built a mosque and named it after his master, Ala-ud-Din. He came back to Delhi in 1311 with rich spoils "which included 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 2750 pounds of gold, equal in value to ten crores of Tankas and chests of jewels. No such booty had ever before been brought to Delhi". The result of this expedition was that the Pandya kingdom became a dependency of the Delhi Sultanate and continued to be so till the early part of reign of Muhammad Tughlak.

Devagiri

The last Deccan campaign of Malik Kafur was against Devagiri. After the death of Ram Chandra Deva, his son Shankar Deva, withheld the tribute promised by his father and tried to regain his independence. Malik Kafur marched against Devagiri and inflicted a crushing defeat on Shankar Deva. The latter was killed. Most of the towns of his kingdom were captured and looted. It was in this way that the whole of Southern India was made to acknowledge the sway of Ala-ud-Din.

As regards the Deccan policy of Ala-ud-Din, it is to be noted that like Samudra Gupta, Ala-ud-Din did not intend to annex the territories of the rulers of Southern India. His main object was to get as much of wealth as possible so that he could pay for the expenses of a huge army which he was maintaining. According to Dr. Aiyangar, Ala-ud-Din regarded the Deccan as a milch-cow for the gold that he required to stabilise his position in the North. Ala-ud-Din sent Malik Kafur four times to the South not to conquer it but to get its gold, silver, pearls, jewels and elephants. Ala-ud-Din also had no religious motive in his wars against the Southern States. There were no wholesale conversions. Even the rulers of the Deccan states were not forced to change their religion. It is true that temples were demolished by Kafur in his Deccan campaigns but that was done more for economic than for any religious purpose. It is true that some mosques were built but there does not seem to have been any religious motive behind them. Their object was merely to commemorate his brilliant victories. The successful Deccan campaigns must have strengthened the position of Ala-ud-Din in the North. No ruler or governor could dare to defy Ala-ud-Din. The wealth of the South must have improved the financial position of Ala-ud-Din and helped him in his administration of the country. It is also pointed out that the expeditions of Malik Kafur which were accompanied by the sack of cities, slaughter of the people and plunder of temples, must have made an immense impression on the people of the South. They could not resist him and hence submitted before him but they harboured a feeling of discontentment in their

hearts and that ultimately found expression in the Vijaynagar Empire.

Death

The twenty years' rule of Ala-ud-Din came to an end with his death on 2nd January, 1316. The Sultan was not keeping good health. "His ill-health made him more suspicious and irritable than ever; and like most people who distrust the bulk of mankind, he was the dupe of one artful individual." So great was the influence of Malik Kafur on Ala-ud-Din that the latter imprisoned Khizr Khan, his eldest son and his mother on a charge of conspiracy. Shihab-ud-Umar was nominated successor so that Malik Kafur, acting as regent, could exercise all the powers. Rebellions broke out on all sides. Harapala, the successor of Shankar Deva in Devagiri, was the first to declare his independence and drive out the Muslim garrisons from his territory. Rana Hamir of Chittor turned out the Muslims from Rajasthan. Gujarat also followed suit. According to Elphinstone, "The paroxysms of rage produced by a succession of these tidings increased the king's sufferings and soon brought him to the brink of the grave. His end is said to have been accelerated by poison, administered by Kafur."

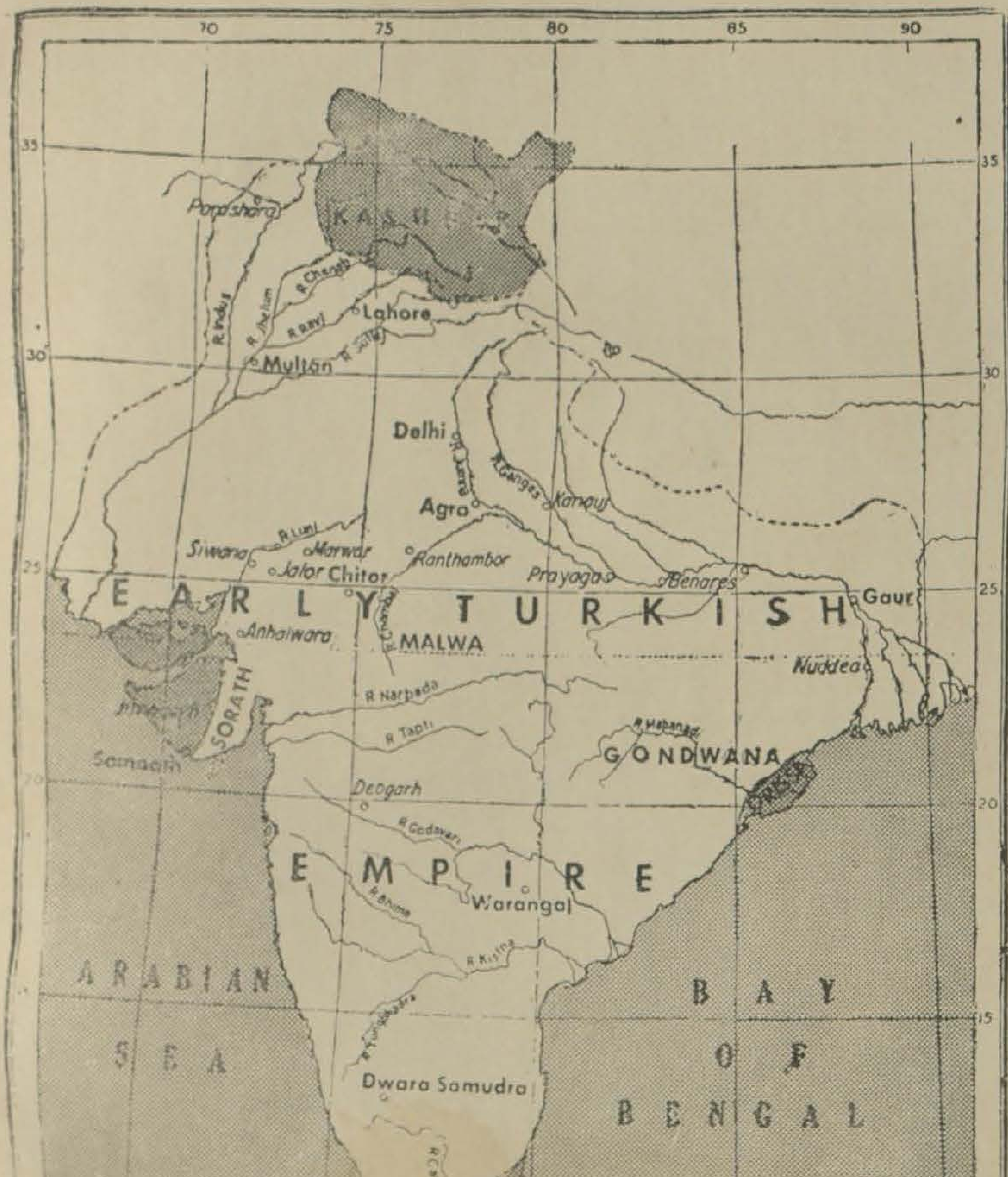
It is rightly pointed out that Ala-ud-Din was a great administrative genius. No Muslim ruler before the Mughals had shown so much of interest in organizing the affairs of the state. He made a large number of reforms in various spheres of administration some of which were really original.

Conception of Kingship

In his conception of sovereignty, Ala-ud-Din departed from his predecessors. He had the courage to say that he was not prepared to be dictated by the Ulema. Qazi Mughis-ud-Din of Biyana used to visit the court very often and he was an advocate of the supremacy of the Church. However, Ala-ud-Din told him his views about kingship in these words: "To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the state and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. *I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; whatever I think to be for the good of the state or suitable for the emergency, that I decree; and as for what may happen to me on the Day of Judgment, that I know not.*" However, this does not mean that he disregarded Islam. Outside India, he was known as a great defender of Islam. However, in the case of India, there is a difference of opinion. Barani and his followers emphasized the disregard of religion by Ala-ud-Din but Amir Khusro considered Ala-ud-Din as a supporter of Islam. Ala-ud-Din himself is said to have told the Qazi: "Although I have not studied the Science or the Book, I am a Mussalman of a Mussalman stock." The inscriptions on the monuments of Ala-ud-Din also show that Ala-ud-Din had faith in Islam.

Ala-ud-Din revived the theory of kingship of Balban. He believed in the majesty of the king who was the representative of God on earth. His conviction was that God had given more wisdom to the king than to any other individual and his will should be the law of the country. He also believed that kingship knows no kinship. All people were to be either his servants or his subjects and he was not to be influenced by anybody in the administration of the country.

EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE



Both the nobles and the Ulema were to be kept at a distance. He inspired awe among all. He would like to rule over the country according to his own lights. He did not consider it necessary to get the sanction of the Khalifa to add to his authority and no wonder he did not apply for an investiture from the Khalifa. However, he styled himself as *Yamin-ul-Khilafat Nasiri Amir-ul-Mumanin.*

His Militarism

Ala-ud-Din established a militaristic regime. He based his kingship on military power and force. He did not claim sovereignty on the basis of heredity of election by the nobles or the sanction of the Khalifa. He knew full well that he had usurped power by force and the same could be maintained only by force. He subordinated the Muslim Church by force. He over-awed the nobility with his huge army. He did not allow the nobles to keep their armies. As a matter of fact, he owed everything to his efficient army. It is not possible to refer to the exact figures of the army of Ala-ud-Din. Ferishta tells us that Ala-ud-Din maintained 475,000 horsemen. He paid decent salaries to the soldiers. Murratab or an ordinary horseman was paid 234 Tankas a year. The Sawar was paid 156 Tankas. A Do-aspah was paid 78 Tankas a year. Payments were made to the soldiers regularly and their activities were also supervised. Ala-ud-Din introduced the system of *Dagh* or the branding of horses and *Huliah* system or the preparation of the descriptive rolls. Dewan-i-Arz was the head of the military establishment and was required to enforce the rules stringently. The result of these changes was that the Sultan could not be deceived by clever nobles with regard to the identity of the horses and the soldiers. Spies were kept in every unit of the army and they were required to submit daily reports to the Sultan regarding the conduct of the military officers.

Land Revenue

Ala-ud-Din made many reforms in the field of land revenue. It was ordered that all land was to be measured and then the share of the state was to be fixed. The post of a special officer called *Mustakhraj* was created and he was given the duty of collecting unrealised balance of land revenue from the peasants. In order to check bribery and corruption among the revenue officials, their salaries were increased. On certain occasions, the papers of the Patwaris were personally scrutinized. According to Dr. Tripathi, "Ala-ud-Din was apparently the first Muslim ruler whose hands reached as soon as the Patwaris which were the best source of information in all matters pertaining to the land and its revenue." Ala-ud-Din did not force the peasants to pay land revenue in cash. As a matter of fact, he preferred to get the same in kind.

Zia-Barani has criticised Ala-ud-Din for heavy taxes. The latter charged half the produce as land revenue while the demand of the state used to be 25% or 33% before Ala-ud-Din. That was probably due to the fact that Ala-ud-Din was in need of a larger amount of money for the maintenance of his army. At the same time, it is not to be forgotten that Ala-ud-Din took steps to safeguard the peasants from the demands of the corrupt revenue-officials and the latter were punished severely even for petty offences. It is pointed out that for misappropriation of one single Jital, the revenue collectors were tortured.

The condition of the revenue officials became very bad in the time of Ala-ud-Din. We are told that the views of the Khuts and Muqad-

dams went and served for hire in the houses of Musalmans. "Men looked upon revenue officers as something worse than fever. Clerkship was a great crime and no man would give his daughter to a clerk."

Treatment of the Hindus

Ala-ud-Din was very cruel towards the Hindus. He adopted all kinds of measures to crush them in every possible manner. The Qazi of Bayana explained the policy of the state towards the Hindus and Ala-ud-Din followed the same. According to the Qazi, the Hindus "are called *Khiraj-guzars* and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the Muhassil chooses to spit into the mouth of a Hindu, the latter must open his mouth without hesitation. ....The meaning of doing such a thing is that the Hindu by acting in this wise shows his meekness and humility and obedience and respect. The glorification of Islam is a duty, and contempt of the religion is vain. God himself has commanded their subjection, in as much as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The Prophet has said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved, and their property should be confiscated to the state. No one except the great doctor Abu Hanifa allows the imposition of the Jizya upon the Hindus, while other schools are of opinion that there is no other alternative for them but death or Islam."

Ala-ud-Din adopted many measures by which the Hindus were reduced to poverty and misery. Zia-ud-Din Barani tells us that the Chaudhries, Khuts and Muqaddams were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes or to indulge in betel. Their wives were forced to work as maid-servants in the houses of the Muslim neighbours. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, the choice offered by Ala-ud-Din to the Hindus was to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, the helots of the Empire. No wonder Ala-ud-Din boasted that "at my command, they are ready to creep into holes like mice".

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Hindus throughout the kingdom were reduced to one dead level of poverty and misery, or, if there were one class more to be pitied than another, it was that which had formerly enjoyed the most esteem, the heredity assessors and collectors of the revenue".

However, Dr. R. P. Tripathi contends that the measures adopted against the Hindus by Ala-ud-Din were not due to religious causes but to political and economic causes. The Muqaddams or village headmen, Khuts or farmers of revenue and Chaudhries or revenue collectors were mainly Hindus and before the time of Ala-ud-Din, they had enjoyed many privileges. They dressed themselves daintily. They rode on fine horses. They oppressed the cultivators. All that Ala-ud-Din did was that he merely withdrew all the concessions which formely the revenue officials enjoyed even in the reigns of the Muslim rulers. This did not prove that "Ala-ud-Din specially aimed at crippling the Hindus as such".

Measures against Nobility

Ala-ud-Din believed in the establishment of a strong government at the centre. That was not possible if certain elements in the country continued to revolt. It is true that Ala-ud-Din had successfully crushed the rebellions of Akat Khan, the revolt of the sons of the

sister of the Sultan, Amir Umar and Mangu Khan, in Badaun and Avadh, the conspiracy of Haji Maula and the plots of the New Musalmans, but all this made Ala-ud-Din to analyse the causes of those rebellions. His conclusion was that those rebellions were due to the inefficiency of the spy system, the general practice of using wine, social inter-course among nobles and inter-marriages between them and the excess of wealth in the hands of a few persons "which engenders evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty".

In order to aviod the evils mentioned above, Ala-ud-Din issued four important Ordinances. The first Ordinance aimed at the confiscation of the religious endowments and free grants of land. Zia-ud-Din Barani tells us that "the Sultan ordered that wherever there was a village held by proprietory right (*milk*), in free gift (*in'am*), or as a religious endowment (*wakf*) it should by one stroke of the pen be brought under the exchequer. The people were pressed and amerced and money was exacted from them on every kind of pretext. Many were left without any money, till at length it came to pass that, excepting Maliks and Amirs, officials, Multanis (*i.e.* large traders from Multan) and bankers, no one possessed even a trifle in cash. So rigorous was the confiscation that, beyond a few thousand *tanks*, all the pensions, grants in land, and endowments in the country were appropriated. The people were all so absorbed in obtaining the means of living that the very name of rebellion was never mentioned".

By the second Ordinance, Ala-ud-Din re-organized the spy system. An army of informers was created and their duty was to spy on all that happened in the Empire and submit reports to the Sultan. Spies were required to work in the army. Spies were appointed in the markets. Spies were appointed in the Provinces. Spies were required not to delay the sending of any report for more than 24 hours. The spy system of Ala-ud-Din was so very efficient that they "often in their zeal to win royal favour carried the silly gossip of the bazar to the ears of the Emperor".

The third Ordinance prohibited the use of wine. In order to set an example, Ala-ud-Din himself brought all the jars and casks of wine from his palace and got them emptied at the Badaun Gate. So much of wine was emptied that mud and mire were produced as in the rainy season.

The prohibition scheme was not a success. People began to distil wine in private houses. Smuggling became common. The result was that certain concessions were made by the Sultan. The prohibition was restricted merely to its public use and convivial gatherings. Nobles were allowed to drink individually in their houses.

The fourth Ordinance issued by Ala-ud-Din laid down that nobles should not have social gatherings and they should not inter-marry without his permission. No dinners and parties could be given by the nobles without the prior sanction of the Sultan. Gambling even for recreation was prohibited. Dr. Ishwari Parsad rightly points out that "the amenities of social life disappeared and life became an intolerable burden".

Economic Reforms

Ala-ud-Din carried out a large number of reforms in the economic field. Certain regulations were issued with the object of fixing prices of food products, cloth and all kinds of piece goods and maid servants concubines, male and female slaves, milch cattle, beasts of burden

horses and various articles of general merchandise including such articles as bread, vegetables, *Reori*, *Yakhni*, needles etc. Other regulations were concerned with the ways and means of enforcing the prices fixed. It was the duty of the government to ensure supplies by means of command. The hording of produce of the Doab and the neighbouring country upto a distance of hundred Kos, was prohibited. Merchants were commandeered to transport grains from villages to Delhi. Grain was to be stored in government granaries. A machinery was devised to coerce the people to obey the regulations. The government was to see that the fixed price level was not disturbed even in times of famines which were frequent in those days. There was to be strict rationing in times of famines. The revenue of the territory near Delhi was so regulated that neither the farmers were able to retain any surplus nor secretly sell at a higher price to the merchants and grain-dealers. Written agreements were taken from the Governor (Nawab) and other government officials that no one within their jurisdiction would be allowed to hoard and regrate corn. If any case of regrating was detected, the officers were to be held liable for it and punished. Shahnas (Superintendents) and Karkunan (Agents) were required to be guarantees that they would cause the grain from the farmers to be delivered to the caravans of merchants on the fields at the fixed rates. The collectors, overseers and other revenue officers were required to realise revenues in the districts of the Doab with so much of strictness that the farmers were to be compelled to sell the corn left with them at the cheaper rates to the corn-carriers. These steps were intended to secure the regular flow of grains to markets of Delhi through the caravans at the fixed rates. Merchants and caravans were ordered to carry grain from the villages of the Doab to Delhi. Merchants and caravans from far and near were commandeered and were required to render service to the state under pain of terrible punishment and humiliation. These merchants were required to shift with all their belongings and settle near Delhi on the banks of the river Jamuna in order to be within easy reach of the Shahna or Superintendent of the market. As regards the storing of grains in government granaries set up for the purpose in all parts of Delhi, those were filled chiefly with grain collected by way of revenue from the Khalsa villages of the Doab and those attached to the New City (Shahr-i-Nau). In addition to Delhi, granaries were set up at Jhain and its villages. The corn collected at Jhain and its villages could not be sold in the countryside and had to be transported to Delhi by the caravans. It is possible that Jhain was at that time a big grain market. The storage was meant for emergencies and for times of scarcity and famine. On those occasions, the supply of corn to the people of Delhi was rationed at a maximum of half a *Man* per family per day. Special consideration was required to be shown to the poor and if the Shahna did not do so, he was punished.

Shahna or Superintendent or Inspector of Market was appointed. He was given a contingent of cavalry and infantry and a suitable Jagir for his maintenance. He was given a Barid and other officers to help him in his work. Malik Maqbul a servant of Ulugh Khan, was appointed Shahna. His duty was to supervise the market and also compel the merchants and caravans to collect grain from the villages. The maintenance of the official price scale must have been a difficult task. A huge official machinery was required for the purpose. Prices at the source of commodities had to be kept down at a

sufficiently low level to meet the demands of the government. Caravans and merchants had to be kept under control so that they might bring regularly goods to Delhi without regrating any portion elsewhere. Cheating on the part of sellers and corruption by government officials had to be checked. Ala-ud-Din ordered that daily reports of the current prices of the market should be sent to him by the Shahna, Barid and the informers of the courts independently of each other and if those reports did not tally, the guilty officer was to be punished. Zia-ud-Din Barani tells us that although harsh punishments were given to the shop-keepers, they did not hesitate to cheat and give short measures to the purchasers. Ala-ud-Din used to make enquiries about the rates ten to twenty times a day and in spite of that cheating did not stop. Ala-ud-Din adopted the method of sending occasionally to the market a few slave boys to buy articles of food and if those were found to be less than the correct weight, a quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency was cut from the cheeks or haunches of the seller and he was also kicked out of his shop by Shahna-i-Mandi.

Ala-ud-Din issued certain regulations by which a new government market named *Sarai-Adl* was established under the Badaun Gate. Merchants of Delhi and other provinces were required to be registered. Loans were advanced to the Multani merchants and they were given charge of the Sarai-Adl market. Passes were issued to those rich persons who wanted to buy costly goods. All merchants were required to hand over their entire stocks into the Sarai-Adl on pain of severe punishment for concealing anything. The Diwan-i-Riysat was ordered to register the names of merchants whether they were Hindus or Muslims. These merchants were required to bring all the commodities to the city and sell them at the control rates. They must have suffered a lot unless the government compensated them for the same. The brokers and horse-dealers who used to earn a lot, were ruined.

Ala-ud-Din appointed Yaqub as Diwan-i-Riyasat. Under him a Shahna-i-Mandi was appointed with a huge staff of subordinates. Only those persons were appointed who were not only honest and trustworthy but also harsh and cruel. The Shahna-i-Mandi was supplied with a schedules of control rates and was required to keep an eye on all sales in the market. If there was any deficiency in weight, the seller was lashed mercilessly and ill-treated in every possible way.

Zia-ud-Din Barani attributes the success of the measures adopted by Ala-ud-Din to various factors and those were the strict enforcement of the rules of the market, vigorous collection of the taxes, scarcity of metallic currency among the people and the zeal of the officers who acted honestly out of fear of the Sultan.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the object of the economic reforms carried out by Ala-ud-Din. There are some who contend that Ala-ud-Din felt that it was the duty of the state to look after the economic welfare of the people. Like Napoleon, Ala-ud-Din was of the view that the supreme talisman of statesmanship lay in cheap bread. While Ala-ud-Din robbed the rich, he compensated the poor. He increased the salaries of the low-paid officials and by fixing the prices of the necessaries of life low, he added to their happiness. Lane-Poole calls Ala-ud-Din a great political economist.

However, this view is not accepted by Dr. P. Saran. His view is that the problem of maintaining a huge army with the limited

resources of the kingdom was the sole motive which prompted the control of prices of all necessaries of life so as to make them cheap enough for the soldiers to maintain themselves on the low salaries which were paid to them. The amelioration of the condition of the poor was not even in the remotest imagination of Ala-ud-Din. Dr. Saran also points out that Ala-ud-Din's system was confined to Delhi and its neighbourhood. The rest of his dominion had directly nothing to do with it although the districts immediately surrounding Delhi must have been influenced by the regulations. The economic life and the business conditions of the surrounding country became chaotic. Dr. Saran is of the opinion that the system set up by Ala-ud-Din was thoroughly irrational, ill-conceived and artificial being in flagrant violation of all economic laws, intended primarily for the benefit of the government and resulting incalculable misery, poverty and humiliation to the people who happened to fall directly or indirectly under it. The king, the army and government servants and other salaried people gained from price control as they were merely consumers. Merchants and businessmen, being both consumers and sellers, got relief as they were able to get their requirements at cheaper rates. The agriculturists were the most hard hit as they had very little to buy other articles. They could not take advantage of the amenities provided at Delhi.

Estimate of Ala-ud-Din

According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, "Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the first Muslim Emperor of India. During his reign, for the first time, the Crescent dominated over the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from sea to sea. He was also the first Muslim ruler of India to make a bold experiment in administration. Balban had done little beyond consolidating his kingdom and maintaining order therein. What little of government there was, under the greatest of the Slave Sultans, was of a primitive character. Suppression of rebellion, eradication of robbery, and defence of the realm against foreign invaders were the primary tasks which absorbed all energies of Balban. Ala-ud-Din no doubt reaped all the benefits of this most essential spade-work. But he was also an innovator. However crude his autocracy, and whatever fate his dynasty might have immediately suffered, his administrative system supplied the foundation on which all later Muslim rulers in India built."

According to Lane-Poole, "Though he might be wrong-headed and disdainful of the law, Ala-ud-Din was a man of sense and determination, who knew his own mind, saw the necessities of the situation, met them by his own methods and carried out those methods with persistence." Ferishta tells us that so long as Ala-ud-Din was active, he "executed justice with such rigour that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kabul and from Telingana to Kashmire". The view of Elphinstone was that the rule of Ala-ud-Din was glorious and he was a successful monarch who exhibited a just exercise of his power. However, Dr. V. A. Smith does not agree with Elphinstone. His contention is that "facts do not warrant the assertion that he exhibited a just exercise of his powers and that his reign was glorious". "In reality he was a particularly savage tyrant with very little regard for justice and his reign, though marked by the conquest of Gujarat and many successful

raids like the storming of the two great fortresses, was exceedingly disgraceful in many respects."

Ala-ud-Din was a great military leader. He carried the militaristic ideal of Balban to its logical conclusion. He showed great vigour as an administrator. He can claim the credit of governing the country independently of the authority and guidance of the Ulema. However, Dr. Ishwari Prasad rightly points out that the foundations of the political system set up by Ala-ud-Din were unsound. His policy created a lot of discontentment amongst the various sections of society. The Hindu Rajas who were deprived of their independence, merely waited for the opportunity to throw off the yoke of Delhi Sultanate. The nobles were sick of the restrictions imposed upon them. The merchants resented the control of the market. The Hindus complained of their humiliation. The New Muslims intrigued against the Sultan. Over-centralisation, repression and espionage undermined the authority of the Sultan. Ala-ud-Din raised low-born persons to the position of honour and eminence and that was resented by the nobles. Towards the end, the Sultan also became violent and whimsical. However, the greatest mistake of Ala-ud-Din was that he allowed Malik Kafur to become all-powerful. That ultimately proved suicidal not only to Ala-ud-Din himself but also to the Empire founded by him.

Ala-ud-Din was a great patron of learning. Amir Khusro was patronised by Ala-ud-Din. He was the greatest literary figure of that time. To begin with, Khusro lived in the Court of Prince Muhammad, the son of Balban. When prince Muhammad died, he wrote an eulogy on Muhammad. Later on, Amir Khusro wrote Tarikh-i-Alai or Khazain-ul-Futuh. In this book, he gave an account of the conquests of Ala-ud-Din. He wrote another book called Ashiqa which contains the love story of Deval Devi and Khizr Khan. Amir Khusro continued to enjoy royal patronage even after the death of Ala-ud-Din. In his "Nuh-Spihr or Nine Skies", he gave the story of Sultan Mubarak Shah. He also lived in the court of Ghias-ud-Din Tughluq and wrote Tughluqnama in which he gave the story of Ghias-ud-Din Tughluq. Khurso wrote a lot in Hindi and he is considered to be a great Hindi writer. Khusro is also known as Tuti-i-Hind or Parrot of India. He was an excellent singer.

Zia-ud-Din Barani tells us that in addition to Amir Khusro, 46 scholars were patronised by Ala-ud-Din. Amir Hussan was one of them. He is known as the Sadi of India. Amir Arsalan Kohi and Kabir-ud-Din were great historians of this period and were patronised by Ala-ud-Din. Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din, Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din, and Qazi Mughis-ud-Din were great masters of philosophy and theology of those times and were all patronised by Ala-ud-Din.

Ala-ud-Din was fond of architecture. Many forts were built by his orders and the most important of them was Alai Fort or Koshak-i-Siri. The walls of this fort were made of stones, brick and lime. There were seven gates in it. According to Amir Khusro, "All the mosques which lay in ruins were built anew by a profuse scattering of silver." In 1311, Ala-ud-Din began to extend the Qutb Minar. He also started the construction of a new Minar in the courtyard of the mosque of twice the size of the old Qutb Minar. The construction of the new Minar could not be completed by Ala-ud-Din. In 1311, Ala-ud-Din caused a large gate to be built for this mosque of red sandstone and marble, with smaller gates on four sides of the large gate. Ala-ud-Din built the "Palace of a Thousand Pillars" called Hazar

Situn. The Jama Masjid was also constructed by him. The construction of the Shamsi Tank was also due to Ala-ud-Din. Zia-ud-Din Barani tells that Ala-ud-Din employed 70,000 men in public works alone. Those men could built palace in two or three days.

Malik Kafur

Malik Kafur was originally a Hindu eunuch of Gujarat. He was very handsome and intelligent. In 1297, he was purchased for 1000 Dinars by Nusrat Khan. That is the reason why Malik Kafur is sometimes called Hazar-Dinari. Ala-ud-Din was very much impressed by the personality of Malik Kafur and within less than ten years he was given the rank of Naib. Kafur also took up the title of Malik Taj-ul-Malik Kafuri.

Malik Kafur was responsible for the conquest of the South. Ala-ud-Din put Malik Kafur in charge of the Deccan campaigns and the latter brought him victories, wealth and reputation. In 1306-7, Kafur brought about the submission of Devagiri. In 1309, Malik Kafur led an expedition against Telingana. Warrangal was besieged and its rulers were forced to surrender. Kafur took back to Delhi a lot of booty. In 1310, Malik Kafur was sent to conquer Dwarsamudra. Dwarsamudra was captured and Malik Kafur got a lot of booty. From Dwarsamudra, Kafur proceeded against the Pandya kingdom of Madura. Madura was looted and occupied and a mosque was built there. Malik Kafur went to Rameshwaram and built a mosque there. Malik Kafur got so much booty that it would have made Mahmud turn in his grave with wistful eyes. Even the spoils of Devagiri could not compare with those of Madura.

Malik Kafur's success in the Deccan made him so powerful that Ala-ud-Din became merely a puppet in his hands. This "evil genius of the Sultan" told Ala-ud-Din that his wife and sons were conspiring against him and consequently Malik-i-Jahan and Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan were imprisoned. While the princes were put in the Gwalior fort, Malik-i-Jahan was put in the old Delhi fort. Alp Khan was executed. The view of Elphinstone is that Malik Kafur went to the extent of even poisoning Ala-ud-Din and thereby brought about his death.

After the death of Ala-ud-Din, Malik Kafur placed Shihab-ud-Din Umar on the throne and himself became the regent. As a regent, he was responsible for the execution of all those princes of the royal blood who had any claim to the throne. He ordered that the eyes of Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan be "cut out from the sockets with a razor like slices of melon". All the supporters of Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan were dismissed. Although an attempt was made to kill prince Mubarak but the latter succeeded in escaping through his own cleverness. Thirty-six days after the death of Ala-ud-Din, Malik Kafur and his associates were killed.

It goes without saying that Malik Kafur was a great military leader. He accomplished what no Muslim before him had been able to do. He was the person who paved the way for the furture permanent conquest of the Deccan by the Muslims. The misfortune was that he became over ambitious and began to dream of becoming king himself and forgot the interests of the dynasty which was responsible for his rise. While trying to dispose of his rivals, he himself was killed.

Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah (1316-1320)

Under the influence of Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-Din had disinherited Khizr Khan and nominated his minor son, Shihab-ud-Din Umar as his successor. When Ala-ud-Din died, this boy was hardly six. Malik Kafur put this boy on the throne and himself became the regent. Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan were blinded. Mubarak Khan, the third son of Ala-ud-Din, who was then about seventeen or eighteen years of age, was imprisoned and Malik Kafur sent his agents to take out his eyes. However, Mubarak bribed those persons and instead of blinding Mubarak, they went back and killed Malik Kafur. After the death of Malik Kafur, Mubarak was appointed regent for Shihab-ud-Din Umar. After about two months, Mubarak dethroned and blinded Shihab-ud-Din Umar and put himself on the throne. This happened on 1st April, 1316. Mubarak took up the title of Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah.

After seating himself on the throne, he tried to win over the goodwill of the people. All persons were released. All harsh regulations of his father were cancelled. Those nobles who had been banished by his father, were called back. A policy of forget and forgive was followed. The lands which were confiscated, were given to their legitimate owners. Taxes were lowered. Zia-ud-Din Barani tells us that there was no longer fear of any dictation by the state in every matter. Unfortunately, the result of relaxation of controls was that there was a fall in the moral standards of the countries and officials. Mubarak Shah also joined the nobles in drinking and merry-making. Mubarak Shah came under the influence of Hasan who was originally a shepherd but was raised to the position of Prime Minister and given the title of Khusro.

Everybody took advantage of the weakness of the new ruler. There was a revolt in Gujarat. The ruler of Devagiri became independent. The important states of Rajputana, particularly Marwar, became independent. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani was sent to Gujarat and he was successful in putting down the revolt and Zafar Khan was appointed its Governor. In 1317, Mubarak Shah himself went to Devagiri to conquer it. Harapala Deva, the ruler of Devagiri, ran away from his capital. However, he was captured and put to death. His head was put on one of the gates of Devagiri. Muslim officials were put in charge of the various districts of Devagiri and Muslim garrisons were established in that territory. Gulbarga, Sagar and Dwarsamudra were occupied once again and put under Muslim officials. A mosque was built at Devagiri out of the material of Hindu temples. Malik Yaklaki was appointed the Governor of Devagiri.

A conspiracy was hatched to murder Mubarak Shah and put a son of Khizr Khan on the throne. The chief conspirator was Asad-ud-Din, a cousin of Mubarak Shah. Mubarak Shah came to know of the conspiracy from one of the conspirators and the result was that all the consiprators were arrested and put to death. Even Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihab-ud-Din were put to death. Mubarak Shah married Deval Devi, widow of Khizr Khan.

The success of Mubarak Shah in the Deccan turned his head and he began to behave in a most irresponsible manner. Zafar Khan and Shahim were put to death without any cause. He himself spent all his time in the company of women and buffoons. He allowed the jesters and courtiers to abuse and make fool of the old and experienced nobles. The Sultan himself ran naked among his courtiers and

the net result of all these things was that all respect for the crown disappeared. Malik Yaklaki, Governor of Devagiri, revolted and declared himself king. He was defeated and sent to Delhi. Mubarak Shah ordered his nose and ears to be cut. Later on, he was pardoned and made Governor of Samana.

Mubarak Shah had showered favours on Khusro and his associates. He was given many warnings against the designs of Khusro but he refused to listen to them. He allowed Khusro to have a separate cavalry of his own, 40,000 strong. Khusro was allowed to live inside the palace. His relations and friends were allowed to enter the palace. A conspiracy was hatched by Khusro to dispose of Mubarak Shah On the night of 14th April, 1320, the troops of Khusro entered the palace and cut down the royal guards. Khusro himself caught hold of Mubarak Shah by the hair and Jaharia, one of his followers, stabbed him to death. The head of Mubarak Shah was cut off and thrown into the courtyard.

Nasir-ud-Din Khusro Shah (1320)

After the death of Mubarak Shah, Khusro ascended the throne on 15th April, 1320 with the approval of the nobles and he continued to rule upto 5th September, 1320. He took up the title of Nasir-ud-Din Khusro Shah. Most of the old officers and nobles were retained. A few were put to death. Khusro Shah married Deval Devi, widow of Khizr Khan.

Khusro Shah tried to win over the nobles and officers by all possible means. Wahid-ud-Din Qureshi, who was formerly a Minister of Mubarak Shah, was allowed to retain his post and was given the title of Taj-ul-Mulk. Ain-ud-Mulk Multani was given the titles of Alam Khan and Amir-ul-Umara. Gazi Malik continued to be the Governor of the Punjab and Warden of the Marches. Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya of Delhi was won over. His own followers were handsomely rewarded.

Khusro Shah was originally a Hindu and later on became a Muslim. It is true that he had won over a large number of Muslim commanders and officials and divines but there were many Turkish nobles who were opposed to the Indian Muslims being in charge of the administration of the country. Ghazi Malik who was the Governor of the Punjab and the Warden of the Marches, was one of them. He became the leader of all those who were opposed to Khusro Shah and tried to win over the Governors of Multan, Samana and Siwistan but failed. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani refused to join Ghazi Malik. Ghazi Malik stared intrigues and won over a large number of persons to his side. His son, Fakhr-ud-Din Muhammad Jauna who had been appointed by Khusro Shah as Master of the House escaped from Delhi and joined his father Ghazi Malik at Dipalpur. After making preparations, Ghazi Malik marched on Delhi. He was opposed by the Governors of Samana but the latter was defeated. Ghazi Malik was also opposed by Hisam-ud-Din at Sirsa but the latter was also defeated. When Ghazi Malik reached near Delhi, Khusro Shah himself came out to give him battle. Unfortunately, Ain-ul-Mulk Multani withdrew his troops before the battle. Consequently, Khusro Shah was defeated and killed on 5th September, 1320. Thus came to an end of the Khalji dynasty after a period of thirty years of rule in India.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE TUGHLUQS OR QARAUNAH TURKS (1320-1414 A.D.)

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq (1320-1325).

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq or Ghazi Malik was the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. This dynasty is also known as the dynasty of the Qaraunah Turks as the father of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq was a Qaraunah Turk. Ibn Batuta tells us that he heard from Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Multani that Sultan Tughluq was of the stock of Qaraunah Turks who lived in the mountainous region between Sindh and Turkistan. Speaking of the Qaraunahs, Marco Polo tells us that this name was given to them because they were the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers. Nay Elias, the translator of Mirza Haider's Tarikh-i-Rashidi, made inquiries regarding the origin of the Qaraunahs and his conclusion was that the Qaraunahs were among the Mongols of Central Asia and they took a prominent part in Mongol campaigns in Persia in early times. The Muhammadan historians of India do not write anything about the Qaraunahs.

His Rise

Ghazi Tughluq was a man of humble origin. While his mother was a Jat woman from the Punjab, his father was a Turkish slave of Balban. On account of his parentage, "Ghazi Malik typified in his character the salient features of the two races: the modesty and mildness of the Hindus and the virility and vigour of the Turks." Although he started his life as an ordinary trooper, he rose to prominence by his ability and hard work. During the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, he was appointed the Warden of the Marches and Governor of Dipalpur. He fought against the Mongols on 29 occasions and chased them out of India and hence came to be known as Malik-ul-Ghazi. Ghazi Malik was one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom at the time of the death of Ala-ud-Din and he continued to be so during the reign of Mubarak Shah. Although Khusrau Shah tried to conciliate him, that had to effect on Ghazi Malik. Assisted by his son Juna Khan, he marched against Khusrau Shah, defeated him and then got him executed. It is stated that after his entry in Delhi as a conqueror, Ghazi Malik caused an inquiry to be made whether there was any descendant of Ala-ud-Din Khalji whom he could put on the throne of Delhi. It is difficult to say how far that inquiry was sincere and how far it was merely a show. Anyhow, Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq ascended the throne on 8th September, 1320. He was the first Sultan of Delhi who took up the title of Ghazi or slayer of the infidels.

Domestic Policy

The reign of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq can be discussed under two heads: domestic policy and foreign policy. As regards domestic policy, his first task was to win over the confidence of the nobles and officers and to restore order in the empire. It is true that the supproters of Khusrau Shah were ruthlessly exterminated but the other nobles and officers were leniently treated. He restored the lands of all those who had been deprived of them by Ala-ud-Din Khalji.

He ordered a secret inquiry to be made into claims and jagirs and all unlawful grants were confiscated to the state. He tried to recover the treasure which had been squandered by Khusrau Shah or plundered during the confusion after his fall and he succeeded in that attempt to a large extent. Many Shaikhs who had received large sums of money from Khusrau Shah returned the same. However, Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya who had received five lacs of Tankas, refused to refund the amount on the plea that he had given away the same in charity. This was not liked by Ghazi Malik but he could do nothing against the Shaikh on account of his popularity. He tried to denounce the Shaikh "for indulgence in the ecstatic songs and dances of darveshes, a form of devotion regarded as unlawful by rigid Sunnis of the established religion". However, he did not succeed in doing so as the 53 theologians consulted by him did not find any fault in the actions of the Shaikh.

To prevent corruption and embezzlement, Ghazi Malik paid his officers well and promoted to high rank only those who gave proof of their loyalty and devotion. While distributing rewards, he was guided by considerations of rank, merit and length of service. He avoided all invidious distinctions. Ghazi Malik was not a whimsical despot but a sagacious and thoughtful ruler who always consulted his councillors in important matters of state.

As regards his **revenue policy**, he discontinued the system of farming of taxes. The farmers of revenue were not allowed even to approach the Diwan-i-Wizarat. The excesses of the collectors of revenue were checked. The Amirs and Maliks were not allowed to take as their fee more than 1/15th of the revenue of their provinces. The Karkuns and Mutsarrifs were not allowed to take more than 5 to 10 per thousand. It was ordered that the Diwan-i-Wizarat should not increase the land revenue of any Iqta beyond one-tenth or one-eleventh in a year. If there was to be any enhancement, the same should be spread over a number of years. Barani tells us that "the Khiraj was to increase gradually over a number of years and not all at once, for by doing so the country suffers and the path of progress is blocked". Again, "Jagirdars and Hakims were asked to be careful in the realization of the Khiraj so that the Khuts and Muqaddams may not impose any additional burden upon the people besides the state dues. Large remissions of revenue were made in times of drought and the defaulters were treated with great generosity. No man was to be held in bondage for the sake of money and every facility was to be provided by the state to enable the people to meet their obligations without any discomfort or vexation."

The practice of the survey of land was given up as it was not working satisfactorily and it was ordered that the land revenue should be assessed by the collectors in person. Ghazi Malik also took steps to bring more area under cultivation. His view was that the surest method of increasing revenue was "the extension of cultivation, not the enhancement of the demand". The result of his policy was that a lot of waste land was brought under cultivation. Canals were also excavated to irrigate the fields. Gardens were planted. Forts were also built to give shelter to cultivators against brigands. It appears from Barani that all sections of the people were not treated alike. The same writer tells us that certain sections of the people were to "be taxed so that they might not be blinded with wealth and so become discontented and rebellious ; nor, on the

other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry".

Ghazi Malik paid attention to all departments of the state. The **judicial** and **police arrangements** were so efficient that "the wolf dared not seize upon the lamb and the lion and the deer drank at one stream". The Chehra and Dagh system introduced by Ala-ud-Din was continued. A most efficient postal service was restored. Posts were carried by runners and horsemen who were stationed at distances of two-thirds of a mile or 7 or 8 miles respectively all over the kingdom. News travelled at the rate of one hundred miles a day. Ghazi Malik devised a system of poor relief. He patronized religious institutions and literary men. Amir Khusro was his poet laureate and he received from the state a pension of 1000 Tankas per mensem.

Ghazi Malik "made his court more austere than it had ever been except propably in the time of Balban". He acted with moderation and wisdom. No wonder. Amir Khurso praises him in these words: "He never did anything that was not replete with wisdom and sense. He might be said to wear a hundred doctors' hoods under his crown."

Foreign Policy

As regards his foreign policy, Ghazi Malik was a great annexationist. He was determined to bring under his control all those who had defied the authority of the Delhi Sultanate.

(1) In pursuance of that policy, he sent in 1321 his son Juna Khan, later on Muhammad Tugluq, to subdue Prataparudradeva II of **Warangal** who had increased his power during the period of disorder following the death of Ala-ud-Din Khalji and had also refused to pay the usual tribute to the Delhi government. The mud fort of Warangal was besieged but the same was defended by the Hindus with courage and determination. Juna Khan had to come back without achieving any success on account of the outbreak of pestilence and intrigues. According to Barani and Yahiya-bin-Ahmad who have been followed by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, Badauni and Ferishta, those intrigues were due to some traitors in the army. However, Ibn Batuta tells us that prince Juna Khan who intended to seize the throne was responsible for those intrigues. Sir Wolseley Haig, the able editor of the Cambridge History of India Vol. III, accepts the view of Ibn Batuta. However, this view is not accepted by Dr. Ishwari Prasad in his History of Qaraunah Turks.

Four months after the return of Juna Khan to Delhi, he was sent once again to Warangal at the head of another expedition. This was in 1323. Juna Khan captured Bidar and then marched on Warangal. The Hindus fought desparately, but were unsuccessful against the invaders. Ultimately, Prataparudradeva II, his family and nobles fell into the hands of the invaders. The Raja was sent to Delhi. The Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal, though not formally annexed by Ghazi Malik, was divided into many districts which were allotted to various Turkish nobles and officers. The city of Warangal was named Sultanpur.

(2) When Prince Juna Khan was on his way back to Delhi, he attacked the kingdom of **Utkala** in Orissa. He was able to capture 50 elephants and many other valuable articles.

(3) Ghazi Malik had also to intervene in **Bengal**. There was a civil war among the three sons of Shams-ud-Din Firuz Shah and

their names were Ghiyas-ud-Din, Shihab-ud-Din and Nasir-ud-Din. Ghiyas-ud-Din who was the Governor of East Bengal, overthrew Shihab-ud-Din and occupied the throne of Lakhnauti in 1319. This was coveted by Nasir-ud-Din and the later appealed to the Delhi Sultan for help. The Sultan responded to the appeal and personally marched to Bengal. On the way, Ghazi Malik was joined by Nasir-ud-Din. Ghiyas-ud-Din was defeated and made a prisoner. Nasir-ud-Din was put on the throne of West Bengal as a vassal of Delhi and East Bengal was annexed to Delhi. On his way back to Delhi, Ghazi Malik reduced to submission Raja Har Singh Deva of Tirhut (Mithila). Henceforth, Tirhut became a fief of the Delhi Sultanate.

(4) In 1324, the **Mongols** invaded Northern India. However, they were defeated and their leaders were captured and brought to Delhi.

Death

When Ghazi Malik was in Bengal, he received information about the activities of his son Prince Juna Khan. The latter was increasing the number of his followers in order to have a powerful party of his own. He became a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya who was on bad terms with his father. The Shaikh is said to have made a prophecy that Prince Juna Khan would become king of Delhi very soon. Likewise, the astrologers stated that Ghazi Malik would not come back to Delhi. Ghazi Malik came back to Delhi from Bengal hurriedly. Prince Juna Khan erected a wooden pavilion at Afghanpur, a village about 6 miles from Delhi, to give reception to his father. The building was so designed as to fall when touched in a certain part by elephants. Ghazi Malik was entertained under the pavilion. When the meal was over, Ghazi Malik was requested by his son Juna Khan to have a view of the elephants brought from Bengal. Ghazi Malik having agreed, the elephants were paraded. When they came into contact with that part of the building which had been designed to bring its collapse, the entire pavilion fell. Ghazi Malik was crushed along with his son Prince Mahmud Khan. The Sultan was found bent over the body of Mahmud Khan as if trying to protect him. Juna Khan is said to have purposely delayed the removal of the debris.

There are different views regarding the circumstances leading to the death of Ghazi Malik. Barani simply tells us that a thunderbolt of a calamity from heaven fell upon the Sultan and he was with five or six others crushed under the debris. From the translation of Elliot, it appears that lightning fell upon the roof and the whole structure came down with a crush. Ibn Batuta who came to India in 1333 A.D., definitely tells us that Prince Juna Khan was the cause of the death of his father. The source of his information was Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Multani who was present with the emperor on the occasion. He also tells us that Prince Juna Khan deliberately delayed the arrival of workmen who were called to dig up the body of the Sultan with their shovels. Ibn Batuta also tells us that the construction of the pavilion was the work of Ahmed Ayaz who was later on made Chief Minister when Juna Khan himself became Sultan. Circumstantial evidence is also in favour of Ibn Batuta. He has also no axe to grind. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad tells us that the hastily construction of the structure creates a suspicion that Prince Juna Khan was responsible for the death of his father. The death of Ghazi Malik was due to a conspiracy formed by Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and Prince Juna Khan. Isami, a contemporary writer, also supports Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Abul

Fazl and Badauni also suspect a conspiracy of Juna Khan. The view of Dr. Ishwari Prasad is that there are strong reasons for thinking that the death of the Sultan was the result of a conspiracy in which Juna Khan took part and was not due to any accident. Sir Wolseley Haig also holds that the death of the Sultan was the result of a plot cleverly engineered by Juna Khan. However, Dr. Mahdi Husain holds that the pavilion fell of its own accord and Prince Juna Khan had absolutely no hand in the matter. The view generally accepted is that Prince Juna Khan was responsible for the death of his father.

Estimate

Ghazi Malik was an experienced soldier and a seasoned general. He rose to power by dint of hard work and ability. He established law and order within his empire and adopted various measures which were intended to add to the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. There was material prosperity of the people during his reign. He held his court twice a day in order to give justice to the people. He was mild and generous to his courtiers, friends and colleagues. However, he was strict with the Hindus. He indulged in temple destruction and image-breaking during the course of his campaigns. He was a rigid Sunni Mussalman. He was a patron of learning and there were scholars and poets in his court. He left an interesting monument in the fortress capital of Tughluqabad which he built for himself about 10 miles to the south of the site afterwards selected by Shahjahan for his city. He founded this town immediately after his ascent to the throne and completed it before he received the news of the conquest of Talingana. Ibn Batuta tells us that "Here were Tughluqs' treasures and palaces and the great palace which he built of gilded bricks, which, when the sun rose, shone so dazzlingly that none could gaze seadily upon it. There he laid up great treasures, and it was related that he constructed there a cistern and had molten gold poured into it so that it became one solid mass, and his son Muhammad Shah became possessed of all of it when he succeeded him." The mausoleum of Ghazi Malik in red stone and white marble, connected with his town by a bridge carried on arches and the massive walls of his fort, still remain.

Ghazi Malik followed a policy of austerity which compares favourably with that of Balban. He abstained from sensual pleasures. He shrank from the vice of "handsome beardless boys" which was so prevalent at that time. He avoided the tyranny and pomp and pageantry of Balban and Aurangzeb in public life and state functions. "During his brief reign he did much to wipe out the disgrace which had befallen the empire of Delhi, to re-orgainse the administration which had fallen out of gear, and to re-establish the power (and prestige) of the monarchy which had been reduced to a nullity during the Khusruite regime."

Ghazi Malik has sometimes been compared with Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Both were aged warriors called up to restore the dominion of Islam, menaced by the extinction of the dynasties which they had long served, but here all similarity between them ends. The powers of Firuz were falling when he was called to the throne, his reign would have closed the history of his family but for the usurpation of his unscrupulous but vigorous nephew. Tughluq on the other hand, though old, was in full vigour of mind, and during his short reign displayed none of the contemptible weakness of Firuz. He was able to enforce many of the

salutary laws of Ala-ud-Din and to enact others which restored order in a kingdom which had nearly passed from the grasp of Islam. He enjoyed the advantage of pure Turkish lineage, his elevation excited no jealous among the nobles who had formerly been his equals and he was able to, within a week of his accession, to pacify the capital and within forty days his sovereignty was everywhere acknowledged." According to S. R. Sharma, "Jalal-ud-Din's reign was weak, senile and fatuous; Ghiyas-ud-Din's was strong, virile and fruitful. In essential respects the former resembles the Mughal Bahadur Shah I, the latter reminds us of Sher Shah Sur. Especially in administrative policy Tughluq Shah I must be considered the prototype of the later Sher Shah."

Amir Khusro

A reference may be made to Amir Khusro who died in the same year in which Ghazi Malik died. He was the greatest of all the poets of India who have written in Persian. He was born in 1253 at Patiala and died at the age of 72. His father was a native of Kash in Turkistan and he was driven from his native land by the Mongols and he found shelter in India. The original name of the poet was Yamin-ud-Din Muhammad Hasan although he is commonly known as Amir Khusro. The young poet entered the service of Ala-ud-Din Khalji but when he became a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, he gave up worldly ambitions and retired from worldly life. However, he continued to write poetry. It is estimated that he wrote more than 4 lakhs of couplets. His couplets have been divided into four classes. To the first class belong his youthful effusions. To the second class belong poems of early middle age and those were written when Amir Khusro was giving up childish things and turning his thoughts towards religion. To the third class belong those poems which were written when Amir Khusro had attained the dignity of a religious teacher. To the fourth class belong the poems of his old age. Each of the four classes bears the impression of his views on this world and the next. In the second class are to be found poems which were intended to please the Emperor.

Amir Khusro had great respect for poet Sadi of Persia. When the latter visited India, he was very much entertained by Amir Khusro and the result was that Sadi praised Amir Khusro before Ala-ud-Din Khalji. In one of his verses, Amir Khusro admits the influence of Sadi in these words: "The volume of my verse hath the binding of Shiraz."

Muhammad-bin-Tughluq (1325-1351)

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq was succeeded by his son Prince Juna Khan who took up the title of Muhammad Tughluq. We are fortunate in having a lot of authentic and interesting material about his reign.

Sources

(1) **Zia-ud-Din Barani** wrote his famous work *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* in the time of Firuz Shah Tughluq. He was a native of Barani in the Doab. His ancestors held high offices under the Khaljis. Qazi Ala-ul-Mulk, one of his uncles, was the Kotwal of Delhi in the time of Ala-ud-Din Khalji and was very much trusted by the Emperor. No wonder, the account of Barani regarding the reign of Ala-ud-Din has original value as it was based on the information given to Barani by Qazi Ala-ul-Mulk. Barani himself spent some years in the court of Muhammad Tughluq and also in that of Firuz Tughluq.

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Barani is a standard historical work on medieval India. We are told that before writing his work, Barani took a vow that he would write nothing but the truth. No wonder, his account is trustworthy. Barani praises Ala-ud-Din for his achievements but condemns him for his cruel punishments. He has showered praises on Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. He has described in detail the various events of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. He has given us details about the taxation in the Doab, transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, the introduction of token currency, the various schemes of conquest of Muhammad Tughluq etc. Barani has also given some important information about the reign of Firuz Tughluq. However, it is to be noted that at times, chronology in the account of Barani is defective. Sometimes, he also brings in his personal prejudices. His account of the sufferings of the people of the Doab on account of high taxation by Muhammad Tughluq is obviously an exaggerated one.

In addition to Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Barani wrote Fatwa-i-Jahandari. This work does not refer to the events of any particular rule. However, it contains the political ideals which must be pursued by the Muslim rulers in order to earn religious merit and the gratitude of the people.

(2) Another interesting source of information is the account of his travels as given by **Ibn Batuta**, the Moorish traveller. He was born in 1304 A.D. and his original name was Abu Abdulla Muhammad bin Batuta. However, he is commonly known as Ibn Batuta. He had a passion for travels. At the age of 21, he started his travels. After wandering through the countries of Africa and Asia, he came to India through the passes of the Hindukush. He reached the Indus on 12th September, 1333. He proceeded to Delhi where he was hospitably received. He was given 6000 Tankas in cash. He was also given a grant of three villages within 30 miles of Delhi which gave him an annual income of 5000 Tankas and 10 Hindu slaves. Muhammad Tughluq was not in Delhi when Ibn Batuta reached there but when the Sultan came to Delhi in June 1334, Ibn Batuta went out to meet him. Ibn Batuta has described the kind manner in which he himself was received by the Emperor and the great respect shown to the foreigners. The latter were offered appointments. The revenue of two more villages was added to the grant of Ibn Batuta by the Sultan. He was offered the post of the Qazi of Delhi and he accepted the same after some hesitation when the Sultan agreed to appoint two assistants who were to perform the duties of the Qazi while Ibn Batuta was to enjoy the stipend. Ibn Batuta stayed in India for 8 years from 1334 to 1342. He was sent to China on a diplomatic mission but the same failed. After coming back from China, he started from Malabar to the coast of Arabia and reached Fez in 1349. He put down in black and white all his experiences of his travels in his book called *Tuhfat-un-Nuzzar fi Gharaib-il-Amsar*. This work was finished in December 1355 and he died in 1377-78 A.D.

We have a lot of useful information from Ibn Batuta regarding Muhammad Tughluq and his times. As regards the Sultan, he tells us that "Muhammad is a man who, above all others, is fond of making presents and shedding blood. There may always be seen at his gate some poor person becoming rich or some living one condemned to death. His generous and brave actions and his cruel and violent deeds have obtained notoriety among the people. In spite

of this, he is the most humble of men, and the one who exhibits the greatest equity. The ceremonies of his religion are dear to his heart and he is very severe in respect of prayer and the punishment which follows its neglect". Ibn Batuta has given a catalogue of the atrocities committed by Muhammad Tughluq during his reign. Muhammad Tughluq got his brother Masud murdered on mere suspicion. Ibn Batuta also refers to a few instances of a fantastic display of reverences for abstruct justice and forms of law by the Sultan. On one occasion, a Hindu complained to a Qazi that the Sultan had killed his brother without any cause. The Sultan appeared unarmed in the court and made his obeisance. He heard with humility and carried out the order of the Qazi asking him to pay compensation to the complainant. In another case, a Muslim complained that the Sultan had unjustly retained some of his property and the Sultan restored the property in compliance with the order of the Qazi. In another case, a young-man complained that the Sultan had arbitrarily caused him to be beaten without any rhyme or reason. It was found that the complaint was true and consequently in accordance with the Islamic law of retaliation, the youngman was allowed to have his revenge. A stick was placed in his hand and he was allowed to give 21 strokes to the Sultan. The head-dress of the Sultan fell on the ground.

Ibn Batuta also refers to the heavy punishments inflicted by the Sultan on the Shaikhs and Qazis. We are told that the Sultan slew both small and great and spared not the learned, pious or the nobles. Daily were brought to the council hall men in chains, fetters and bonds and they were led away some to execution, some to torture and some to scourging.

Ibn Batuta also refers to the various customs and "strange things" of India. He refers to the practice of *Sati* among the Hindus. He describes the postal system of those times. He refers particularly to the efficiency of the runners or Dawats who carried letters from one place to another with great speed.

There is no doubt about the fact that the account of India as given by Ibn Batuta is wholly reliable and in many respects the same is corroborated by Zia-ud-Din Barani. However, it cannot be denied that whatever he wrote, he wrote from memory. During his stay in India, he did not take down notes and consequently he is liable to make mistakes wherever memory fails him. Moreover, he did not write only those things which he saw personally. He even wrote about those things which he heard from his friends and others who came into contact with him.

(3) In addition to the accounts of Zia-ud-Din Barani and Ibn Batuta, we get welcome light from Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Shams-i-Siraj, Afif, Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, an autobiographical memoir of Firuz Shah Tughluq, Munshat-i-Mahru of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, Tughluqnamah of Amir Khusro and Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi of Yahiya-bin-Ahamad Sarhindi.

Early Life

Prince Juna Khan was the eldest son of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq. He was brought up as a soldier and he distinguished himself in the same. He was a precocious child. He was appointed the Master of the Horse by Khusro Shah. However, Juna Khan started an agitation against Khusro Shah, his patron. He helped his father in overthrowing Khusro Shah. When his father became the Emperor in

1320, Prince Juna Khan was appointed the heir-apparent and was also given the title of Ulugh Khan. He undertook two expeditions to Warangal in 1321 and 1323, and although he failed in the first, he succeeded in the second. He seated himself on the throne soon after the death of his father in 1325. For 40 days, he remained at Tughluqabad after which he marched to the city of Delhi and put himself in the Red Palace of Balban. Gold and silver coins were distributed among the people at the time of coronation.

Domestic Policy

We can discuss the events of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq under two heads: his domestic policy and foreign policy.

(1) As regards domestic policy, Muhammad Tughluq began to look into the details of administration from the very beginning of his reign. He first ordered the compilation of a *register of the revenue and expenditure of the provinces of his kingdom*. The Governors of the provinces were required to send to Delhi all relevant records and other materials required for that purpose. The result was that summaries of income and expenditure came to Delhi from the various parts of the empire and the system worked smoothly.

Taxation in the Doab

(2) The Sultan made an ill-advised financial experiment in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamuna. He not only increased the rate of taxation but also revived and created some additional Abwabs or cesses. There are discrepancies and vagueness in the accounts of the contemporary and later Muslim writers with regard to the actual amount of assessment. Barani says that taxes were increased 10 or 20 times more. Elliot has translated it as 10% or 5%. It is stated in *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that the increase way twenty-fold and to this were added *Ghari* or house tax and the *Charahi* of pasture tax. According to Badauni, taxes were doubled. In these circumstances, it is not possible to determine accurately the actual amount of additional assessment. Some modern writers have suggested that the additional tax was not more than 50%. It is also contended that the object of the Sultan in levying these additional taxes on the people of the Doab was not punitive as suggested by Badauni and Sir Wolseley Haig, but to "increase his military resources and to organise the administration on an efficient basis". Whatever the truth, it cannot be denied that the measure entailed great hardships on the people of the Doab. Barani tells us that "the backs of the rayats were broken. Those who were rich became rebels; the lands were ruined and cultivation was arrested. Grain became dear, the rains were deficient, so famine became general. It lasted for years and thousands upon thousands of people perished". Dr. Ishwari Prasad points out that "unfortunately, this measure was carried out at a time when a severe famine was prevailing in the Doab, and the distress of the people was greatly aggravated by its disastrous effects. But this does not exonerate the Sultan altogether from blame; for his officials continued to levy taxes at the enhanced rate with the utmost rigour, and made no allowance for famine." The relief measures of the Sultan such as the giving of loans to the agriculturists, sinking of wells and "bringing the uncultivated lands under the plough by means of direct state management and financial support", came too late. The peasantry left their places and shifted to other places. The Sultan was very much annoyed and he adopted very harsh measures to bring back the peasants to their original homes. However, all

this had a very adverse effect so far as the future of the Tughluq dynasty was concerned.

(3) The Sultan created a new Department of Agriculture called Diwan-i-Kohi. The main object of this Department was to bring more land under cultivation by giving direct help to the peasants. A large tract of land measuring 60 miles square, was chosen for that purpose. Land was cultivated and different crops were grown in rotation. In two years the government spent more than 70 lakhs. Land was given to those who were in need of it. Unfortunately, the experiment proved to be a failure. The land chosen for experiment was not fertile. The period of three years was too small to give any concrete results. The money was not properly spent and a large part of it was merely wasted.

Transfer of Capital to Daulatabad (1327)

(4) A very important experiment was made by the Sultan in shifting the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. Barani points out that Daulatabad had a central situation and was nearly equi-distant (700 miles) form Delhi, Gujrat, Lakhnauti, Talingana and other chief places. The new capital had its strategic value. It was safe from Mongolian invasions which constantly threatened Delhi. The Sultan also did his best to make Daulatabad suitable place for his officers and the people. All facilities were provided for those who were required to migrate to Daulatabad. A broad road was constructed for their convenience. Shady trees were planted on both sides of the road. A regular postal service was established between Delhi and Daulatabad.

However, when the people of Delhi hesitated to shift to Daulatabad, the Sultan got annoyed and he ordered all people of Delhi to proceed to Daulatabad with their belongings. Ibn Batuta says that a blind man was dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad and a bed-ridden cripple was projected there by a ballista. Regarding the transfer of capital to Daulatabad, Barani observes thus: "Without consultation or weighing the pros and cons, he brought ruin on Delhi which for 170 to 180 years had grown prosperity and rivalled Baghbad and Cairo. The city with its Sarais and suburbs and villages spread over four or five leagues; all was destroyed (*i.e.* deserted). Not a cat or a dog was left. Troops of the inhabitants with their families were forced to move broken-hearted; many perished on the road and those who reached Deogiri, unable to endure their exile, pined to death. All round Deogiri, an infidel land, spread graveyards of Muslims. The Sultan was bounteous to the emigrants both on the journey and arrival; but they were tender and could not suffer exile. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of the multitudes, few lived to return to their native home."

The Sultan realised the folly of his experiment and ordered a return march of the people. The result was that those few who had survived from journey to Daulatabad also died on their return journey. The net result of this experiment was that Delhi lost its former prosperity and grandeur. It is true that the Sultan "brought learned men and gentle men, tradesmen and land-owners into the city of Delhi from certain towns in his territory and made them reside there", but when Ibn Batuta came to Delhi in 1334 he found certain parts of Delhi still deserted. According to Lane-Poole, "Daulatabad was a monument of misdirected energy." According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, it is doubtful if the transfer of capital to Daulatabad would have helped the Sultan to keep a firm hold upon the

different parts of the empire. The Sultan did not see that Daulatabad was situated at a long distance from the northern frontiers of the empire and those required to be constantly watched. He disregarded the warning that the Hindu revolts and the Mongol invasions might imperil his empire at any time. If such a contingency had arisen, the Sultan would have failed to meet the same.

The Currency Experiment (1329-30)

(5) Edward Thomas has described Muhammad Tughluq as "a prince of moneyers". He points out that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to re-adjust its divisions to the altered values of the precious metals and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation." A new gold coin weighing 200 grains and called *Dinar* by Ibn Batuta, was issued by Muhammad Tughluq. He revived the *Adali* coin containing 140 grains of silver in place of the old gold and silver coins weighing 175 grains This change was probably due to a "fall in the relative value of gold to silver, the imperial treasury having been replenished by large quantities of the former metal as a result of the campaigns of the Deccan".

In 1329 and 1330, the Sultan issued a token currency in copper coins. There were already examples of such a currency in China and Persia. Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, had introduced a paper currency in China towards the close of the 13th century. Gai Khatu, the ruler of Persia, made a similar experiment in 1294 A.D. With these examples before him, Muhammad Tughluq issued a decree proclaiming that in all transactions, copper tokens should be accepted as legal tender like gold and silver coins. According to Barani, "This edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint and the Indians of the provinces coined lakhs and crores of copper coins, with which they paid their tribute and bought horses and arms and fine things of all sorts. The Rais, the village headmen and land-owners grew rich on these copper coins but the state was impoverished. In no long time distant countries would only accept the copper *Tanka* as metal, and in places were reverence for the edict prevailed the gold *Tanka* rose to be worth a 100 copper *Tankas*. Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop and the treasury was crammed with them. They fell so low that they were no more valuable than pebbles or potsherds. Trade being disrupted, the Sultan repealed his edict and in great wrath proclaimed that all the copper coins should be redeemed in gold or silver at the treasury. Thousands brought them for exchange and their heaps rose up in Tughluqabad like mountains." Barani tells us that the experiment was due to two causes. The first cause was the need of money to maintain the great army of conquest numbering 3,70,000. The second cause was the deficiency in the treasury caused by the lavish gifts made by the Sultan. Another probable cause can be the relative scarcity of silver in the market. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, another probable cause was the love of experiment on the part of the Sultan who was a man of original cast of mind, well-versed in the arts and sciences of the age. The Sultan might have felt a powerful impulse for the experiment in a scientific spirit. The royal exhortations which accompanied the introduction of the currency and the subsequent behaviour of the Sultan effectively rebut the charge of eccentricity which has been brought against him by modern writers.

Many reasons have been given for the failure of this monetary

experiment of Muhammad Tughluq. It is pointed out that this carefully organised measure failed because it was in advance of the time and the people could not realise its real importance. To the people at large in those days, brass was brass and copper was copper, however urgent the needs of the state might be. Another cause of the failure of the experiment was that the Sultan could not make the issue of the copper coins a monopoly of the state. To quote Edward Thomas, "There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the royal mint and the handiwork of a moderately skilled artisan. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper tokens and no limit to the power of production by the masses at large." The contention of Elphinstone was that the failure of the token currency was due to the insolvency of the king and the instability of his government. This contention has been found to be groundless as the Sultan successfully withdrew all coins by paying gold and silver coins for the copper tokens. Had the Sultan been insolvent, he would not have been able to give gold and silver coins in exchange. Brown attributed this currency muddle to the shortage in the supply of the silver in the world during the 14th century. There was a similar scarcity of coins in England in the reign of Edward III about the year 1335. Similar difficulties were experienced in other countries.

Liberal Administration.

Muhammad Tughluq was a learned man and he refused to accept the dictates of the Ulemas in all matters. The four legal taxes were Khiraj, Zakat, Jaziya and Khamsa but Muhammad Tughluq levied many taxes in addition to them. Muhammad Tughluq was not a religious bigot and consequently he showed greater respect for the sentiments of the Hindus than was done by his predecessors or his successor. He tried to stop the practice of Sati. Independent Rajput states were left undisturbed and this was not liked by the clerical party. He deprived the clerical party of its monopoly of the administration of justice. He made himself the highest court of appeal and whenever he differed from the Muftis, he over-ruled them and acted according to his own view. Judicial powers were given to some of the distinguished officers of the state although they were not Qazis or Muftis. Mubaraq Khan, the brother of Muhammad Tughluq, sat along with the Qazi in the Diwan-i-Khana to help him in disposing of cases. Some of the members of the clerical party were severely punished by the Sultan as they were found guilty of rebellion, open sedition or embezzlement of funds. The clerical party could not be expected to like a ruler who was prepared to punish even the Shaikhs and Saiyyads who were considered to be sacred by the Muslim rulers.

Muhammad Tughluq believed that he was the shadow of God. Some of the inscriptions on his coins read as "Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, but is placed on the elect," "He who obeys the Sultan truly obeys God", "The Sultan is the shadow of God" and "God is the supporter of the Sultan". He dropped all references to the Khalifa.

However, when he became very unpopular, he changed his attitude towards the Khalifa and requested the Khalifa of Egypt to confirm him as the Sultan of Delhi. He substituted the name of the Khalifa on his coins in place of his own name. All royal orders were issued in the name of the Khalifa. In 1344, Muhammad Tughluq received

Haji Said Sarsari, the envoy sent by the Khalifa of Egypt. The envoy was received with the highest honours. The Sultan, all the great officers of the state, the Sayyids, holy and learned men, and all who could pretend to any importance, went out of Delhi to meet the envoy. The Sultan walked barefooted as the envoy approached and kissed his feet several times. Triumphal arches were erected in the city and alms were lavishly distributed. The utterances of the envoy were recorded and repeated as though they had been inspired. To quote Barani, "Without the Caliph's command, the king scarcely ventured to drink a draught of water." In spite of all this, Muhammad Tughluq did not regain the loyalty and confidence of his people. He remained as unpopular as ever.

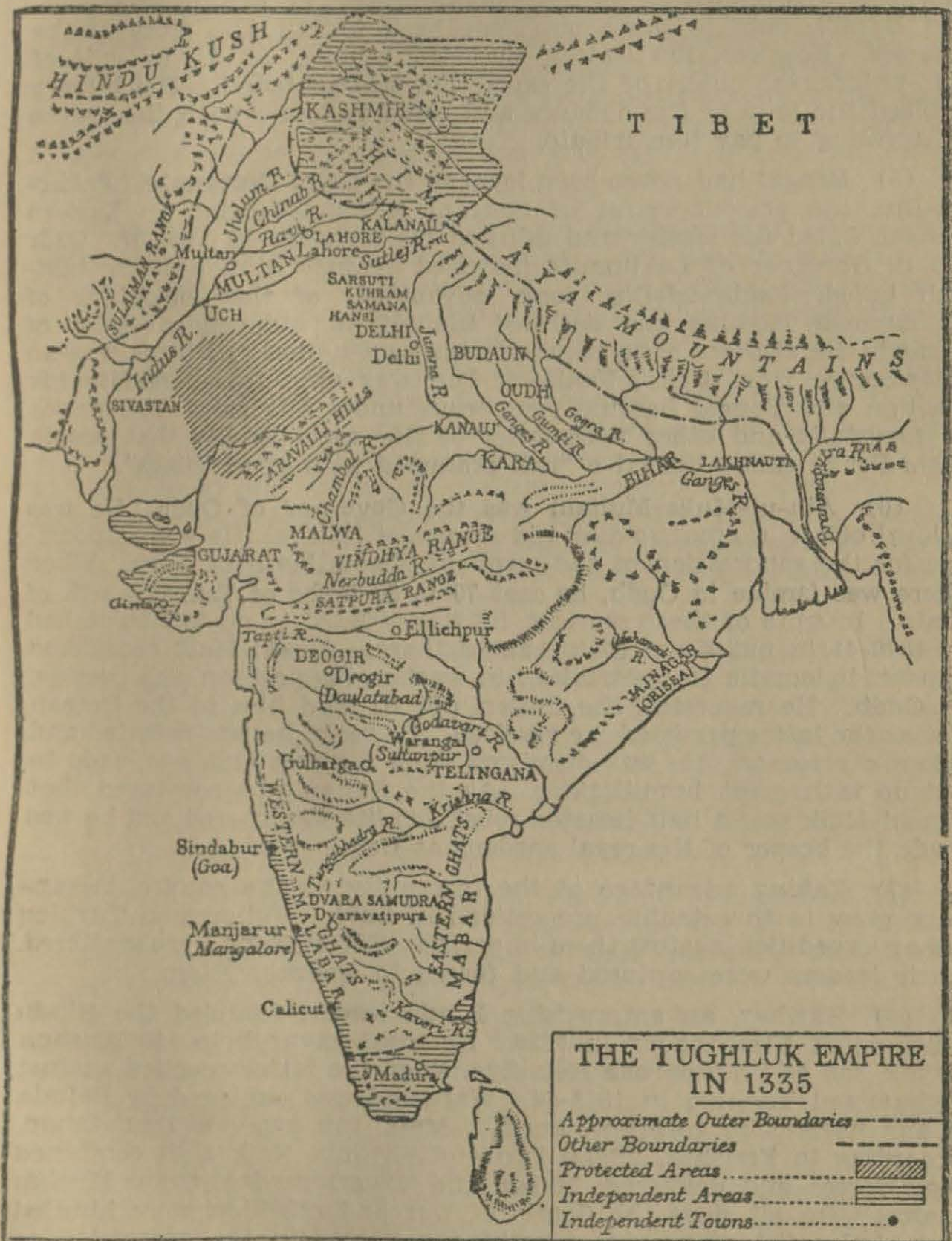
Foreign Policy.

(1) The Delhi Sultanate was not free from external dangers during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. In 1328-29, Tarmashirin Khan, the Chaghatai chief of Transoxiana, invaded India. He ravaged the country from Multan and Lahore to the outskirts of Delhi. It appears that the change of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad and the neglect of the defence of the north-western frontier by Muhammad Tughluq encouraged the Mongols to attack the country. There is a difference of opinion among writers regarding the outcome of the invasion. Yahiya-bin-Ahmad and Badauni tell us that Muhammad Tughluq defeated the Mongols and drove them out of the country. However, Ferishta says that Muhammad Tughluq bribed the invaders and they retired. The gold and jewels given by the Sultan to the invaders have been described "as the price of the kingdom." Whatever the truth, "the invasion was no more than a raid, and Tarmashirin disappeared as suddenly as he had come."

(2) Muhammad Tughluq had visions of universal conquest. He decided to conquer **Khurasan** and Iraq and mobilized a huge army for that purpose. He was encouraged to do so by the Khurasani nobles who had taken shelter in his court. They had also their own axe to grind. Zia-ud-Din Barani tells us that as many as 370,000 men were enrolled in the Diwan-i-Arz or the office of muster master. They were paid for full one year by the state. It cannot be denied that there was instability in Khurasan on account of the unpopular rule of Abu Said and Muhammad Tughluq could certainly take advantage of the same. However, it cannot be ignored that the position of Muhammad Tughluq was not very stable in India itself and consequently it was foolish on his part even to think of conquering foreign lands. Moreover, he did not take into consideration the problem of transport. The difficulties of geography were also ignored. It was completely forgotten that it was not an easy task to send such a huge army through the passes of the Himalayas or the Hindukush and also to provide for their food and other necessaries in such a distant land. Moreover, the Muslim soldiers of India would not have been a match for the hardy hordes of Central Asia. Muhammad Tughluq could not have depended upon the help of the Sultan of Egypt and Tarmashirin Khan. They had their own interests to serve than to help Muhammad Tughluq. It has rightly been said that the scheme was impolitic in the highest degree from every point of view and no wonder the same was abandoned. Zia-ud-Din Barani observes thus: "The coveted countries were not acquired....And his treasure which is the true source of political power, was expended."

(3) The fort of **Nagarkot** was situated on a hill in the Kangra

district of the Punjab. It had defied every Turkish army from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. It had not been conquered during the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. In 1337, Muhammad Tughluq led an expedition against Nagarkot. The Hindu Raja offered resistance but was forced to submit. However, the fort was restored to him.



(4) Following the lead of Ferishta, many writers of Indian history have wrongly maintained that Muhammad Tughluq sent an expedition against China. However, it is clearly stated by Zia-ud-Din Barani and Ibn Batuta that Muhammad Tughluq intended to capture the mountain of **Karajal** which lies between the territories of Hind (India) and those of China. Ibn Batuta tells us that the Karajal mountain was situated at a distance of 10 stages from Delhi. It

appears that the expedition was directed against some refractory tribes in the Kumaon-Garhwal region with the object of bringing them under the Delhi Sultanate. A huge army was sent in 1337-38 for that purpose. The first attack was a success, but when the rainy season set in, the invaders suffered terribly. The entire baggage of the army was plundered by the mountaineers. According to Zia-ud-Din Barani, only 10 horsemen came back to tell the story of the disaster. However, Ibn Batuta gives the number as 3. In spite of this failure, the object of the expedition was achieved. The hillmen realised the folly of the defiance and came to terms with the Sultan by agreeing to pay him tribute.

(5) **Bengal** had never been loyal to the Delhi Sultanate. Fakhr-ud-Din, the armour-bearer of Bahram Khan, Governor of Eastern Bengal, killed his master and usurped his territory in 1336-37. Qadr Khan, Governor of Lakhnauti, marched against him, but was himself killed. Fakhr-ud-Din took advantage of the difficulties of Muhammad Tughluq and declared himself an independent ruler of Bengal. He also got coins struck in his own name. As there was no interference from Delhi, Fakhr-ud-Din was able to consolidate his position and Bengal became prosperous under his rule. The prices of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life were so low that people from Persia called Bengal a "hell crammed with good things".

(6) Ain-ul-Mulk Multani was the Governor of Oudh. He was a loyal officer, a great soldier and a man of letters. He was responsible for the suppression of the revolt of Nizam Main of Kara. When there was famine in Oudh, he sent 70 to 80 lakhs of Tankas worth of grain. In spite of these services, he was ordered to go to Daulatabad in 1340-41 to put down disturbances there. Ain-ul-Mulk considered it as a diplomatic transportation to weaken his position and prestige in Oudh. He requested the Sultan not to send him to the Deccan but as the latter persisted, he revolted. However, he was defeated and taken a prisoner. He was dismissed from his post and was made to put up with great humiliations. As the Sultan was convinced that Ain-ul-Mulk was a half-hearted rebel, his life was spared and he was made the keeper of the royal gardens at Delhi.

(7) Taking advantage of the instability in the empire, brigandage grew to threatening proportions in Sind. Muhammad Tughluq led an expedition against them in person. The ruffians were scattered. Their leaders were captured and forced to embrace Islam.

(8) Harihar, an enterprising Hindu leader, founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336. He also gave help to Krishna Nayak, son of Prataparuda Kakatiya, when the latter revolted against Muhammad Tughluq in 1343-44. Warangal was captured by Ballala II and its Muslim governor, Imad-ul-Mulk, ran away to Daulatabad. According to Ferishta, "Belal Deo and Krishna Naik both combined their forces and delivered Mabar and Dwarsamudra from Muslim control. On all sides the flames of war and rebellion were kindled and of the distant provinces nothing remained in the possession of the Sultan except Gujarat and Deogiri."

(9) Qutlugh Khan was the Governor of **Daulatabad**. A lot of public revenue was embezzled by his subordinates and therefore Muhammad Tughluq decided to send Ain-ul-Mulk Multani to Daulatabad. That could not be done on account of the revolt of Ain-ul-Mulk. In spite of this, Qutlugh Khan was called back from Daulatabad and Alim-ul-Mulk was appointed the Governor of Daulatabad.

However, the situation did not improve. According to Ferishta, "The people disgusted at the removal of Qutlugh Khan and the want of capacity displayed by the new administration, rebelled in all quarters and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence."

(10) Aziz Khummar had been appointed the Governor of **Malwa** and Dhar by Muhammad Tughluq. His attitude towards the nobles was objectionable and consequently they revolted. The Governor caught hold of 80 such nobles and got them beheaded in front of his palace with a view to terrorise others. This was too much and there was trouble everywhere. Aziz Khummar was captured and put to "an ignominious death".

(11) The Sultan could not tolerate the defiance of his authority and consequently marched into **Gujarat** at the head of an army and destroyed all that fell into his hands. At that time, news came of a rebellion in Deogiri and Muhammad Tughluq marched towards Deogiri. There the Afghans, Turks and Hindus had made common cause against the Sultan but the latter was able to recover Daulatabad from the rebels. While in Daulatabad, Muhammad Tughluq heard of another revolt in Gujarat. The leader of the revolt was Taghi, a common shoe-maker and slave of a Muslim nobleman. He was able to bring under his command all the discontented elements. He successfully occupied and plundered places like Nehrwala, Cambay and Broach. However, Muhammad Tughluq was successful in driving out Taghi from Gujarat and the latter took refuge in Sind. Things were brought to normal in Gujarat.

(12) When Muhammad Tughluq was in Gujarat, the foreign Amirs made a vigorous efforts to recover their position and besieged the fort of Deogiri. All attempts of the imperialists to recapture it failed. Imad-ud-Mulk was defeated by Hasan Gangu and the rebels occupied Daulatabad. Ismail Mulk whom the rebels had chosen as their king "voluntarily and gladly" resigned in favour of Hasan Gangu. Hasan took up the title of Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah in August, 1347 and founded the Bahmani kingdom.

(13) Taghi had taken refuge in Sind and Muhammad Tughluq decided to proceed against him. However, on the way, the Sultan fell ill at Gondal and was obliged to halt for some time. After partial recovery, he proceeded towards Thatta in Sind. When he was about 3 or 4 days' march from that place, his condition became grave and he died on 20th March 1351. Badauni observes thus : "*And so the king was freed from his people and they from their king.*"

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Among the Amirs who crowded his camp, he looked about for support to buttress up his tottering power, but they were all mediocrities without any plan or policy and could render him but little assistance. What seriously hampered him was the lack of capable governors and officers to carry into effect his plans. The inefficiency of the men on the spot emphasised the importance of the personal factor to such an extent that the Sultan's presence became necessary to restore order in the disturbed areas. The local administrations, paralysed by persistent opposition and mismanagement, could make no stand against the rebels whose power was daily increasing. Neither at Devagiri nor in Gujarat the local administration displayed any vigour to check the force of disorder and the Sultan alone had to bear the brunt of the opposition. The

imperial army, too, does not seem to have shown any remarkable efficiency; probably the unusual severities of the Sultan had exhausted its patience and chilled its enthusiasm." (*Qaraunah Turks*, p. 247.)

Character and Estimate of Muhammad Tughluq

There is a lot of controversy regarding the character and achievements of Muhammad Tughluq. Elphinstone was of the view that Muhammad Tughluq was affected by some degree of insanity and writers like Havell, Edward Thomas and Smith have followed him. Gardiner Brown has ignored altogether the dark aspect of the life of Muhammad Tughluq and has absolved him of the charges of madness, blood-thirstiness and of being a visionary. Zia-ud-Din Barani and Ibn Batuta have opposite views about the personality, virtues and faults of Muhammad Tughluq. The controversy is as fresh as ever.

Muhammad Tughluq was one of the most learned and accomplished scholars of his time and no wonder he has been praised by his contemporaries. He had a keen intellect and a wonderful memory. He knew logic, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and physical sciences. He was a perfect master of composition and style. He we a brilliant calligraphist. He had a very good knowledge of Persian poetry and took pleasure in quoting verses form Persian poetry in his letters. He knew medicine and was skilful in dialectics. He was an expert in the use of similies and metaphors. Zia-ud-Din Barani describes him as a learned scholar, a veritable wonder of creation whose abilities would have taken by surprise even Aristotle and Asaf. He was generous. He gave lot of gifts to all those who crowded his gate at all times. His habits were simple. He was free from the prevailing vices of age. Ibn Batuta describes him "as the most humble of men and one who is most inclined towards doing what is right and just." Barani, Yahiya-bin-Ahmad Sarhindi, Badauni, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad and Ferishta have wrongly stated that Muhammad Tughluq was not a religious person and he was responsible for the slaughter of the pious and the learned persons. Ibn Batuta positively asserts that "He (Muhammad Tughluq) follows the principles of religion with devoutness and performs the prayers himself and punishes those who neglect them." Ibn Batuta is supported by two other contemporary writers, namely, Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad and Badr-i-Chach. It appears that the only fault of Muhammad Tughluq was that "he ignored the canon of lay" as expounded by the Qazis and other Muslim divines and did what he considered to be just and proper.

Muhammad Tughluq had a lot of imagination but he lacked practical judgment and commonsense. He was hasty and hot tempered. He could not tolerate any opposition from any quarter and was ready to punish all those who dared to defy him or differ from him. According to Zia-ud-Din Barani, "Whatever he conceived, he considered good, but in enforcing his schemes, he lost territories, disgusted his people and emptied his treasury. Embarrassment followed embarrassment and confusion became worse confounded. The ill-feeling of the people gave rise to outbreaks and revolts. The rules for enforcing the royal schemes grew daily more oppressive. The tribute of most of the distant countries and provinces was lost and many of the soldiers and servants were scattered and left in remote lands. Deficiency appeared in the treasury. The mind of the Sultan lost its balance. In the extreme weakness and harshness of his temper, he abandoned himself to severity. When he found that his

orders did not work so well as he wished, he became yet more embittered against his people."

Muhammad Tughluq declared to Barani: "My kingdom is diseased and no treatment cures it. The physician cures the headache and fever follows; he strives to allay the fever and something else supervenes. So in my kingdom disorders have broken out; if I suppress them in one place, they appear in another; if I allay them in one district, another becomes disturbed." Again, "I visit them with chastisement upon the suspicion or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs and I punish the most trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such wazir as will make rules to obviate my shedding blood. I punish the people because they have all at once became my enemies and opponents. I have dispensed great wealth among them, but they have not become friendly and loyal." Again, "My remedy for rebels is the sword. I employ punishment and use the sword so that a cure may be effected by suffering. The more the people resist, the more I inflict chastisement."

Muhammad Tughluq has been described as "a mixture of opposites". If he had his virtues, he had his faults also. While he was kind, generous and humble, he was also most cruel. While he gave gifts to all those who came to him, he was responsible for the deaths of many. The temperament of the Sultan was such that nobody was sure as to what he would get. It was possible that he might get something in charity. It was equally possible that he might be hanged. He did not bother about the sentiments of the people. He had no balance or patience. He had no sense of proportion and no wonder he failed.

Muhammad Tughluq has been described as an amazing compound of contradictions. Dr. Ishwari Prasad points out that the charges of blood-thirstiness and madness are mostly unfounded. No contemporary writer has stated anything from which it can be concluded that Muhammad Tughluq was mad. It is possible that Elphinstone and other European writers were misled by the statement of Ibn Batuta that some dead bodies were always found in front of the palace of the Sultan. If he inflicted the penalty of death even for petty offences, that was due to the fact that he had no sense of proportion and also because such was the custom prevailing in Europe and Asia at that time. The charge of blood-thirstiness was levelled against the Sultan by the members of the clerical party. Barani has condemned the rationalism of the Sultan. In very strong language, he condemns his philosophical speculations. There is nothing to show that the Sultan took pleasure in the destruction of human species and organised man-hunts. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad. "The truth is that the Sultan combined a headstrong temper with advanced ideals of administrative reforms, and when his people failed to respond to his wishes, his wrath became terrible. His impatience was the result of popular apathy, just as popular apathy was the outcome of his startling innovations." (*Medieval India*, p. 272).

According to Gardiner Brown, "That he was mad is a view of which contemporaries give no hint; that he was a visionary, his many-sided, practical and vigorous character forbids us to believe. To call him a despot may be true, but no other form of government was conceivable in the Middle Ages: to use the term as though it

were the name of a vice or a disease is to ignore the fact that a despotic prince who is accessible to new ideas or who embarks on measures of reform can do much to advance the prosperity of his people in an age when education is but little advanced and conservatism deeply rooted. Such a ruler, however, has in his own time serious difficulties to face : the inevitable disturbance of vested interests, the innate preference for established custom, raise up for him numerous enemies : officials carrying out unpopular reforms shelter themselves beneath the plea of the master's orders : should unmerited disaster befall his schemes, should corrupt or incompetent officials pervert their ends, it is he—because he is a despot—who must bear the blame : if he has been a warrior and Death finds him when engaged on some small campaign—like Muhammad bin Tughluq beneath the walls of Thatta—the judgment of Heaven is cited to confirm the popular verdict, and literature records :—

> "He left a name at which the world grew pale
> To point a moral or adorn the tale."

According to Lane-Poole, "Muhammad Tughluq was the most striking figure in medieval India. He was a man with ideas far beyond his age. Ala-ud-Din had brought a vigorous but uncultivated mind to bear upon the problems of government ; Muhammad Tughluq was even more daring in his plans, but they were the ideals of a man of trained intellect and tutored imagination. He was perfect in the humanities of his day, a keen student of Persian poetry—the Lain of Indian education,—a master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric, a philosopher, trained in logic and Greek metaphysics, with whom scholars feared to argue, a mathematician and a lover of science. The contemporary writers extol his skill in composition and his exquisite calligraphy, and his beautiful coinage bears witness to his critical taste in the art of engrossing the Arabic character, which he read and understood though he could not speak the language fluently.

"In short he was complete in all that high culture could give in that age and country, and he added to the finish of his training a natural genius for original conception, a marvellous memory, and an indomitable will. His idea of a central capital, and his plan of a nominal token currency, like most of his schemes, were good ; but he made no allowance for the native dislike of innovations he hurried his novel measures without patience for the slow adoption of the people. and when they grew discontented and rebelled he punished them without ruth. To him what seemed good must be done at once, and when it proved impossible or unsuccessful his disappointment reached the verge of frenzy, and he wreaked his wrath indiscriminately upon the unhappy offenders who could not keep pace with his imagination. Hence with the best intentions, excellent ideas, but no balance or patience, on sense of production, *Muhammad Tughluq was a transcendent failure.* His reign was one long series of revolts savagely repressed ; his subjects, whom he wished to benefit and on whom he lavished his treasure, grew to loathe him ; all his schemes came to nothing, and when after twenty-six years he died of a fever on the banks of the Indus, he left a shattered empire and an impoverished and rebellious people." (*Medieval India*, pp. 86-87.)

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The delineation of a character so complex and contradictory as that of Muhammad Tughluq is no easy task. He was one of the most extraordinary monarchs who ever

sat upon a throne. To the most lavish generosity he united revolting and indiscriminate cruelty; to scrupulous observance of the ritual and ceremonial prescribed by the Islamic law an utter disregard of that law in all public affairs; to a debasing and superstitious veneration for all whose descent or whose piety commanded respect a ferocity which when roused respected neither the blood of the Prophet nor personal sanctity. Some of his administrative and most of his military measures give evidence of abilities of the highest order, others are the acts of a madman. His protege Ziya-ud-Din Barani, the historian, whom he admitted to a considerable degree of intimacy and whom he often deigned to consult, attributes many of the atrocities which he commanded or sanctioned to the evil influence of twelve wicked counsellors, stigmatized as 'miserable,' 'accursed,' or 'most accursed,' whose delight was to shed the blood of Muslims, but Muhammad Tughluq was no weakling and was never a tool in the hands of his counsellors. If his advisers were vile and blood-thirsty men it was he that chose them, and if he followed evil counsels he did so because they commended themselves to him. In like manner Barani attributes his disregard of the Islamic law in administrative and punitive measures to his early association with Sa'd, the heretical logician, Ubaid, the infidel poet, and Alim-ud-Din, the philosopher, but this is mere special pleading. His association with these free-thinkers never diminished his faith in Islam, his careful regard in other respects for its laws, or his veneration for its traditions. It was not the fault of logicians, poets, or philosophers that he scandalised the orthodox by deliberately preferring human reason to divine revelation as a guide in mundane matters, and by openly avowing his preference. His private judgment misled him, but this was due to his temperament. His peculiar vice as a judge and administrator was his inordinate pride, which deprived him of the power or discriminating between offences. All his commandments were sacred and the slightest deviation from an impracticable regulation and the most flagrant act of defiance and rebellion were alike punished by a cruel death. This policy acted and reacted with cumulative effect on the monarch and his people. Disgusted by their sovereign's barbarity they grew ever more refractory; exasperated by their disobedience he grew ever more ferocious. His wide dominions were seldom free from rebellion during his reign, and at his death the whole kingdom was in a ferment.

"Barani, notwithstanding his gratitude and his fears, is surprisingly frank. So overweening, he says, was the king's pride that he could not endure to hear of a corner of the earth, hardly even of a corner of heaven, which was not subject to his sway. He would be at once a Solomon and an Alexander; nor did mere kingship content him, for he aspired to the office of prophet as well. His ambition was to make all the kings of the earth his slaves, and Barani would liken his pride to that of Pharaoh and Nimrod, who claimed divinity as well as royalty, but that his scrupulous personal observance of the law and firm adherence to the faith of Islam cleared him of the suspicion of blasphemy and infidelity. He would compare him with Bayazid of Bustam and Husain, son of Mansur-ul-Hallaj, who, in the ecstacy of their devotion, believed themselves to have been absorbed into the Godhead, but that his barbarous cruelty deprived him of any claim to sanctity". (*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 136-37).

Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388)

Muhammad Tughluq was suceeded by Firuz Tughluq. The

latter was born in 1309 and died in 1388. He was the son of Rajab who was the younger brother of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq. His mother was a Bhatti Rajput girl who agreed to marry Rajab to save the kingdom of her father Ran Mal, Chief of Abohar, from destruction at the hands of the Muslims. When Firuz grew up, he was trained in the art of administration and warfare but he did not distinguish in either of them. Muhammad Tughluq had great love for Firuz and consequently associated him with the administration of the country.

Succession

When Muhammad Tughluq died on 20th March, 1351, there was complete confusion and disorder in the camp which was plundered by the rebels of Sind and Mongol mercenaries who had been hired by Muhammad Tughluq to fight against Taghi. The Sindhis and the Mongols would have decided the fate of all. It was at that time that Firuz was approached to ascend the throne. He hesitated but when the nobles, Shaikhs and Ulema put pressure on him, he agreed to become the Sultan. It was under these circumstances that Firuz was coronated in a camp near Thatta on 23rd March, 1351.

Opposition.

Firuz had to meet another difficulty. Khwaja-i-Jahan, Deputy of the late Sultan, proclaimed at Delhi a boy as the son and heir of Muhammad Tughluq and also put him on the throne. The situation was serious and consequently Firuz consulted the nobles and Muslim jurists. The nobles contended that Muhammad Tughluq had no son. The jurists maintained that the candidate of Khwaja-i-Jahan was disqualified on the ground that he was a minor and not fit to be seated on the throne at a time when the situation was serious. It was also contended that there was no inherited right of succession to throne under the Muslim law. Circumstances demanded that there should be a powerful ruler on the throne of Delhi. When Khwaja-i-Jahan found his position weak, he surrendered. Firuz pardoned him in consideration of his past services and allowed him to retire to Samana. However, he was beheaded on the way by a follower of Sher Khan, the Commandant of Samana.

Controversy

There is some controversy with regard to the succession of Firuz Tughluq. Zia-ud-Din Barani says, that Muhammad Tughluq left a testament nominating Firuz as his heir-apparent. However, the authenticity of the testament has been questioned by Sir Wolseley Haig. The latter is of the view that the child whom Khwaja-i-Jahan put on the throne was not "a supposititious son" of Muhammad Tughluq but was an issue of his blood. Consequently, the succession of Firuz was not regular and he could be called a usurper. However, this view is not shared by other historians. It is pointed out that there is nothing to show that the boy in question was the son of Muhammad Tughluq. Even if the child was the real son of Muhammad Tughluq, the succession of Firuz could not be called irregular as there was nothing like an inherited right of succession to a Muslim throne. According to Dr. R.P. Tripathi, the succession of Firuz "asserted once more with great force the right of election that had been gradually receding in the background without, however, denying the right of the son to rule. The case also emphasized fitness against merely close relationship to the sovereign". The succession of Firuz also emphasized two more principles. The

first principle was that it did not matter if the new ruler was born of a mother who was a non-Muslim before her marriage. The second principle was that it was not necessary that the new ruler should be a distinguished soldier. It has rightly been stated that the succession of Firuz was "as important as it is interesting".

Domestic Policy

We can discuss the reign of Firuz Tughluq under two heads: domestic policy and foreign policy. As regards domestic policy, the immediate task of the new Sultan was to win over the people to his own side. This he did by remitting all debts due to the state from the subjects and by abstaining from any endeavour to recover the treasure which had been frittered away by Khwaja-i-Jahan in his efforts to establish his nominee on the throne. For the first year of his reign, Firuz was fully employed in restoring peace and order in the kingdom. The new Sultan set before himself the ideal of looking after the welfare of the people and he did all that he possibly could to add to their material prosperity and comforts in life. He introduced a large number of reforms in various fields and thereby won the goodwill of the people in spite of his incompetence in the military field.

Revenue Policy

When Firuz Tughluq came to the throne, there was complete chaos in revenue administration. He not only cancelled all the Taqavi loans which had been advanced in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq but also ordered that the peasants should not be harassed by the officers of the state. He increased the salaries of the officers of the revenue administration. Khwaja Hisam-ud-Din was entrusted with the task of preparing a rough estimate of the public revenues of the kingdom. The Khwaja took 6 years in completing his work. He not only toured the provinces but also examined the revenue records. He ultimately fixed the revenue of the Khalsa land in the kingdom at six crores and eighty five lakhs of Tankas. It is to be noted that the estimate was not based on the actual measurements of the land. However, it was based on local information and was a good working hypothesis.

The Sultan abolished 24 vexatious and unjust cesses which had been levied during the previous reigns. The share of the state from land revenue was lessened. He abolished the custom of imposing benevolences on the Governors at the time of their appointment and also the annual money paid by them. These amounts were actually charged by the Governors from the people. The new system of taxation was according to the Qoran. Four kinds of taxes sanctioned by the Qoran were imposed and those were Kharaj, Zakat, Jizya and Khams. Kharaj was the land tax which was equal to 1/10th of the produce of the land. Zakat was 2½% tax on property realised from the Muslims and spent on certain specific religious purposes only. Jizya or poll-tax was levied on the non-Muslims and other heretics. However, the scope of Jizya was extended by Firuz by charging the same from the Brahmans also who had formerly been exempted from the tax. It is stated that when Jizya was levied on the Brahmans, the latter surrounded the palace and protested against the invasion of their ancient privilege. They threatened to burn themselves alive and call upon the Sultan the wrath of God.

The reply of the Sultan was that they could burn themselves as soon as they pleased and the sooner the better. The result was that instead of burning themselves, they sat without food at the gates of his palace. The Sultan did not yield and ultimately it was arranged that the tax leviable from the Brahmans should be levied from the lower castes of the Hindus in addition to the tax to which they were personally liable. Khams was one-fifth of the booty captured during war. Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Tughluq used to get four-fifths of the booty and left only one-fifth to the army. Firuz followed the Islamic law according to which the state was entitled to take only one-fifth and four-fifths had to be left to the soldiers. In consultation with the canonists, the Sultan levied an irrigation tax at the rate of 10% of the produce of the fields. The merchants were not required to pay the irregular and oppressive octroi duties which obstructed the free circulation of commodities from one part of the country to another. The collectors of revenue were warned that they would be severely dealt with in case they charged more than the prescribed dues from the people.

The result of the reforms of Firuz was that he was able to put a lot of money into his coffers. His increased revenues were due to the improved quality of cultivation of superior crops, water tax revenue from gardens. The gardens yielded an annual income of 1,80,000 Tankas. The revenue policy of the Sultan also added to the general prosperity of the people. Shams-i-Siraj Afif tells us that "Their (people) homes were replete with grain, property, horses and furniture; everyone had plenty of gold and silver, no woman was without her ornaments and no house without good beds and *Divans*. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The state did not suffer from financial bankruptcy during this reign. The revenues of the Doab amounted to eighty lakhs of Tankas and those of the territories of Delhi to six crores and eightyfive lakhs of Tankas. Again, "By the blessings of God and favourable seasons, abundance of the necessaries of life prevailed, not only in the capital, but throughout his dominions......Grain was so cheap that in the city of Delhi wheat was 8 *Jitals* a *maund* and grain and barley 4 *Jitals*. A camp follower could give his horse a feed of 10 *Sirs* (20 lbs.) of corn for one *Jital*. Fabrics of all kinds were cheap, and silk goods both white and coloured were of moderate price. Orders were given for the reduction of the price of sweetmeats in accord with the general fall of prices."

Critics point out certain defects in the revenue policy of Firuz. It is pointed out that the Sultan made a mistake in extending the system of farming of taxes. Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq stood for direct management by the state and avoided as far as possible the system of giving the right of collecting revenue to the highest bidders. The system adopted by Firuz brought less money to the government and more harassment to the people. Another defect in the system of Firuz was the introduction of the Jagir system which had been stopped by Ala-ud-Din. Shams-i-Siraj Afif has described the system in these words: "The soldiers of the army received grants of land (Jagirs) enough to support them in comfort and the irregulars received payment from the government treasury. Those soldiers who did not receive their pay in this manner were, according to their necessity, supplied with assignments upon the revenues. When these assignments of the

soldier arrived in the fiefs, the holders used to get about half the total amount from the holders of the fiefs. It was the practice of certain persons in those days to buy up these assignments which was an accommodation to both parties. They used to give one-third of the value for them in the city and receive one half in the districts. The purchasers of these assignments carried on a traffic in them, and gaining a good profit, many of them got rich and made their fortunes." Another defect was the extension of the scope and rigours of the collection of Jizya. The Sultan considered the Brahmans as "the citadel of infidelity" and was not prepared to exempt them.

Irrigation

In order to encourage agriculture, the Sultan paid a lot of attention to irrigation. Shams-i-Siraj Afif tells us that two canals were excavated under the orders of the Sultan. One of them was excavated from the Sutlej and the other from the Jamuna. However, Yahiya refers to four canals which were excavated in the reign of Firuz Tughluq. The first canal was from the Sutlej to the Ghaghar. It was 96 miles long. The second canal was 150 miles long and it carried the waters of the Jamuna to the city of Hissar. The third canal started from the neighbourhood of Mandvi and Sirmour Hills and connected it with Hansi. From Hansi it was taken to Arasani where the foundation of the fort of Hissar Firoza was laid. The fourth canal flowed from the Ghaghar by the fort of Sirsuti up to the village of Hirani-Khera. The remains of some of these canals can be seen even today. Skilful engineers were appointed to superintend the canals and to make their reports about the same. 150 wells were dug during his reign for irrigation purposes and also their use by travellers. It is pointed out that as a result of the irrigation facilities provided by the Sultan, as many as 52 colonies sprang up in the Doab alone. Superior crops such as wheat, sugarcane etc. were cultivated. Fruits were also grown in large quantities.

Public Works

The master passion of Firuz was to build. Sir Wolseley Haig rightly points out that the passion for building of Firuz equalled if it did not surpass, that of the Roman Emperor Augustus. The important towns of Firuzabad (the present Kotla Firuz Shah in Delhi), Fatehabad, Hissar, Jaunpur and Firuzpur (near Badaun) were founded by him. During his Bengal campaigns, he renamed Ikdala as Azadpur and Pandua as Firuzabad. The Sultan built 4 mosques, 30 palaces, 200 caravan Sarais, 5 reservoirs, 5 hospitals, a hundred tombs, 10 baths, 10 monumental pillars and a hundred bridges. He constructed 150 wells for the use of travellers. He dug 5 canals for irrigation. He laid out 1200 gardens in the neighbourhood of Delhi.

The chief architect of the state was Malik Ghazi Shahna who was assisted in his work by Abdul Huq. It is to be noted that the plan of every building along with its estimates was required to be submitted to the Diwan-i-Wizarat before money was sanctioned for its construction. About his building activities, the Sultan himself observes thus: "Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices and aid the kind builder with their prayers."

According to Dr. V.A. Smith, "Asiatic kings, as a rule, show no interest in buildings erected by their predecessors which usually are allowed to decay uncared for. Firuz Shah was peculiar in devoting much attention to the repair and re-building of the structures of former kings and ancient nobles...giving the restoration of those buildings the priority over his own constructions." The two pillars of Asoka were brought to Delhi from Meerut and Topra (in the Ambala district). The pillar from Topra was re-erected at Delhi near the palace and great mosque at Firuzabad. The pillar from Meerut was set up on a mound near the Qushk-i-Shikar or hunting palace near the present Bara Hindu Rao Hospital at Delhi. Shams-i-Siraj Afif describes the process of transportation in these words : "A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5000 and 7000 *mans* of grain and the least of them 2000 *mans*. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firuzabad where it was landed and conveyed into Kushk with infinite labour and skill."

Judicial reforms

When Firuz came to the throne, the penal law of the country was a savage one. To quote the Sultan himself, "In the reigns of the former kings, many varieties of tortures were employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder: these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His Servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musalmans and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men." The result of the reforms of Firuz was that the judicial system became more humane than before. Not only the practice of torture was abolished as a means of ascertaining truth, very mild punishments were imposed on criminals. In some cases, culprits got no punishment at all. The penal reforms applied not only to the Muslims but to all sections of the population. Dr. V.A. Smith praises Firuz Tughluq in these words : "One reform, the abolition of mutilation and torture, deserves unqualified commendation and the orders must have been acted on to a considerable extent during his life-time."

Another reform introduced by Firuz was that if a traveller died on the road, the feudal chiefs and Muqaddams were required to call the Qazis and other Muslims and get the body of the deceased examined. A report was required to be drawn certifying under the seal of the Qazi that no wound was to be found on the body. It was only then that the deceased was to be buried.

The Sultan set up a marriage bureau. He charged himself with the duty of seeing that no girl of his own faith remained unmarried for want of a dowry. His agency worked chiefly among the middle class and widows and orphans of public servants and was most efficient.

The Sultan also set up an employment bureau. This was concerned chiefly with those who desired clerical and administrative employment. It was the duty of the Kotwal of Delhi to seek those who were without employment and to produce them in the court. The Sultan personally made inquiries into their circumstances and

qualifications. After consulting their inclination, they were provided with employment. No effort was made to find out whether there was any demand for their services or not as the whole thing was done on a charitable basis. It must have helped many a young idler.

The Sultan set up a charitable hospital known as Dar-ul-Shafa. This was placed under the charge of experienced physicians. The patients were supplied free medicines and food.

Learning

The Sultan was interested in the promotion of learning. He patronised the Shaikhs and learned men and gave them a hearty reception in his Palace of Grapes. He gave pensions and gratuities to the learned. The Sultan was fond of history. Zia-ud-Din Barani and Shams-I-Siraj Afif wrote their works under his patronage. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was also written during his reign. The autobiography of the Sultan is known as *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi.* When the Sultan conquered Nagarkot, a large number of Sanskrit books fell into his hands. 300 of those books were translated into Persian by Aazz-ud-Din Khalid Khani under the title of Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi. A large number of colleges and monasteries were established where men devoted themselves to prayers and meditation. A mosque was attached to each college for worship. Two well-known professors were attached to these colleges. One of them was Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi. He lectured on theology and Islamic jurisprudence. The other was a preacher from Samarkand.

Patronage of Slavery

Sams-i-Siraj Afif tells us that "the Sultan was diligent in procuring slaves and he carried his case so far as to command his great fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. Those chiefs who brought many slaves received the highest favour. About 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds. Forty thousand were in readiness to attend as guards in the Sultan's equipage or at the palace. Altogether, in the city and in the various fiefs, there were 1,80,000 slaves, for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultan took special care. The institution took root in the very centre of the land and the Sultan looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties." The Sultan set up a separate treasury, a separate Jao-Shughuri, and deputy Jao-Shughuri and a separate Diwan. The institution of slavery was a very easy method of propagating Islam as every slave became a convert to Islam.

Army

The army was based on a feudal basis. The regular soliders of the army received grants of land which were sufficient for their comfortable living. The irregular soldiers (Ghairwajh) were paid direct from the royal treasury. There were soldiers who were supplied with transferable assignments on the revenue. The assignments were purchased in the capital by middlemen at one-third of their value and were sold to the soldiers in the districts at one-half. Thus, certain persons gained at the expense of the soldiers. The army of the Sultan consisted of 80,000 or 90,000 cavalry which could be increased by the retainers sent by the nobles. The army could not be efficient. The Sultan passed a new regulation that if a soldier became incapable of service in the field on account of his old age, his

son or son-in-law or his slave could be sent in his place. Obviously, the recognition of the hereditary claim in military service was highly objectionable. The retainers supplied by the nobles could not be relied upon by the Sultan as they looked to their masters and not to the Sultan for their recruitment, promotion and discipline. The system of assignments mentioned above was also faulty and not conducive to efficiency. Old and inefficient soldiers were allowed to approach the Sultan and he intervened on their behalf unmindful of its effect on the efficiency of the army. The inspectors who inspected soldiers and horses were corrupt in spite of his knowledge the Sultan would not dismiss them on account of his tender heart. We are told that the Sultan overheard a trooper complaining to a comrade the hardship of being compelled to submit his horse for inspection. The Sultan enquired of the trooper about his hardship and he was told that he could not expect his horse to be passed unless he paid the inspector at least one gold Tanka. The Sultan paid the coin to be paid to the inspector instead of taking action against the inspector. Thus, in a way, the Sultan became a party to the general corruption that was prevailing in the administration.

Coins

The Sultan did not issue absolutely new varieties of coins. The coins in circulation in his reign were already there in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. Shams-i-Siraj Afif attributes the introduction of Shashghani or six Jital piece to Firuz but Ibn Batuta also refers to such a coin. However, it cannot be denied that Firuz introduced two coins described as *Adha* (half Jital) and *Bikh* (quarter Jital). These coins were of mixed copper and silver and were intended to facilitate the transactions of the common people but there was a lot of fraud and corruption in the working of the mint. It is stated that two informers reported that six Jital pieces were a grain short of standard purity. Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, the minister, sent for Kajar Shah, the mint-master and directed him to find out a method by which the Sultan could be satisfied about the purity of the coin. Kajar Shah arranged that the coins should be melted before the metal was tested. He also approached the goldsmiths whose duty was to conduct the experiment in the presence of the king and requested them to put secretly into the crucible sufficient silver to bring the molten metal to the standard of purity. They pointed out the difficulty of doing so but promised to do the needful if silver was placed within their reach. Kajar Shah got the necessary quantity of silver concealed in one of the pieces of charcoal used for heating the crucible and goldsmiths succeeded in conveying it into the vessel without being observed. When the metal was tested, it was found to be of the standard purity. Kajar Shah was carried through the city one one of the royal elephants to proclaim his honesty and the two informers were banished.

Court

The Sultan maintained a magnificent and luxurious court which was particularly decorated on the occasions of Id and Shabrat. There were 36 royal establishments and each had a separate staff of officers of its own. The expenses of these establishments must have been considerable.

Religious Policy

While Firuz has been praised for other reforms, he has been

criticised for his religious policy. He was a staunch Sunni Muslim and was prepared to help all those who belonged to his faith. He gave the Ulemas a high place in society and government. It is their decisions that bound the Sultan. He did nothing without consulting them. He arranged for the marriages of the daughters of poor Muslims. He set up schools and colleges and maintained them at the state expense. However, he was intolerant towards the Hindus and even the Muslim dissenters. He pulled down Hindu temples and "killed the leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error". He built mosques in place of the temples. While referring to the Hindus who had assembled for worship in the new temple at Kohana, the Sultan wrote thus: "The people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols and the vessels used in their worship which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restricted by threats and punishments, as warning to all men, that no Zimmi could follow such wicked practices in a Musulman country."

The Sultan destroyed the Jawala Mukhi temple and the Jagannath temple at Puri. He imposed Jizya on the Brahmans. He burnt to death a Brahman who was accused of trying to propagate his religion. Two Sayyids were put to death in Katehar. When Firuz heard of it, he personally went to Katehar and ordered a general massacre of the people. Thousands of innocent persons were put to death and 23,000 persons were made prisoners and converted into slaves. During the next five years, the Sultan visited Katehar every year and repeated the story. The cruelty was so great that "the spirits of the murdered Sayyids themselves arose to intercede". That shows the ferocity of the Sultan to punish those who had the audacity of laying their hands on a Sayyid.

The Sultan offered all kinds of temptations to induce people to embrace Islam. To quote the Sultan, "I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet and I proclaimed that everyone who repeated the creed and became a Mussalman should be exempt from the Jizya, a poll tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam." The Hindus who became Muslims were not required to pay Jizya. They were also offered temptations of Jagirs, rewards in cash, titles, honours and state employment in case they became Muslims.

The Sultan was intolerant towards the Shias and other non-Sunni Musalmans who were considered to be heretics by the orthodox Sunnies. About the Shias, the Sultan observes thus: "I seized them all and I convinced them of their errors. On the most zealous I inflicted capital punishment and the rest I visited with censure and threats of public punishment. Their books I burnt in public and, by the grace of God, the influence of this sect (Shias) was entirely suppressed." The Mulhid and the Abahtiyan were imprisoned and banished and their religious practices were stopped. The Mehdwis were punished and their leader Rukn-ud-Din was convicted of hearsay and he was killed with some of his supporters and disciples. The Sultan tells us that the people tore Rukn-ud-Din to

pieces and broke his bones into fragments. A similar treatment was given to the Sufis.

The Sultan had great regard for the Khalifa of Egypt. He styled himself as the deputy of the Khalifa. During the first six years of his reign, the Sultan received twice a patent of rulership and robes of honour from the Khalifa. He associated the name of the Khalifa on his coins along with his own name. The name of the Khalifa was read in the *Khutba*, along with that of the Sultan.

A reference may be made to some minor aspects of the domestic policy of the Sultan. The Sultan wanted to make atonement for the sins of Muhammad Tughluq. He ordered the heirs of those who had been executed during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand or foot to be satisfied with gifts and reconciled to the late king. They were required to give declarations in writing duly attested by certificates. Those written pardons were put in a chest placed near the tomb of Muhammad Tughluq so that it might help him on the Day of Judgment. All those who had been deprived of their villages, lands and ancient patrimonies during former reigns, were restored to their rights. Their claims were fully examined in courts of law and when those were proved, their property was restored to them.

A plot was formed in 1358 against the life of Firuz. His cousin, Khudavandzada and her husband arranged that the king should be assassinated by armed men on the occasion of the visit of the Sultan to their house. However, the plot was frustrated by her son Davar Malik who was not in sympathy with the step-father. He indicated to the Sultan by signs that his life was in danger and thus caused him to leave before arrangements for his assassination were complete. On returning to his palace, the Sultan ordered troops to surround the house and the men who would have murdered the Sultan, were arrested. Instead of hanging Khudavandzada, she was merely imprisoned and her wealth was confiscated. Her husband was also banished.

Foreign Policy

Firuz Tughluq was a pious and merciful ruler. He did not possess the courage which was required of a king of the 14th century. He did not possess the qualities which could help him to bring under his control all those parts of the Delhi empire which had become independent during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. The Sultan had a horror of wars and his heart would begin to sink at the sight of bloodshed. According to Thomas, "His generalship in two campaigns to Bengal and his eventual reduction of the Thatta, seems to have been of the lowest order; and the way he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Cutch or the defiles of Jajnagar, seems to savour of positive fatuity." No attempt was made by the Sultan to bring the Deccan under his control. When his officers asked him to send an expedition to Daulatabad, the Sultan "looked distressed and his eyes were suffused with tears and approving their arguments, he said that he was resolved never more to make war upon men of the Muhammadan faith." There were no Mongol invasions during his reign. Yahiya tells us that the "frontiers of the kingdom were secured by placing them under great armies and the well-wishers of Emperor".

Bengal

Haji Iliyas was the independent ruler of Bengal. He took up the title of Shams-ud-Din Iliyas Shah. He made himself master of Eastern and Western Bengal. He also attacked Tirhut with a view to annexation. In spite of his disinclination for war, Firuz Tughluq felt that action must be taken against Shams-ud-Din. In November 1353, the Sultan marched from Delhi at the head of 70,000 horse. When Iliyas heard of the advance of the Sultan, he retreated into the fort of Ikdala which was situated at a distance of 10 or 12 miles from Pandua. While pursuing the retreating enemy, the Sultan issued a proclamation to the people of Bengal which has been described by Dr. Ishwari Prasad as "one of the most extraordinary documents in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi and throws much light upon the mild policy of Firuz". After promising concessions to the people, the **proclamation** reads thus: "Whereas it has come to our auspicious ear that Iliyas Haji has been committing oppression and highhandedness upon the people of the territory of Lakhnauti and Tirhut, shedding unnecessary blood, even shedding the blood of women, although it is a well-established proposition in every creed and doctrine that no woman, even if she be a *Kafir*, should be slain. And whereas the said Iliyas Haji has been levying illegal cesses not sanctioned by the law of Islam, and thus putting the people into trouble; there being no security of life and property, no safety for honour and chastity.....And whereas he has exceeded the limit and publicly rebelled against our authority, therefore, we have approached with invincible army for the purpose of opening this territory, and for the happiness of the people thereof; desiring thereby to deliver all from this tyranny, to convert the wounds of his oppressions by the slaves of justice and mercy, and that the tree of their existence, withered by the hot pestilential wind of tyranny and oppression, might flourish and fructify by the limpid water of our bounty." Haji Iliyas was defeated by the Delhi troops but the Sultan did not take full advantage of his hard earned victory and went back to Delhi in September 1354 without annexing Bengal. There are two views regarding the action of the Sultan. One view is that the Sultan decided to retire on account of the cries of the women in the besieged fort. To quote Shams-i-Siraj Afif, "To storm the fort, put more Musalmans to the sword and expose honourable women to ignominy, would be a crime for which he could not answer on the Day of Judgment and which would leave no difference between him and the Mughals." Another view is that the Sultan retreated because he was afraid of the disasters that might come on account of the beginning of the rainy season. Whatever the cause of the retreat, one has to agree with the statement of Thomas that "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness".

Firuz made another attempt to conquer Bengal after a few years. Zafar Khan, son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah of Eastern Bengal, ran away from Sunargaon to Delhi and complained to Firuz Tughluq of the highhandedness of the Bengal ruler. The death of Haji Iliyas also encouraged Firuz to organise an expedition against Bengal. Firuz Tughluq set aside all previous treaties and assurances of friendship and marched in 1359 against Sikandar Shah, the son and successor of Haji Iliyas. The army of the Sultan consisted of 70,000 horses, about 500 elephants and a considerable infantry. On

the way, the Sultan halted for 6 months at Zafarabad on the river Gomti and founded in its neighbourhood the city of Jaunpur in the memory of Muhammad Tughluq who was also known as Prince Juna Khan. When the rainy season was over, the Sultan continued his advance towards Bengal. Like his father, Sikandar Shah retreated into the fortress of Ikdala which was besieged by the Delhi troops. The fort was defended bravely and when the rains came and the territory was flooded, the Sultan came to terms with Sikandar Shah which were favourable to the Bengal ruler. The result was that the second Bengal expedition failed in its objective. It merely proved the weakness of the Sultan.

Jajnagar

While coming back to Delhi from Bengal, the Sultan decided to conquer Jajnagar (modern Orissa). It is difficult to state the real motive of the Sultan in waging war against Jajnagar. The view of Sir Wolseley Haig is that the Sultan wanted to capture Puri which was famous for the temple of Jagannath. The ruler of Jajnagar ran away on the approach of the Sultan and took shelter in Talingana. The Sultan destroyed the Hindu temples. Their idols were thrown into the sea and some of them were sent to Delhi to be trodden under foot by the faithful. After that, the ruler of Jajnagar was called back and his territories were restored to him on the condition that he would send every year a number of elephants to the Sultan.

From Jajnagar, the Sultan went to Chhota Nagpur. On the route to Nagpur, the Sultan lost his way and for several months nothing was known about his whereabouts. A large number of soldiers died in those jungles.

Nagarkot

It is true that the fort of Nagarkot had been conquered in 1337 by Muhammad Tughluq but it had become independent once again towards the end of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Firuz Tughluq decided to conquer it once again. The fort was besieged for 6 months and ultimately its ruler submitted. The Sultan entered the Jawalamukhi temple. Its idols were broken and their pieces were mixed with flesh and blood of the cow. Some of the idols were sent as trophies to Medina. It is to be noted that from the temple of Jawalamukhi, a large number of Sanskirt books fell into the hands of the Sultan and some of them were translated into Persian under the title of *Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi.*

Sindh

Muhammad Tughluq had died while fighting in Sind and Firuz Tughluq himself was coronated in a camp in Sind. It was considered necessary to reconquer Sind. In 1361-62 A.D., Firuz Tughluq marched towards Thatta, capital of the Jams of Sind, with 90,000 cavalry 480 elephants, 5000 boats and numerous infantry. Jam Babaniya, the ruler of Sind decided to oppose the Sultan with an army of 20,000 cavalry and 4000,000 infantry. The Delhi army suffered on account of the outbreak of famine and an epizootic disease. About three-fourths of the Delhi army was destroyed in this manner. It is under these circumstances that the Sultan decided to retreat to Gujarat. Unfortunately, while retreating to Gujarat, he lost his way on account of the treachery of the guides. He drifted into the Rann of Cutch. For about 6 months, nothing was known about the where-

abouts of the Sultan and his army. However, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, his able minister, sent fresh troops to the Sultan and it was with the help of those troops that the Sultan attacked the Sindhis in 1363 and forced them to come to terms. The Sindhis agreed to pay an annual tribute of several lakhs of Tankas to the Sultan and also acknowledged the overlordship of the Sultan. Jam Babaniya was taken away to Delhi and his brother was appointed in his place. The conquered Jam appears to have remained loyal to the Sultan all his life. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the Sind expedition is "a singular instance of the Sultan's fatuity and lack of strategical skill".

Death of Firuz

The last days of the Sultan were not peaceful. As he advanced in age, his judgment began to fail. The Sultan received a severe shock when his eldest son Fateh Khan died in 1374. The Sultan made a mistake in sharing the work of administration with his son Muhammad Khan. Instead of doing work, the Prince devoted all his time to pleasure. Attempts were made to create more interest for work in the Prince but failed. Being disappointed, the nobles organised a rebellion against the authority of Muhammad Khan and the latter was obliged to fight. He was on the verge of victory when the nobles brought the Sultan into the field. The result was that Muhammad Khan was defeated and he fled for his life towards the Sirmur hills. Firuz then appointed his grandson, Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq Shah, son of Fateh Khan, as his heir and also conferred upon him the royal title. Firuz Tughluq died on 20th September, 1388 at the age of 80. According to Moreland, "The death of Firuz marked the end of an epoch. In the course of a few years the kingdom broke up, and during the first half of the fifteenth century there was no longer a single predominant Muslim power in India."

Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul

Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul was originally a Hindu of Telingana. His Hindu name was Kuttu or Kunnu. He became a Muslim in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. He was given the fief of Multan and he managed it very efficiently. When Firuz ascended the throne, he called Maqbul to his court and made him his Prime Minister after the fall of Ahmad-bin-Ayaz. The Sultan conferred upon him the title of Khan-i-Jahan, "Lord of the World". The Sultan came to have so much of confidence in him that whenever he went out of Delhi, the affairs of the state were left into the hands of Maqbul. He saved his master from disaster in Sind by sending a timely help. According to Lane-Poole, as the Sultan's Deputy and *alter ego* he held the state securely while his master was away, stood always between him and his official worries, and administered the kingdom with exceptional skill and wisdom. If the borders were more limited than before, the smaller area was better developed and made more productive. It was doubtless due to Maqbul's influence, seconded by the Rajput blood which Firuz inherited from Bibi Naila, that the new regime was marked by the utmost gentleness and consideration for the peasantry."

Although Maqbul was a great statesman, he was a slave to pleasures. He had in his harem 2000 ladies who ranged from olive Greeks to saffron Chinese. The Sultan was so much fond of Maqbul that he allowed an income of over a thousand a year to every son that was born to him and yet more by way of marriage portion to

each daughter. The amount must have been very great taking into consideration the number of women in his harem. Maqbul had another weakness. He gave high and lucrative posts to his relatives and children. Maqbul lived to a ripe old age and when he died in 1370, his son Juna Shah was appointed in place of his father and was also given the title of Khan-i-Jahan. Unfortunately, he was not loyal like his father. He tried to estrange the relations between the Sultan and his son Prince Muhammad Khan. When the Sultan came to know of it, he was dismissed.

Character and Estimate of Firuz

Contemporary Indian writers are unanimous in praising Firuz Tughluq. Their view is that since the time of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, no king had been "so just and kind, so courteous and God-fearing, or such a builder" as Firuz was. The latter was adored by the people. He reformed abuses. He checked extortion. He increased irrigation. He was a father to his people. He took care of the needy and unemployed. He refused to dismiss aged officials and allowed their sons to act for them. He helped the marriages of the poor Muslims. He provided state hospitals for all classes. He was a devout Muslim. He kept fasts and said public prayer. When an old man, he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Salar Masud at Bahraich and humbly got himself shaved as an act of piety. He never did anything without consulting the Koran. He even selected a Governor in accordance with a lucky omen in the sacred book. He was always worried about the welfare of his subjects. The people enjoyed prosperity during his reign.

However, there are certain aspects of his life which take away from his greatness. He was not a general and consequently he did not make any effort to reconquer the territories which had been lost in the Deccan during the reign of his predecessor. He was not strict in administration. Many examples of his misplaced generosity can be quoted. It has already been pointed out how he gave a Tanka to a trooper so that the latter could bribe his inspector. The Sultan made a mistake in organising his army on a feudal basis. He should not have revived the Jagir system which had been abolished by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The granting of big Jagirs was bound to create trouble and ultimately was partly responsible for the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire. The Sultan also made a mistake in creating a large number of slaves. These slaves interfered with the administration of the country and were partly responsible for the fall of the Tughluq Empire. The religious policy of the Sultan was also partly responsible for the downfall of the Tughluq dynasty. The Hindus and non-Sunni Muslims became the enemies of the Tughluq dynasty. The Sultan made a mistake in making the Ulema the masters of the show. According to Dr. R. P. Tripathi. "The irony of history reflects itself in the unfortunate fact that the very qualities that had contributed to the popularity of Firuz were also largely responsible for the weakness of the Sultan of Delhi.

According to S.R. Sharma, "Firuz was neither an Asoka nor an Akbar, both of whom have been noted for their religious toleration. Firuz was a fanatic like Aurangzeb, though unlike him a wine-bibber. But in spite of this, he had more of constructive wisdom in him than his dilettante predecessor possessed. Lack of martial vigour and the unwisdom of feudalising the kingdom are the only other charges

that have been levelled against him." (*The Crescent in India*, p. 154).

An attempt has been made to compare Firuz with Jalal-ud-Din Khalji. However, it is pointed out that it is better to compare Firuz with Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad than with any other ruler. Like Nasir-ud-Din, he was too much inclined towards religion and like him again he found his Balban in Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul. Both sovereigns were of a mild and forbearing disposition although Firuz was a more capable administrator. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Both were weak rulers, but Firuz was far less weak and vacillating than Mahmud and both were benevolent, but the benevolence of Firuz was more active than that of Mahmud. Firuz possessed far more ability than Mahmud, and his weakness consisted largely in an indolent man's distaste for the details of business and in unwillingness to cause pain. His benevolence was indiscriminate, for he showed as much indulgence to the corrupt official as to the indigent husbandman and his passion for constructing works of public utility was due probably as much to vanity as to benevolence." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 184-5.)

Henry Elliot has tried to compare Firuz with Akbar. However, Dr. Ishwari Prasad points out that the comparison is unnecessary and unjust. According to him, "Firuz had not even a hundredth part of genius of that great-hearted and broad-minded monarch who preached from the high platform of public interest the gospel of peace, goodwill and toleration towards all sects and creeds. The reforms of Firuz lacked permanence, they failed to strengthen the Muslim polity and to gain the confidence of the Hindus whose feelings were embittered by his religious intolerance. Altogether they produced a reaction which proved fatal to the interests of the dynasty of which he was by no means an unworthy representative." (*Medieval India*, pp. 314-15).

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The reign of Firuz closes the most brilliant epoch of Muslim rule in India before the reign of Akbar." In spite of his defects of character, Firuz "succeeded in improving the administration and in alleviating the lot and winning the affection of his subjects. Military capacity and diligence in matters of detail are qualities indispensable to an oriental despot, and Firuz lacked both. After two unsuccessful expeditions into Bengal he was fair to recognise the independence of that country, and his rashness twice imperilled the existence of his army. His easy tolerance of abuses would have completely destroyed the efficiency of that mainstay of absolute power, had it not been counteracted by the vigilance and energy of his officers, who were carefully selected and entirely trusted by him. His judgment of character was, indeed, the principal counterpoise to his impatience of the disagreeable details of government, and the personal popularity which he enjoyed as the kindly and genial successor of a capricious tyrant secured fidelity of his trusted officers, but his extensive delegation of authority to them undermined the power of the crown. No policy, however well-devised, could have sustained this power under the feeble rule of his successors and the terrible blow dealt at the kingdom within ten years of his death, but his system of decentralisation would have embarrassed the ablest successors, and undoubtedly accelerated the downfall of his dynasty." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 189.)

The Later Tughluqs

Firuz Tughluq was succeeded by his grand-son who took up the title of **Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq Shah II.** His uncle Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad opposed his succession to the throne but he was defeated and he ran away to Kangra. The new king gave himself up to a life of pleasure and tried to strengthen his position by merely disposing of all possible rivals. He imprisoned his brother, Salar Shah. Abu Bakr, his cousin, became a conspirator in order to save his own skin. Rukn-ud-Din also supported him. The result was that Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq Shah II ran away from his palace by a door opening towards the Jamuna. However, he was overtaken and killed by a body of household troops led by Rukn-ud-Din.

It was under these circumstances that **Abu Bakr Shah** became king on 19th February 1389. He appointed Rukn-ud-Din as his minister but later on put him to death as he was found to be a party to a conspiracy to usurp the throne. There was a contest for power between Abu Bakr Shah and Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad. The latter marched from Kangra to Samana where he was proclaimed king on 24th April, 1389. He continued his march towards Delhi. Ultimately, Abu Bakr Shah was able to inflict on Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad a crushing defeat and the latter crossed the Jamuna into Doab and retired to Jalesar which was made by him his headquarters. Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad took the field once again in July 1389 and marched on Delhi. However, he was defeated once again and was forced to retire to Jalesar. In spite of his defeat for the second time, the authority of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad was acknowledged in Multan, Lahore, Samana, Hissar, Hansi and other districts to the north of Delhi. In April 1390, Abu Bakr Shah left Delhi to deal with Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad but when he reached near Jalesar, the latter eluded him and reached Delhi by forced marches at the head of 4000 horse and occupied the palace. Abu Bakr at once retraced his steps and as he entered Delhi, Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad fled and went back to Jalesar. A conspiracy was hatched against Abu Bakr and when he came to know of it, he retired with his followers to Mewat and it was under these circumstances that Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad entered the capital and was enthroned in the palace of Firuzabad on 31st August, 1390.

Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad ruled for about 4 years from 1390 to 1394. His first task was to crush Abu Bakr and his followers. Abu Bakr was made to surrender and he was sent as a prisoner to Meerut where he died soon afterwards. In 1392, the Hindus of Etawah, led by Narsingh, Sarvadharan and Bir Bhan, rose in revolt. Islam Khan was sent against them. He defeated them and he carried Narsingh to Delhi. As soon as his back was turned, there was a fresh rebellion but the same was crushed once again. There was another rebellion in 1393. On that occasion, the Governor of Jalesar enticed their leaders, by fair words, into Kannauj. There he treacherously slew them all except Sarvadharan who escaped and took refuge in Etawah. In the same year, the king marched through the rebellious district of Mewat and laid it waste. On 20th January, 1394, Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad died.

His son ascended the throne at Delhi on 22nd January 1394 under the title of **Ala-ud-Din Sikandar Shah**. His reign was brief.

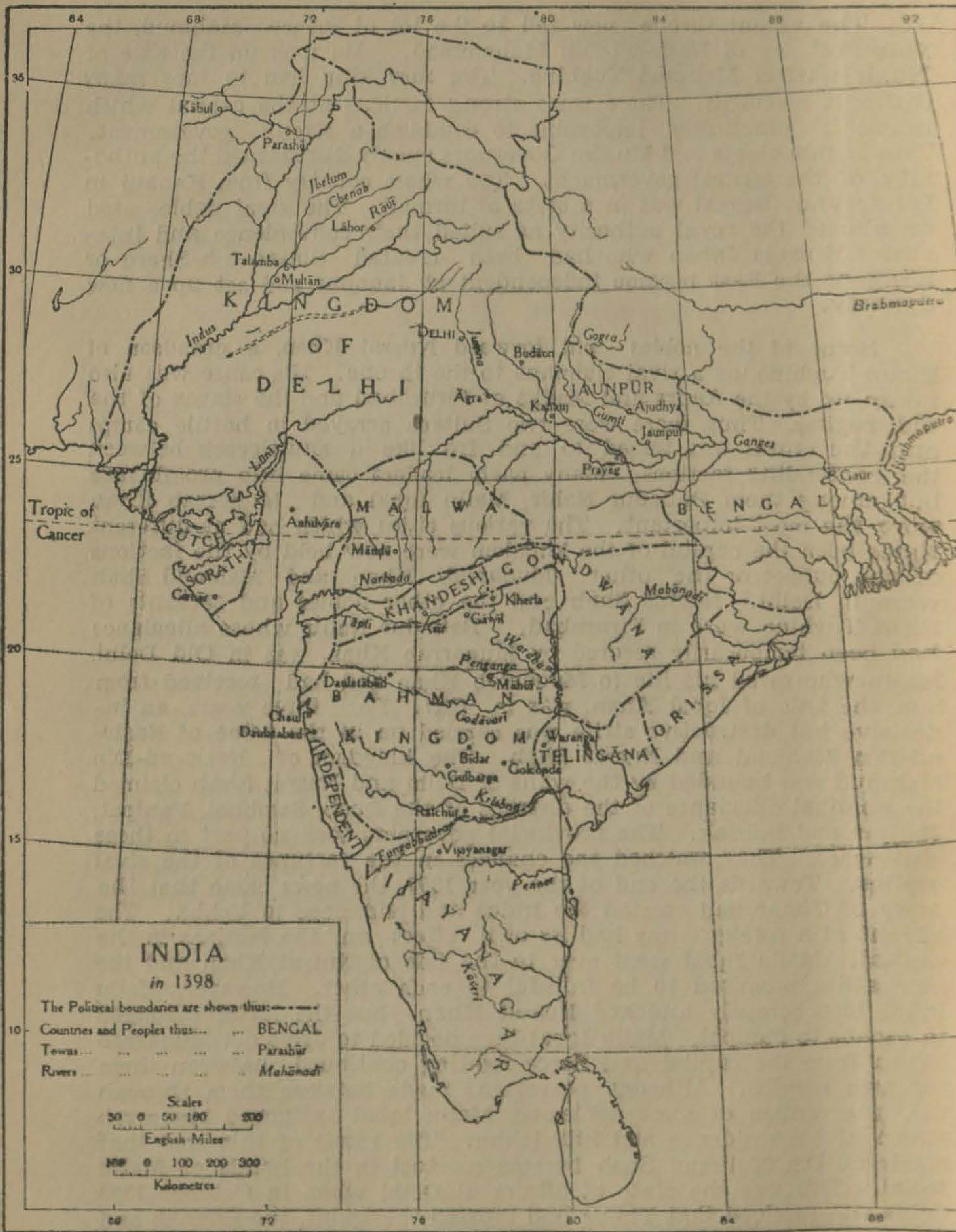
He fell sick almost immediately after his accession and died on 8th March 1394.

The vacant throne now fell to the lot of Prince Mahmud, the youngest son of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad. He took up the title of **Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Tughluq.** The new king had to face many difficult problems. There were strong factions at the capital which made it practically impossible to establish a strong government. The Hindu chiefs and Muslim Governors openly disregarded the authority of the central government. The whole country from Kanauj to Bihar and Bengal was in a state of turmoil. The great nobles used or abused the royal authority as suited their convenience and interest. Khwaja Jahan who had been created Sultan-ush-Sharq or King of the East became independent at Jaunpur and set up a new dynasty.

Some of the nobles put forward Nusrat Khan, a grandson of Firuz Tughluq, as a rival claimant to the throne. His cause was also taken up by the Amirs and Maliks at Firuzabad and the slaves of the old regime. Thus there were two Sultans arrayed in hostile camps and the crown was tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock between the contending factions. Many party leaders came into prominence but among them Bahadur Nahir, Mallu Iqbal and Muqarrab Khan were the most important. The various cities which had at different times been the capital of the kingdom were now held by the factions of one puppet or the other. Muqarrab Khan and Mahmud Shah were in Delhi. Nusrat Shah and the other nobles and servants of Firuz Tughluq were in Firuzabad. Bahadur Nahir whose allegiance had been temporarily secured by Muqarrab Khan, was in Old Delhi. Mallu who owed his life to Muqarrab Khan and had received from him the title of Iqbal Khan, was in Siri. For three years, an indecisive but destructive strife was carried on in the name of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud and Nusrat Shah. The kingdom of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud was bounded by the walls of Delhi and Nusrat Shah claimed the nominal allegiance of the districts of the Doab, Sambhal, Panipat, Jhajjar and Rohtak. The provincial governors took no part in these civil wars. They watched the changes in the fortunes of the rival parties. Towards the end of the year 1397, the news came that the army of Timur had crossed the Indus and laid siege to Uchha. The advent of a foreign army had its own effect on the factions in the capital. Mallu Iqbal went over to the side of Nusrat Khan and the new allies promised to be faithful to each other. However, Mallu Iqbal treacherously attacked Nusrat Khan but the latter managed to escape to Panipat. Mallu Iqbal then decided to drive out Muqarrab Khan from the capital and fierce fighting continued between them for two months. Although peace was made between them through the intervention of some noblemen, Mallu Iqbal attacked Muqarrab Khan at his residence and killed him. The result of this was that Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah became a tool in the hands of Mallu Iqbal. This was the state of affairs at Delhi when in October 1398 news was received that Timur had crossed the Indus, the Chenab and the Ravi and occupied Multan which was already held by his grandson.

Timur's Invasion of India (1398)

Amir Timur or Timur-i-Lang (the Lame) "Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction", was born in 1336 A.D. at Kesh which was 50 miles


INDIA
in 1398
The Political boundaries are shown thus:
Countries and Peoples thus... ... BENGAL
Towns ... ... Parashūr
Rivers ... ... Mahānadī
Scales
English Miles
Kilometres
KINGDOM OF DELHI
JAUNPUR
BENGAL
MALWA
CUTCH
SORATH
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
ORISSA
BAHMANI KINGDOM
TELINGANA
INDEPENDENT
VIJAYANAGAR
Kābul
Parashūr
Jhelum
Chenāb
Rāvī
Lāhor
Talamba
Multān
Indus
Delhi
Jumna
Budāon
Gogra
Ajudhya
Gumti
Jaunpur
Ganges
Āgra
Kanauj
Prayāg
Gaur
Brahmaputra
Lūnī
Tropic of Cancer
Anhilvāra
Māndū
Narbada
Girnār
Kherla
Gāvil
Tāpti
Asīr
Wardha
Pengangā
Mahūr
Mahānadī
Daulatābād
Chaul
Dābhol
Godāvarī
Warangal
Bidar
Golkonda
Gulbarga
Krishnā
Raichūr
Tungabhadra
Vijayanagar
Penner
Kāverī

south of Samarkand. He was the son of Amir Turghay, chief of the Gurgan branch of the Barlas, a noble Turkish tribe. He became the head of the Chagtai Turks at the age of 33. He waged war against Persia and the adjoining lands. He was able to establish his control over Persia and its dependencies. Before he thought of India, he had already conquered Mesopotamia and Afghanistan.

Efforts have been made to find out the **real motive underlying the invasion of India** by Timur but it appears that he had no clear-cut motive to attack this country. He was a great military adventurer and was fired with the lust of dominions. His ambition to conquer more lands must have naturally drawn his attention to India. Moreover, the gold, silver, jewels and pearls of India must have added to the attraction. However, it is stated in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama* that the principal object of his expedition was neither conquest nor plunder but the destruction of the unbelievers. It is stated that Timur summoned a council of warriors and the Ulema to seek their advice. Shah Rukh referred to the vast area of India and the advantages that were sure to come on account of its conquest. Prince Muhammad pointed to the resources of India and her precious metals, jewels and pearls. He also emphasized the religious aspect of the matter. Some nobles pointed out to the evil consequences of settling down in India. Having heard all this, Timur is said to have observed thus: "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels, that, according to the law of Muhammad, we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *Ghazis* and *Mujahids* before God." His view was endorsed by the learned in the law.

Before setting out himself to invade India, Timur sent his grandson, Pir Muhammad, son of Jahangir, to do the preliminary work. Pir Muhammad crossed the Indus and captured Uchha. After that, he proceeded towards Multan which was captured after a long siege of six months. Pir Muhammad also overran the whole of Dipalpur and Pak Pattan and reached the river Sutlej and waited for his grandfather.

Timur left Samarkand in April, 1398. He was delayed on his way to India by an expedition of Kafirstan by the construction of forts on his road and the business of his vast empire. He left Kabul on 15th August, 1398 and crossed the Indus on 24th September, 1398. In two days, he reached the Jhelum. The local ruler named Shihab-ud-Din Mubarak opposed Timur but he was defeated. Mubarak Shah and his whole family perished in the river Jhelum. Timur crossed the Jhelum and the Ravi and on 13th October, 1398 encamped before Tulamba. He agreed to spare the town if he was paid a certain amount but in spite of that ordered a massacre of the people. Timur had to deal with Jasrat who had established himself at Lahore. The stronghold of Jasrat on the river Sutlej was taken and he ran away. On 25th October, 1398 Timur reached the northern bank of the Sutlej. On 26th October, he was joined by Pir Muhammad. During the rest of the Indian campaign of Timur, Pir Muhammad commanded the right wing of his army.

The towns of Pak Pattan and Dipalpur had incurred the displeasure of Timur by rising against Pir Muhammad. The citizens

of Pak Pattan were flogged, plundered and enslaved. 500 citizens of Dipalpur were put to death to avenge their slaughter of the garrison of Pir Muhammad in that town. Rai Dul Chand, a Bhati Rajput, was the ruler of Bhatnir. He offered a tough resistance but ultimately surrendered on 9th November, 1398.

The assessment and collection of ransom of Bhatnir provoked resistance on the part of the inhabitants and after a general massacre, the city was burnt and laid waste "so that one would have said that no living being had ever drawn breath in that neighbourhood".

On 13th November, 1398, Timur left Bhatnir and marched through Sirsa and Fatehabad, pursuing and slaughtering the inhabitants who fled before him. Aharwan was plundered and burnt. At Tohana, about 2000 Jats were slain. On 29th November, the whole army assembled at Kaithal and marched to Panipat. On 7th December, 1398, the right wing of the army reached the north of Delhi overlooking the Jamuna. On 9th December, the army crossed the river. On 10th December, Timur captured Loni whose Hindu inhabitants were put to death.

Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah and Mallu Iqbal collected their troops within the walls of the city. On 12th December, Mallu Iqbal attacked the rear-guard of Timur. Two divisions were sent to help the rear-guard and Mallu was defeated and driven back to Delhi. The only fruit of his enterprise was a terrible massacre. At the time of the attack by Mallu on the rear-guard there were about one lakh of adult male Hindus who had been captured by Timur and they showed their joy at the time of the attack. That was noticed by Timur and he caused them all to be put to death. Timur deared that on the day of battle they might "break their bonds, plunder our tents and join the enemy".

In spite of the warnings of astrologers and misgivings of the troops, Timur crossed the Jamuna on 15th December 1398 and early on the morning of 17th December drew up his army for the attack. Mallu Iqbal and Mahmud Shah also led their forces out of Delhi. The Indian army consisted of 10,000 horse, 40,000 foot and 120 elephants clad in armour with their tusks armed with poisoned scimitars and bearing on their backs strong wooden structures occupied by javelin and quoit throwers, crossbowmen and throwers of combustibles. The fighting line of the invading army entrenched itself with a ditch and screens of thatch before which buffaloes were hobbled and bound together to break the onslaught of the elephants. Timur placed the right wing of his army under Pir Muhammad and Amir Yadgar Barlas, his left wing under Sultan Husain, Prince Khalil and Amir Jahan and he himself commanded the centre. The two armies confronted each other outside Delhi and the battle commenced with loud shouts and cries on both sides. The assault was begun by the generals of Timur who separated themselves from the advance guard and moved off to the right and came behind the advance guard of the enemy, and fell upon them and "scattered them as hungry lions scatter a flock of sheep and killed 600 of them in this one charge". Pir Muhammad smashed the left wing of the enemy and compelled it to flee from the battle-field. Sultan Mahmud Shah and Mallu Iqbal attacked the central wing. They fought with great courage. "The frail insect cannot contend with the raging wind nor the feeble deer against the fierce lion, so they were com-

pelled to take to flight." Mahmud Shah and Mallu Iqbal ran away from the battle-field and Timur hoisted his flag on the ramparts of Delhi. The Sayyids, the Qazis, the Shaikhs and the Ulemas of the City waited upon Timur and in response to their request, he granted an amnesty to the people of Delhi. However, the license of the soldiery, rigour of the search for fugitives from other towns who were not included in the amnesty and assessment of the ransom led to disturbances. The result was that the troops sacked and bloodshed continued for many days. A large number of persons were captured and made slaves. Artisans were sent to various parts of the empire of Timur. The three towns of Siri, Old Delhi and Jahan Panah were laid waste by Timur who occupied them for 15 days.

The author of *Zafarnama* describes the sack of Delhi in these words: "But on that Friday night there were about 15,000 men in the city who were engaged from early eve till morning in plundering and burning the houses. In many places the impure infidel *gahrs* made resistance. In the morning the soldiers who were outside, being unable to control themselves, went to the city and raised a great disturbance. On that Sunday, the 17th of the month, the whole place was pillaged and several palaces in Jahan Panah and Siri were destroyed. On the 18th the like plundering went on. Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves, and some brought as fifty or a hundred men, women and children as slaves out of the city. The other plunder and spoils were immense ; gems and jewels of all sorts, rubies, diamonds, stuffs and fabrics of all kinds, vases and vessels of gold and silver, sums of money in *Alai tankas*, and other coins beyond all computation. Most of the women who were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and valuable rings upon their toes. Medicines and perfumes and unguents, and the like, of these no one took any notice. On the 19th of the month Old Delhi was thought of, for many infidel Hindus had fled thither and taken refuge in the great mosque, where they prepared to defend themselves. Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, with 500 trusty men, proceeded against them, and falling upon them with the sword, despatched them to hell. High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. On the same day Old Delhi was plundered. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners. For several days in succession, the prisoners were brought out of the city, and every Amir of a *tuman* or *kushun* took a party of them under his command. Several thousand craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city and under the command of Timur, some were divided among the princes, Amirs, and Aghas who had assisted in the conquest; and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Timur had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i-Jami* in Samarkand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone masons should be reserved for that pious work."

From Delhi, Timur moved to Meerut which was bravely defended by Ilyas Afghan, his son, Maulana Ahmad Thanesari and Safi. Timur razed the fortifications to the ground, put the people to death and plundered all their property. It was ordered that all the towers and walls should be levelled to the earth and the houses of the Hindus should be set on fire. Timur marched to the Ganges and

after a battle on that river in which he captured and destroyed 48 boat-loads of Hindus, he crossed the river and defeated an army of 10,000 horse and foot under Mubarak Khan. He attacked and plundered two Hindu forces in the neighbourhood of Hardwar. From there, he marched towards Kangra and on the way slaughtered every day bodies of Hindus like sheep. On 16th January, 1399, he captured Kangra. After that, he marched towards Jammu whose ruler was defeated and made prisoner. "By hopes, fears and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islam. He repeated the creed and ate the flesh of the cow which is an abomination among his compatriots. This obtained him great honour and he was taken under the protection of the Emperor." Just before the defeat of Raja of Jammu, Sikandar Shah of Kashmir sent a message offering his submission. An expedition was sent to Lahore. The city was captured and held to ransom. Shaikha Khokhar was led before Timur who put him to death. On 6th March, 1399, Timur held a court for the purpose of saying farewell to the princes and officers of the army before sending them to their provinces. On that occasion, he appointed Khizr Khan to the government of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur. Some historians contend that Timur nominated him as his Viceroy in Delhi. On 19th March, 1399 Timur crossed the Indus and two days later left Bannu and reached Samarkand after some time. He inflicted on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single invasion.

Effects of the Invasion

(1) After the departure of Timur, the whole of northern India was in indescribable disorder and confusion. Delhi was in ruins and almost depopulated. It was without a master. Whatever inhabitants were left, they had to face famine and pestilence. Famine was the natural consequence of the wholesale destruction of the stores of grain and standing crops by the invading army. Pestilence had its origin in the pollution of the air and water-supply of the city by the dead bodies of thousands of inhabitants. So complete was the destruction that *"the city was utterly ruined and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved wing in Delhi."*

(2) The Tughluq empire was completely dissolved. Khwaja Jahan was an independent ruler at Jaunpur. Bengal had long been independent. Muzzafar Shah in Gujarat did not recognise any master. Dilawar Khan in Malwa wielded royal authority. The Punjab and Upper Sind were governed by Khizr Khan as the viceroy of Timur. Samana was in the hands of Ghalib Khan. Bayana was in the hands of Shams Khan of Auhadi. Kalpi and Mohaba formed a small principality under Muhammad Khan. Mallu Iqbal remained at Baran for the present. Nusrat Shah became for some time the Lord of Delhi but he was expelled from that place by Mallu and forced to take refuge in Mewat where he died soon afterwards. It cannot be denied that the invasion of Timur gave a death-blow to the tottering Tughluq dynasty which was replaced by the Sayyid dynasty in 1414.

(3) Timur destroyed the prosperity of India. Great buildings and works of art in Delhi, Bhatnir, Dipalpur, Meerut and Hardwar were destroyed. Loot, plunder and arson deprived India of her great wealth.

(4) The invasion of Timur widened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. On account of their intoleration towards the Hindus, the Muslims had failed to win over the Hindus who considered the Muslims as *Mlechhas*. The wholesale massacres of the Hindus and the building of towers with their skulls by Timur added to the existing bitterness. The invasion of Timur made it all the more difficult for the Hindus and Muslims to come nearer each other.

(5) Another effect of Timur's invasion was that Indian art found its way in Central Asia. A large number of Indian artists and craftsmen were taken away by Timur to Samarkand where they were employed to construct mosques and other buildings.

(6) Another effect of Timur's invasion was that it paved the way for Mughal conquest. Babur was a descendant of Timur and he claimed the throne of Delhi partly on account of his descent. In Timur's conquest of the Punjab and Delhi. Babur found a legal and moral justification for his conquest of India.

Tughluq Dynasty after Timur's Invasion

It has already been pointed out that after the departure of Timur, Nusrat Shah occupied Delhi but he was driven out by Mallu Iqbal. In 1401, Mallu Iqbal felt that the prestige of Mahmud Shah would be useful to him and consequently he persuaded him to come back to the capital. The experience of Mahmud Shah after his defeat at the hands of Timur had been bitter. He was not welcomed by Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. He had been received well by Dilawar Khan of Malwa and given a residence at Dhar but he could not resist the temptation to come back to Delhi. Mallu Iqbal received Mahmud Shah with every demonstration of respect but later on interned him in one of the royal palaces. He himself continued to govern the kingdom as if Mahmud Shah had not returned from Malwa.

In 1402, Mallu Iqbal marched to Kannauj. He also carried Mahmud Shah with him. Mahmud Shah resented his subjection to Mallu and ran away from his camp at Kannauj by night and took refuge with Ibrahim Shah, the ruler of Jaunpur. However, he was not welcomed by Ibrahim Shah and he left him with a few followers. Mahmud Shah was able to expel Ibrahim Shah's governor from Kannauj and he made that city his residence. Mallu Iqbal went back to Delhi. Ibrahim Shah submitted to the occupation of Kannauj by Mahmud Shah and went to Jaunpur.

In the same year, Mallu tried to capture Gwalior but he failed and was forced to retire. In 1404, Mallu besieged Etawah for four months but failed to capture it. He also tried to capture Kannauj but failed. In 1405, Mallu marched against Bahram Khan who had established himself in Samana. Bahram Khan ran away but was pursued up to Rupar. A pious Shaikh was successful in composing the differences between Mallu and Bahram Khan and both of them joined hands to fight against Khizr Khan. Mallu treacherously caused Bahram Khan to be flayed alive. Khizr Khan advanced from Dipalpur on 12th November, 1405 and he defeated and slew Mallu in the neighbourhood of Pak Pattan.

After the death of Mallu Iqbal in 1405, the affairs of Delhi were controlled by a body of nobles headed by Daulat Khan Lodi and Ikhtiyar Khan. They invited Mahmud Shah and the latter came

back to Delhi in December 1405. Daulat Khan Lodi was appointed the military governor of the Doab and Ikhtiyar Khan was made the governor of Firuzabad.

In 1406, Mahmud Shah sent Daulat Khan Lodi to reduce Samana. He himself marched to Kannauj with the intention of punishing Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur for his own treatment when he visited his camp in 1402. After some fighting between the armies of Mahmud Shah and Ibrahim Shah, a peace was made but in spite of that Ibrahim Shah besieged Kannauj and captured it. He even marched towards Delhi and was on the point of crossing the Jamuna when he learnt that the ruler of Gujarat intended to make conquests at the cost of Jaunpur. It was under these circumstances that Ibrahim Shah went back to Jaunpur. Daulat Khan Lodi who had been sent to reduce Samana, drove Bahram Khan from Samana to Sirhind and forced him to surrender. He befriended and patronised his defeated enemy and established himself at Samana. On the approach of Khizr Khan, Daulat Khan Lodi ran away to the Doab and his followers joined Khizr Khan. Besides Samana, Khizr Khan captured and annexed Sirhind, Sunam and Hissar so that beyond the walls of Delhi only the Doab, Rohtak and Sambhal remained under Mahmud Shah.

It is true that Mahmud Shah got back Hissar in 1408. In January 1409, Khizr Khan appeared before the walls of Firuzabad and besieged it. However, Khizr Khan was forced to retire as the country was not capable of supporting an army on account of famine and destruction. In 1410, Khizr Khan reduced Rohtak after a siege of 6 months and no attempt was made by Mahmud Shah to help the town. In 1411, Khizr Khan marched to Narnaul and plundered that town and three others to the south of Delhi. He also besieged Mahmud Shah in Siri but he was saved once again by famine and Khizr Khan was forced to raise the siege and retire. *In February 1413, Mahmud Shah died at Kaithal after a nominal reign of 20 years* during which he never wielded any authority and was more than once a fugitive from his capital. With him ended the line of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq. About Mahmud Shah, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* observes thus: "The whole business was fallen into the greatest disorder. The Sultan gave no heed to the duties of his station and had no care for the permanency of the throne; his whole time was devoted to pleasure and debauchery."

Daulat Khan Lodi

After the death of Mahmud Shah, the nobles transferred their allegiance to Daulat Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan marched into the Doab and compelled the Rajputs of Etawah and Mahabat Khan of Budaun to owe him as their sovereign. However, Daulat Khan came back to Delhi as he did not want to come into conflict with Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur. In December, 1413, Khizr Khan invaded the territory of Daulat Khan and marched into Mewat. He plundered Sambhal. In March 1414, he besieged Daulat Khan in Siri with an army of 60,000 horses. Daulat Khan held out for four months and then surrendered. Khizr Khan entered Delhi as its sovereign on 28th May, 1414 and founded the Sayyid dynasty. Daulat Khan was imprisoned in Hissar.

Causes of the down-fall of the Tughluq Dynasty

When Muhammad Tughluq was the ruler, his empire included the

whole of the continent of India, with the exception of Ka: Cutch and a part of Kathiawar and Orissa. On the death of Mal. Shah, his grand-nephew, the extent of the kingdom was defined by a contemporary saying: "The rule of the Lord of the Wo extends from Delhi to Palam" (Palam is at present an aerodrome a distance of a few miles from Delhi). Even this small kingdom vanished and the Sayyids established their rule at Delhi. Many factors were responsible for the downfall of the Tughluq empire.

(1) Muhammad Tughluq himself was partly responsible for the downfall of the Tughluq Empire. His transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad brought a lot of misery to the people. His introduction of the token currency emptied the treasury. His attempt to conquer Khurasan cost him a good deal. His taxation of the Doab turned its inhabitants into the enemies of the empire. His personal character also was responsible for creating a large number of enemies of the empire. No wonder, there were many revolts in many parts of the empire. It was during his time that the Bahmani kingdom was set up in the Deccan. Likewise, it was during his reign that the Vijayanagar empire was established. All his time was spent in crushing one rebellion or the other and even when he died in 1351, he was fighting against the rebels. There is no exaggeration in saying that even before the death of Muhammad Tughluq, the process of disintegration had already started.

(2) That this disintegration could have been stopped if Muhammad Tughluq had been succeeded by a strong personality, but that was not to be. He was succeeded by Firuz Tughluq who was not a warrior at all. It is true that he carried out many reforms and made himself popular with the people but the lack of martial qualities in him could not enable him to reconquer those parts of India which were once parts of the Delhi Sultanate. He did not take any action at all against the Hindu empire of Vijaynagar and the Muslim state known as Bahmani kingdom.

(3) The situation became much worse under the successors of Firuz Tughluq. Ghyias-ud-Din Tughluq Shah II, Abu Bakr Shah, Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad, Al-ud-Din Sikandar Shah and Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad who ruled from 1388 to 1413 were too weak to reconquer those parts of the empire which had become independent. As a matter of fact, even those parts of India which were under Firuz Tughluq, became independent during their reigns. The result was that the process of disintegration, instead of being stopped, was accelerated during the reigns of the weak successors of Firuz Tughluq. Those rulers contented themselves with their personal pleasures. They spent their time in mutual fights. They sent armies to plunder and massacre the people but they did nothing to give the people a good administration which alone could win the confidence and loyalty of the people.

(4) Firuz Tughluq made many mistakes which also contributed to the downfall of the Tughluq dynasty. He revived the Jagir system. He gave large jagirs to his great nobles instead of giving them salaries. The Jagirs often amounted to viceroyalties of great power. Large districts and even provinces were assigned to eminent poblems. Kara and Dalamau were granted to Mardan Daulat with the title of "King of the East". Oudh, Sandila and Koil formed separate jagirs. Jaunpur and Zafrabad were given to another Amir. Gujarat was given to Sikandar Khan and Bihar was given to Bir Afghan. All these

nobles were expected to defend their frontiers and manage their internal affairs. In course of time, these jagirdars defied the authority of the Delhi Sultan and set up independent kingdoms at the cost of the Tughluq empire. It cannot be denied that Firuz Tughluq set in motion the centrifugal forces which ultimately led to the break-up of his empire. It was during the reigns of the successors of Firuz that the province of Oudh and the country of the east of Ganges as far as the borders of Bengal were formed into an independent kingdom of Jaunpur. The provinces of Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh cut off their connection with Delhi and became independent states. A Hindu principality was established in Gwalior. Muslim principalities were set up in Bayana and Kalpi. The chiefs of Mewat were practically independent and they shifted their allegiance from one authority to another according to the circumstances. The Hindus of the Doab were almost continually in revolt and the rulers of Delhi had merely to content themselves with whatever they were able to realise with the help of their armed forces.

(5) Another mistake made by Firuz Tughluq was that he created a large army of slaves who became a menace in the time of his successors. The number of slaves in the reign of Firuz Tughluq was about 1,80,000 out of whom 40,000 were enlisted for service in the palace of the Sultan. It is true that by increasing the number of slaves, Firuz Tughluq was able to add to the number of converts to Islam but these slaves interfered with the administration of the country and ultimately became an important cause of the disintegration of the Tughluq empire. We do not hear of eminent slaves like Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban who were responsible for the greatness of the so-called Slave dynasty. The slaves of Firuz Tughluq were merely a negative force who did not bother to gain even at the cost of the empire. No wonder, the army of slaves recruited by Firuz Tughluq became a liability.

(6) Firuz Tughluq made another mistake which also contributed to the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. A majority of the army men in his reign were paid by transferable assignments on the royal revenue. Those assignments were purchased at Delhi by a professional class at about one-third of their value. Those were sold to the soldiers in the districts at one-half. This practice led to great abuse and the discipline of the army suffered. Firuz Tughluq also ordered that when a soldier became old, his son or son-in-law or even his slave could succeed him. Service in the army was made hereditary and considerations of fitness and merit were ignored. This was bound to affect adversely the efficiency of the army. Such an army could not be trusted to fight successfully against rebels or foreign invaders. Most of the army of Firuz Tughluq consisted of quotas supplied by the nobles. This army could not be controlled by the Central Government as their recruitment, promotion and discipline were in the hands of the nobles and not in the hands of the Sultan. The weakening of the military machine on whom alone depended the integrity of the empire, was suicidal and Firuz Tughluq must be held responsible for the same.

(7) His religious policy was also partly responsible for the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. Firuz Tughluq was a staunch Sunni Muslim. He took pleasure in persecuting the non-Sunni Muslims and the Hindus. The temples of the Hindus were destroyed and their idols were broken and insulted. Their books were burnt. Hindus were converted into

Islam by threats and temptations. Jizya was exacted from the with great strictness. Even the Brahmans were not spared. Braham was ordered to be put to death on the charge that he was seducing Muslims to give up their religion. Two Sayyids were put to death in Katehar. Firuz Tughluq attacked Katehar and under his orders thousands of Hindus were killed and 23,000 of them were taken prisoners and converted into slaves. This process was repeated for 5 years. That shows the bitterness of feeling which Firuz Tughluq had for the Hindus. Similar was the treatment given by Firuz Tughluq to the non-Sunni Muslims. The Mulhid and Abahtiyan were imprisoned and banished. The Mehdwis were punished. Their leader Rukn-ud-Din was torn to pieces and Firuz Tughluq took pride in the fact that God had made him the instrument of putting down such wickedness. He was also cruel towards the Shias. Their books were burnt in public and they themselves were killed. By following such a religious policy, Firuz Tughluq might have won over the goodwill of the Ulemas, Shaikhs, Sayyids and Muslim divines but by doing so he alienated an overwhelming majority of the people to such an extent that by his actions he undermined the very foundations of his empire. Firuz Tughluq ignored altogether the fact that will and not force is the basis of the state. By his actions, he failed to win over the affection of the people.

(8) The basic principle of the Muslim state in the 14th century was force. The awe and fear in which the ruling class was held disappeared. Firuz Tughluq, if at all, was loved and not feared by his subjects. The result was that the people defied the authority of the state and became independent and the empire began to disintegrate.

(9) The theocratic character of the state adversely affected its efficiency. The influence of the Mullahs and Muftis proved disastrous in the long reign. A state where the bulk of the population was that of the non-Muslims could not be governed for long by a law which followed the precepts of the Qoran.

(10) After conquering India, the Muslims got everything. They got plenty of wealth, women and wine. They started living a life of ease. They lost their old grit and manliness. They behaved like a disorderly mob in the midst of a campaign. The qualities of generalship disappeared and an army consisting of such persons could not keep down the Hindus or fight against the foreign invader.

(11) Although the Hindus had been subjected to a foreign rule for a long time, they did not give up their efforts to become free and independent. It took more than 150 years to conquer and annex Ranthombor. Although the Doab is situated very near Delhi, it was never submissive. The Hindus always continued to revolt and the control of the Delhi Sultanate was merely nominal. No wonder, as soon as the authority of the Delhi Sultanate became weak, they revolted and became independent in various parts of India.

(12) The Delhi Sultanate was merely a police state. Its only function was the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues. When it failed to discharge those duties satisfactorily, it lost the very reason for its existence.

(13) According to Dr. Lane-Poole, inter-marriages with the Hindus was one of the causes of the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. However, this view is not accepted. It is pointed out that although Firuz Tughluq had a Hindu mother, he did not show any leniency towards the Hindus. Even the subsequent events do not support the

contention of Lane-Poole. Akbar adopted the policy of matrimonial alliances with the Hindus in order to strengthen his empire and it cannot be denied that he succeeded in doing so. It is only when that policy was reversed by Aurangzeb that the downfall of the Mughal empire took place.

(14) However, it cannot be denied that the invasion of India by Timur gave a death-blow to the Tughluq dynasty. Even at the time of invasion, there were two rulers, namely, Mahmud Shah and Nasrat Khan who claimed at the same time to be the rulers of Delhi. The manner in which the people of Delhi were massacred and plundered must have completely destroyed the very foundations of the Tughluq empire. We are told that for three months Delhi had no ruler at all. There was utter confusion and disorder in the country. The various provinces became completely independent and there was none to take any action against them. Even after his restoration, Mahmud Shah did nothing to restore law and order within the territory under his control. He devoted all his time to pleasure and debauchery. No wonder, such an empire disappeared. There was nothing left to justify its existence.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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The whole chapter.
Just read it & have its idea.

CHAPTER IX

THE SAYYID DYNASTY (1414-1451)

Khizr Khan (1414-1421)

Khizr Khan was not only the founder of the Sayyid dynasty but also its ablest ruler. He was a Sayyid. The author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* give two reasons in support of the Sayyid descent of Khizr Khan. One reason is that on one occasion Jalal-ud-Din Bukhari, the chief of the Sayyids paid a visit to Malik Nasir-ul-Mulk Mardan Daulat, Governor of Multan and when food was served before the guests, Malik Mardan asked the brother of Khizr Khan to wash the hands of Jalal-ud-Din. On this, Jalal-ud-Din observed thus : "This is a Sayyid and is unfit for such a work as this." Another reason given is that Khizr Khan was generous, brave, humble, hospitable and true to his word and those were the virtues which could be possessed only by a Sayyid.

In his childhood, Khizr Khan was brought up by Malik Nasir-ul-Mulk Mardan Daulat, Governor of Multan. Firuz Tughluq conferred upon Khizr Khan the Jagir of Multan. However, when confusion prevailed after the death of Firuz Tughluq, Khizr Khan was besieged and captured by Sarang Khan, brother of Mallu Iqbal. However, Khizr Khan managed to escape. In 1398, he joined hands with Timur and the latter at the time of his departure gave him the Jagir of Multan with its dependencies. In 1414, Khizr Khan ousted Daulat Khan and took possession of Delhi.

Title

When Khizr Khan got possession of Delhi, his position was very weak and no wonder he did not take up the title of king and contented himself with that of *Rayat-i-Ala*. The coins were struck and *Khutba* was read in the name of Timur and after his death in the name of his successor, Shah Rukh. Khizr Khan even sent his tribute to his lord.

Condition in 1414

When Khizr Khan became king, various authorities at the capital scrambled for power. They changed their positions with great rapidity according to the circumstances. There was a lot of trouble in the Doab. The Zamindars of Etawah, Katehar, Kannauj and Badaon did not hesitate to challenge the authority of the Central Government and also did not care to pay their tribute and no wonder many expeditions had to be undertaken against them. Jaunpur, Gujarat and Malwa had become independent of Delhi and were fighting among themselves. The Mewatis did not care for the central authority and withheld their tribute. The Khokhars were a great menace and carried on their depredations at Multan and Lahore. The Turk-Bacchas at Sarhind formed conspiracies to establish their influence. The Muslim governors in the various provinces fought with one another and did not care for the central autho-

rity. Military adventurers and self-seeking politicians were in plenty and added to the confusion.

New Appointments

After his accession to the throne, Khizr Khan re-arranged the various important offices. The office of Wazir was given to Malik-us-Sharq Malik Tuhfa and he was given the title of Taj-ul-Mulk. He continued to be Wazir up to 1421 when he died. The fief of Saharanpur was given to Sayyid Salim. The fiefs of Multan and Fatehpur were given to Abdur Rahim. The Doab was given to Ikhtiyar Khan. Malik Sarwar was appointed Shahna of the capital and he was given the authority to act for the king in his absence. Malik Daud was made secretary of state and Malik Kalu was appointed the keeper of the elephants. Malik Khair-ud-Din was made the Ariz-i-Mamalik. The various other nobles were confirmed in their previous Jagirs and offices.

Expeditions

The Hindus of the Doab and Katehar did not pay their tribute and consequently in 1414, an army was sent under Taj-ul-Mulk to reduce to obedience Har Singh, the rebellious Raja of Katehar. The Raja ran away to the forests but ultimately he was compelled to surrender and also give an undertaking to pay the tribute in future. The fief-holders and Hindu chiefs of the lower Doab were forced to acknowledge Khizr Khan as their master. It is rightly pointed out that the chronicles of the Sayyid dynasty are chiefly a history of expeditions of this nature. Khizr Khan was the most powerful ruler of a house the influence and dignity of which decayed with great rapidity. Even in his reign, military force was the normal means of collecting the revenue. Recalcitrants were not treated as rebels and the only punishment given to them was the realisation of the money due from them and also a promise to make regular payments in future.

In July 1416, Taj-ul-Mulk was sent to Bayana and Gwalior, not to conquer, but merely to realize the equivalent of the tribute which should have been paid otherwise and this was done by plundering at random the unfortunate cultivators.

In 1418, Har Singh of Katehar revolted once again. He was completely defeated by Taj-ul-Mulk. He was pursued into the hills of Kumaon. While Taj-ul-Mulk failed to capture him, he plundered the people amongst whom Har Singh had taken shelter.

From Katehar, Taj-ul-Mulk marched to Etawah and besieged Raja Sarwar who had revolted once again. Taj-ul-Mulk was unable to capture the fortress but he plundered the inhabitants of the district and went back to Delhi. It is pointed out that the action of Taj-ul-Mulk resembled the raid of a brigand chief and not an expedition for the permanent establishment of law and order. The result was that the people were so much exasperated that they revolted once again.

Khizr Khan besieged Badaon for six months but failed to capture it. In June 1416, he discovered a conspiracy to which Mahabat Khan was a party. The leading conspirators, Qavam-ul-Mulk and Ikhtiyar Khan, were put to death.

In 1420, Taj-ul-Mulk was sent to Koil and Etawah. Raja Sarwar was besieged in his fortress but without success. The inhabitants of the country were plundered as usual. Sarwar bought peace by making a promise to pay the tribute regularly in future. Taj-ul-Mulk also plundered Chandwar and invaded Katehar and got the tribute from there.

Malik Tughan revolted and marched from Jullundur to Sarhind where after plundering the country, he besieged the fortress. When forces were sent against him, Malik Tughan raised the siege of Sarhind and retreated. He was pursued and forced to seek refuge with Jasrat, the Khokar.

In 1421, Khizr Khan marched into Mewat to assert his authority there. He captured and destroyed the former stronghold of Bahadur Nahir and received the submission of most of the inhabitants. The Raja of Gwalior bought peace by making the usual empty promise to pay his tribute regularly. Khizr Khan also took action against the ruler of Etawah. However, he died on 20th May, 1421 after designating his son Mubarak Khan as his successor.

Estimate

As regards an estimate of Khizr Khan, he was truly a Sayyid. He hesitated from shedding blood without great necessity. He did not wreak vengeance on his enemies. He was busy all his life in suppressing revolts in various parts of his empire and consequently was not able to carry out any reforms. Ferishta pays the following tribute to Khizr Khan: "Khizr Khan was a great and wise king, kind and true to his word; his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day when they laid aside their mourning garments and raised his son Mubarak Shah to the throne."

Mubarak Shah (1421-1434 A.D.)

Khizr Khan was succeeded by his son Mubarak Shah. A detailed account of his reign is to be found in *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* written by Yahya-bin-Ahmad. There were rebellions in all parts of the empire and punitive expeditions had to be undertaken to suppress them.

Title

Mubarak Shah did find it necessary to regard the successors of Timur as his over-lord. No wonder, he freely used the royal title of Shah along with his own name. On his coins, he styled himself as Muizz-ud-Din Mubarak Shah. The new ruler professed allegiance to the Khalifa alone.

Policy of Transfers

Mubarak Shah confirmed most of the nobles in their fiefs and appointments which they had held during the previous reign. However, he pursued the policy of perpetually transferring the nobles from one fief to another. By doing so, he perhaps attained his object of preventing any one noble from acquiring a dangerous local influence in any district of the kingdom. However, this was achieved at the cost of

efficient administration. This also made the nobles discontented. This policy was partly responsible for his murder.

Jasrath Khokhar

The reign of Mubarak Shah was disturbed by the activity of Jasrath Khokhar. It is stated in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that "Jasrath Khokhar was an imprudent rustic. Intoxicated with victory and elated with the strength of his forces, he began to have visions about Delhi. When he heard of the death of Khizr Khan, he passed the rivers Biyas (Beas) and Satladar (Sutlaj) with a body of horse and foot and attached Rai Kamal-ud-Din Mian at Talwandi. Rai Firoz fled before him towards the desert. Jasrath next plundered the country, from the town of Ludhiana to the neighbourhood of Arubar (Rupar) on the Sutlaj." He then laid siege to the fort of Sarhind, but failed to take it. When Mubarak Shah marched towards Samana, Jasrath raised the siege of Sarhind and retreated to Ludhiana. When he was pursued, he ran away to the mountains. When the Sultan went back to Delhi, Jasrath crossed the Ravi and advanced upon Lahore. Jasrath was opposed by the Governor of Lahore and he retired to Kalanaur and from there to the mountains. Once again Jasrath revolted and defeated and killed in the battle his old enemy, Raja Bhim of Jammu and over-ran and plundered the districts of Dipalpur and Lahore. Sikandar Tuhfa marched against him but retired before leaving him free to prepare for more extensive aggressions. Jasrath attacked Jullundur but failed to capture it. However, he plundered the district and carried off in slavery a large number of its inhabitants. However, Jasrath was defeated and driven into the hills. Jasrath took advantage of the difficulties of Mubarak Shah and revolted. He also marched on Jullundur and from there to Lahore and besieged the city. However, Jasrath was made to raise the seige of Lahore and ultimately driven into the mountains. Jasrath created trouble once again in 1432 but was once again driven into the mountains.

There was trouble in the Doab in the reign of Mubarak Shah. In 1423, Mubarak Shah marched into Katehar and forced its local chiefs to submit and pay their revenue. The Rathors of Kampila and Etawah were subdued. The Mewatis revolted under the leadership of Jallu and Qaddu. However, they surrendered and were pardoned.

Jaunpur

Muhammad Khan, Governor of Biyana, revolted but he was suppressed. Ibrahim Sharqi marched against Kalpi at the head of a considerable army. His brother marched into Etawah. Mubarak Shah sent his forces against the ruler of Jaunpur. As neither party was anxious to risk a battle, the operations were confined to the affair of outposts for some time. In April 1428, Ibrahim Sharqi drew up his army for battle and Mubarak Shah deputed his nobles to lead his army into the field. The two armies fought, with moderate zeal and without any decisive result, from mid-day until sunset when each retired to its own camp. On the next day, Ibrahim Sharqi retreated towards Jaunpur. He was followed for some distance but Mubarak Shah ordered the pursuit to be stopped.

Revolt of Paulad

A reference may be made to the revolt of Paulad Turk Baccha. The rebel was a slave of Sayyid Salim. He was able to collect a large number of followers and entrenched himself in the fortress of Bhatinda. Paulad agreed to surrender on the condition that the Sultan would spare his life. However, he foolishly believed a servant who said that the word of the Sultan was not to be relied upon and decided to continue resistance. Paulad asked for the help of Amir Shaikh Zada Ali Mughal, Governor of Kabul and the Khokhar chiefs. The Governor of Kabul reached Sarhind and the royal army withdrew. Paulad gave two lakhs of Tankas and other presents to Amir Shaikh Zada Ali. The latter also plundered practically the whole of the Punjab. He got a year's revenue from Malik Sikandar and then proceeded towards Dipalpur. The neighbourhood of Multan was plundered. Ultimately, Amir Shaikh Zada Ali was defeated and he escaped to Kabul leaving his army behind and the latter was completely destroyed. Paulad was also defeated and killed. His head was brought to the Sultan in November 1433.

In 1432, Mubarak Shah invaded Mewat where Jalal Khan had revolted once again. He drove him from one stronghold to another and compelled him to purchase peace on the usual terms of a present payment and promise of amendment.

Murder

Mubarak Shah found that Sarwar-ul-Mulk had not for some time past been performing satisfactorily his duties as Wazir. Consequently, he appointed Kamal-ul-Mulk as his co-adjutor in the hope that the two would work in harmony. However, he was disappointed. The influence of the abler and more energetic Kamal-ul-Mulk eclipsed the influence of Sarwar-ul-Mulk. The latter resented his virtual supersession. "His thoughts were now turned towards blood. His deprivation of the fief of Dipalpur had rankled like a thorn in his heart and his mind was now set upon effecting some revolution in the state." He conspired with the sons of Kangu and Kajwi Khatri to take the life of the Sultan. When Mubarak Shah went to Mubarakabad to watch the progress of its construction, he was attacked on 20th February 1434 by Sidhu Pal, grandson of Kaju, who struck the Sultan with a sword on his head with such force that he at once fell down dead on the ground. Ranu and other Hindus rushed and completed the bloody work. The following is the tribute paid by a contemporary to Mubarak Shah : "A clement and generous sovereign, full of excellent qualities."

Muhammad Shah (1434-1444 A.D.)

When Mubarak Shah died, he left no son. Consequently, the nobles put on the throne Muhammad Shah who was the son of his brother, Farid. It is true that the complicity of Sarwar-ul-Mulk in the murder of Mubarak Shah was well-known, but it was not possible to take any action against him as he was too powerful to be touched. Although he was suspected of designs on the throne, it was found necessary to confirm him in his office. He received the title of Khan Jahan. His accomplices also were rewarded. Sarwar-ul-Mulk, with a view to intimidating his rivals, executed one officer of high rank and imprisoned

others. He captured all the vacant fiefs in the kingdom and distributed them among his creatures. Bayana, Amroha, Narnaul, Guhram and some districts in the Doab were granted to Sindharan, Sidhu Pal and their relatives who were personally concerned in the murder of the late king. The nobles who still held their fiefs made preparations to overthrow Sarwar-ul-Mulk and the latter assembled an army to crush them. The rebels defeated the troops of Sarwar-ul-Mulk in a battle before the city of Delhi and besieged him for three months in Siri. Sarwar-ul-Mulk discovered in the course of the siege that the king was in sympathy with the besiegers and attempted to kill him. However, Muhammad Shah was on his guard and his armed attendants slew Sarwar-ul-Mulk. They also killed the sons of Miran Sadr. Sidhu Pal burnt himself and his family. Sidharan and the other Khatris were captured alive and put to death. The result of the overthrow of Sarwar-ul-Mulk was that Kamal-ul-Mulk became minister and received the title of Kamal Khan. The other rebels were also suitably rewarded.

Up to the fall of Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Muhammad Shah had been the victim of factions and the sport of circumstances. However, when he got an opportunity of proving his fitness to rule, he abused it so much that he lost the affection and confidence of those who had freed him from his enemies. News of revolts came from various parts of the country but instead of taking any action against the rebels, Muhammad Shah remained in his capital sunk in indolence and pleasure. It was during this period that the commanding qualities of Bahlol Lodi, Governor of Sarhind, first attracted attention. He gradually extended his influence over the whole of the Punjab and began to withhold the revenue due to the royal treasury. The authority of Muhammad Shah did not extend beyond Panipat. The tribesmen of Mewat plundered the country too within a short distance of the walls of the city. In 1440-41, Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa marched towards Delhi and Muhammad Shah asked Bahlol Lodi to help him. Bahlol Lodi demanded as his price for help the death of Hisam Khan, Governor of Delhi, in whom Bahlol Lodi recognised either a dangerous rival or a powerful champion of hereditary right. The condition was fulfilled and Bahlol Lodi sent his forces to the help of Muhammad Shah. The two armies confronted one another between Tughlakabad and the city of Delhi. The battle began at noon and lasted, without any decisive advantage to either side, until nightfall when each army returned to its own camp. Negotiations for peace started and the same was concluded. When the army of Mahmud Shah was retreating, Bahlol Lodi attacked its rear-guard and got some plunder. This petty triumph of Bahlol was magnified into a victory over the army of Malwa and Muhammad Shah distinguished him by styling him his son and conferred on him the title of Khan Khanan.

Bahlol Lodi professed loyalty to Muhammad Shah and the latter bestowed upon him Dipalpur and Lahore. Bahlol decided to attack Jasrath Khokar but later on made peace with him when he found that the Khokar chief was not opposed to his designs on the throne of Delhi. Bahlol enlisted large number of Afghans of his own tribe in his army. On trivial grounds, he picked up a quarrel with Muhammad Shah and marched on Delhi and besieged it. As he failed to capture it, he went

back to his dominions and styled himself as Sultan Bahlol.

Alam Shah (1444-1451)

When Muhammad Shah died in 1444, he was succeeded by his son Ala-ud-Din who took up the title of Alam Shah. The new king was even more feeble than his father but in spite of this Bahlol accepted his accession. In 1447, Alam Shah went to Badaon. He found the city so attractive that he decided to live there instead of living at Delhi. He appointed one of his relatives as the Governor of Delhi and retired in 1448 to Badaon permanently. There he gave himself up completely to the pursuit of pleasure. After the departure of Alam Shah from Delhi, there was a quarrel amongst those who were ruling it. Hisam Khan and Hamid Khan became the arbiters of the destiny of Delhi. The claims of various persons were considered and ultimately the choice fell on Bahlol Lodi. He was invited to Delhi. He responded to the invitation so quickly that he did not bring with him a sufficient force to stabilize his position in the capital. He received from Hamid Khan the keys of the city. He also wrote a letter to Alam Shah at Badaon and his reply was that he had neither fruit nor profit of sovereignty. His father had made Bahlol his son and he himself freely and cheerfully resigned his throne to Bahlol as to an elder brother. Thus, when Bahlol ascended the throne on 19th April, 1451, he did so not only as the creature of a successful faction but also as the heir-designate of a king who had voluntarily abdicated. Alam Shah continued to live in Badaon till he died in 1478 A.D.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Elliot and Dowson : History of India as told by its own Historians.
Haig, Sir Wolseley : The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.
Yahya-bin-Ahmad : Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi.
Ishwari Prasad : History of Medieval India.

CHAPTER X

THE LODI DYNASTY (1451-1526)

Bahlol Lodi (1451-1489) : Early Life

Bahlol Lodi was the founder of the Lodi dynasty which lasted from 1451 to 1526. He belonged to the Sahu Khail section of the Lodi clan. Malik Bahram, grandfather of Bahlol, migrated to Multan during the reign of Firuz Tughluq and took service under Malik Mardan Daulat, Governor of Multan. Malik Bahram had five sons but only two of them, namely, Malik Sultan Shah and Malik Kala became famous. Bahlol was the son of Malik Kala who had defeated Jasrat Khokar and set himself up as an independent chief. In 1419, Sultan Shah, his uncle, was appointed the Governor of Sarhind by Khizr Khan and given the title of Islam Khan. Firishta tells us that Islam Khan married his daughter to Bahlol and although he had his own sons, he nominated Bahlol as his heir on account of his ability. After the death of Islam Khan, Bahlol became the Governor of Sarhind. Bahlol was allowed to add Lahore to his charge. Thus, Bahlol became a very important Governor in the Sayyid empire on account of the strength of his forces. When Muhammad Shah was threatened by the invasion of Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa, he came to the help of his master. By his cleverness, he was able to show himself as a victor over the army of Malwa. Muhammad Shah was so much pleased that he called him as his son and gave him the title of Khan Khanan. The opportunity for Bahlol came as Alam Shah retired completely to Badaon in 1448 and there was trouble in Delhi. Bahlol was invited by Hamid Khan who also gave him the keys of the city. Bahlol also secured the consent of Alam Shah. Thus it was that on 19th April, 1451, Bahlol became the ruler and he continued to be so till his death in 1489.

There is a story that one day when Bahlol was in the service of his uncle, he went to Samana where he paid a visit to Sayyid Ayen, a famous Darvesh, with his friends. The Darvesh said : "Is there any one who wishes to obtain from him the empire of Delhi for two thousand Tankas ?" Bahlol at once gave the money to the Darvesh who observed thus : "Be the Empire of Delhi blessed by Thee." The prophecy of the Darvesh came out to be true as stated above.

Hamid Khan

It cannot be denied that Hamid Khan was instrumental in putting Bahlol Lodi on the throne of Delhi. No wonder, Bahlol asked Hamid Khan to become king and expressed his willingness to become merely the commander of his armies and carry out his orders. Bahlol also showed him great respect. However, Bahlol decided to dispose of Hamid Khan and he hit upon a plan to achieve that objective. He asked his Afghan followers to pose themselves as rustics in the presence of Hamid Khan and "to adopt a conduct the most remote from good sense and common reason, in order to induce him to believe that

they were thoughtless fellows, and of course banish all apprehension and fear of them from his heart". The Afghan followers of Bahlol did what they were asked to do. The men at arms crowded into the hall of audience on the pretext that all soldiers and fellow tribesmen were equals. Their conduct convinced Hamid Khan that he had to deal with mere simpletons. The number of Afghan troops was large enough to crush any disturbance which might arise in the city. Their number at the court was large enough to enable Bahlol to carry out any act of violence. One day, when Bahlol had gone to the residence of Hamid Khan to pay him a visit, his followers picked up a quarrel with the gate-keeper and requested him to allow them to go in. Hamid Khan did not suspect any treachery and granted their quest. However, he was surprised when Qutb Khan, a cousin and brother-in-law of Bahlol, placed before Hamid Khan chains he had concealed in his pocket and told him that it was considered necessary for reasons of state that he should be confined for a few days but in consideration of his services, his life was to be spared. The result was that Hamid Khan completely disappeared from the scene.

In order to strengthen his position, Bahlol tried to win over the confidence of the army by distributing gifts and bounties. The Amirs were won over by holding out promises of promotion and honour according to their ranks.

Jaunpur

Although Bahlol was put on the throne, Mahmud Shah Sharqi, ruler of Jaunpur, tried to oust him. Mahmud Shah advanced to Delhi and besieged Khwaja Bayazid, the eldest son of Bahlol who had been left in charge of Delhi. Bahlol hastened towards Delhi and he was within 30 miles of the capital when Mahmud Shah succeeded in making an impression on its defences. Darya Khan Lodi who was helping Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, was persuaded to leave him and after his departure, the rest of the army of Jaunpur was demoralised and fled. Thus failed the attempt of Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur to oust Bahlol Lodi from the throne.

The defeat of Mahmud Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur had a profound impression on both enemies and friends. The position of Bahlol was strengthened. His enemies and critics were silenced. Many chiefs and fief-holders were frightened into submission. Bahlol proceeded towards Mewat and secured the submission of Ahmad Khan who was deprived of seven Parganas. Darya Khan Lodi, Governor of Sambhal, was treated leniently in spite of treason and was merely asked to give up seven Parganas. Isa Khan was allowed to retain all his possessions. A similar treatment was given to Mubarak Khan, Governor of Sakit. Qutb Khan of Rewari also submitted after some hesitation. The heads of Etawah, Chandwar and other districts of the Doab acknowledged the authority of Bahlol. In 1472, Bahlol marched towards Multan to reduce to obedience Husain Shah Langah who had succeeded his father in that small kingdom.

Bahlol had to spend most of his time in fighting against Jaunpur

and he ultimately succeeded in destroying its independence and annexing it. It has already been pointed out that Mahmud Shah made an attempt to oust Bahlol at the very beginning of his reign but failed in his attempt. At the instigation of his queen, who was the daughter of Alam Shah of Badaon, Mahmud Shah Sharqi made another attempt to enter Delhi and with that object in view marched into Etawah. However, a treaty was made and it was agreed between the parties that both the rulers would retain possession of the territories which belonged to their predecessors. Bahlol Lodi was required to restore the elephants which had been captured by him in the last war. Mahmud Shah agreed to dismiss Juna Shah from his service. Acting upon the terms of the treaty, Bahlol tried to take possession of Shamsabad which the ruler of Jaunpur had given to Juna Khan. However, Bahlol was opposed by the forces of Jaunpur and Qutb Khan Lodi was captured. However, at this time, Mahmud Shah died in 1497 and his son Bhikan was raised to the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah. The latter made peace with Bahlol and acknowledged his right to retain Shamsabad. A revolution took place at Jaunpur as a result of which Husain Khan ascended the throne of Jaunpur. The new ruler was a remarkable person who continued to fight against Bahlol all his life with great perseverance. A four years' peace was concluded by Husain Shah with Bahlol but it turned out to be a mere truce. In 1473, Husain Shah of Jaunpur, instigated by his wife Jalila, marched on Delhi with a large army. Bahlol was so much upset by the danger that he requested Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa to help him. Before any reply could come from Malwa, Husain Shah reached the banks of the Jamuna. Bahlol was prepared to offer very tempting terms to the invader but those were haughtily rejected. The result was that Bahlol came out of the capital to fight against the enemy. The camp of Husain Shah had been left unprotected and Bahlol crossed the river by a ford and fell upon it. When the Afghans began actually to plunder his tents, Husain Shah decided to run away. Even the ladies of his harem, including Jalila, were captured by Bahlol, who, however, generously sent them to Jaunpur without allowing any harm to be done to them.

Another truce for three years was arranged. After that, Husain Shah captured Etawah and marched on Delhi with an army of one lac horse and 100 elephants. Bahlol once again made many humble suggestions for a settlement but those were rejected by Husain Shah. Bahlol was once again successful in defeating the army of Jaunpur. In spite of this, Husain Shah marched against Bahlol and the two armies met at a distance of about 25 miles from Delhi. Husain Shah was again defeated but was able to make peace on equal terms.

Husain Shah made another attempt and in March 1479 arrived at the banks of the Jamuna. This was the most promising of all his campaigns. However, he was induced to make peace on obtaining from Bahlol the formal recognition of his tenure of all districts east of the Ganges. After making the treaty, Husain Shah began a leisurely retreat but he was treacherously attacked by Bahlol who was able to capture a large number of elephants and horses laden with spoils and treasure. This success marks the turn of the tide in favour of Bahlol

and the latter pursued the demoralised army of Jaunpur and occupied the Parganas of Kampil, Patiali, Shamsabad, Suket, Koil, Marhara and Jalesar. Husain Shah tried to face Bahlol but was defeated. He was forced to agree to the retention by Bahlol of the large part of territory which he had recovered. Husain Shah retired to Rapri and Bahlol to Delhi but Husain Shah once again took the field to get back his lost territory. However, he was defeated by Bahlol at Senha. This has been described as the heaviest defeat he had experienced so far. The plunder which fell into the hands of Bahlol and the prestige which he gained with his victory established the superiority of Delhi. Bahlol took the initiative and defeated Husain Shah at Rapri. After capturing Etawah, Bahlol marched to attack Husain Shah who turned to meet him at Raigaon Khaga. However, Husain Shah was forced to retreat and Bahlol marched straight on Jaunpur and Husain Shah fled towards Kanauj. Bahlol followed him and overtook him on the banks of the Rahab. He attacked him and defeated and captured one of his wives. Bahlol went back to Jaunpur and captured it and put it under Mubarak Khan Lohani as its governor.

Bahlol also went to Badaon which had been nominally subject to Husain Shah after the death of Alam Shah in 1478. Husain Shah took advantage of the absence of Bahlol and marched on Jaunpur. Mubarak Khan was forced to withdraw. The officers of Bahlol gained some time by starting negotiations and in the meanwhile Bahlol came back from Badaon and re-occupied Jaunpur. Husain Shah ran away to Bihar and he was pursued by the troops of Bahlol. In 1486, Bahlol placed his eldest surviving son Barbak on the throne of Jaunpur.

Estimate of Bahlol

Bahlol was not only the founder of the Lodi dynasty but was responsible for its strength and glory. He was successful in subduing the various chiefs who could defy the central power. He was able to establish the prestige of the empire on a firm footing. His great achievement was the annexation of Jaunpur which defied him for many years.

Bahlol was forced to spend most of his time in fighting wars and consequently there was hardly any time left for civil administration. Bahlol was brave, generous, humane and honest. He did not believe in any show. His view was that as he was known to be king, nothing else was required to be displayed to impress this fact on the people. He was very kind to the poor and no beggar was allowed to go away disappointed. He loved justice and personally listened to the complaints of the people. He distributed all that he had among his troops. He did not put on airs of superiority while dealing with fellow Afghans. According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, "In his social meetings he never sat on a throne, and would not allow his nobles to stand; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet. Whenever he wrote a *firmān* to his nobles, he addressed them as *Masnad Ali*; and if at any time they were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party; nay, he would sometimes even take off his turban

from his head and solicit forgiveness, saying ; 'If you think me unworthy of the station I occupy, choose some one else, and bestow on me some other office. He maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers. If any one was ill, he would himself go and attend on him."

Sikandar Shah (1489-1517)

Bahlol Lodi was succeeded by his son Nizam Khan who took up the title of Sikandar Shah. There was some hesitation on the part of the nobles to accept Sikandar Shah as their ruler as his mother was the daughter of a goldsmith and her son was more of a plebian than a prince. However, this hesitation was overcome and he became king. Sikandar was an orthodox Muslim and his bigotry must have been considered as a special qualification for election to the throne.

Condition in 1489

The position of Sikandar Shah at the time of his succession to the throne was not very strong as there were a large number of vassals and chieftains who exercised a lot of power and authority in their respective spheres. The author of *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* gives the following picture of India at that time : "One half of the whole country was assigned in jagir to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghan tribes. At this time the Lohanis and Farmulis predominated. The chief of the Sarwanis was Azam Humayun and the principal chieftains of the Lodis were four : Mahmud Khan who had Kalpi in jagir, Mian Alam to whom Etawah and Chandwar were assigned ; Mubarak Khan whose jagir was Lucknow ; and Daulat Khan who held Lahore. Among the Sahu Khails, the chiefs were Husain Khan and Khan Jahan, both from the same ancestor as Sultan Bahlol ; Hussain Khan, son of Firuz Khan, and Qutb Khan Lodi Sahu Khail, who flourished in the time of Sultan Bahlol.

"The districts of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Husain ; Qudh ; Ambala and Hodhna by Mian Huhammad Kala Pahar ; Kanauj by Mian Gadai ; Shamsabad, Thanesar and Shahabad by Mian Imad ; Marahra by Tatar Khan, brother of Mian Muhammad ; and Hariana, Desua, and other detached parganas by Khwaja Shaikh Said.

"Among the great nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time was Saif Khan Acha-Khail. He had 6,000 horse under him, and was deputy of Azam Humayun, Jagirdar of Kara, who used to buy 2,000 copies of the Quran every year, had 45,000 horse under his command, and 700 elephants. There were also Daulat Khan-Khani, who had 4,000 cavalry ; Ali Khan Ushi, who had 4,000 also ; Firuz Khan Sarwani, who had 6,000. Amongst other nobles, there were 25,000 more distributed. Ahmad Khan also, the son of Jumal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, when he was appointed to Jaunpur, had 20,000 cavalry under him".

Action against Alam Khan

Sikandar Shah was forced to take action against his uncle, Alam Khan, who was trying to become independent in Rapri and Chandwar. When he was besieged in Rapri, he ran away from there and took refuge in Patiali with Isa Khan who had revolted on account of his

having insulted the mother of Sikandar Shah. Sikandar gave the fief of Rapri to Khan Khanan Lohani and himself retired to Etawah. He spent there seven months in reorganising the administration of the provinces and conciliating those who were prepared to accept his succession as an accomplished fact. Sikandar Shah was successful in persuading Alam Khan to leave Isa Khan and also gave him the fief of Etawah. Sikandar Shah himself marched against Isa Khan and defeated him. Raja Ganesh submitted and was given the fief of Patiali.

Action against Barbak Shah

Sikandar Shah tried to come to terms with Barbak Shah, his brother, who was the ruler of Jaunpur. He wanted him to recognize him as his lord. Barbak Shah was instigated by Husain Shah Sharqi to attack his brother and when Sikandar came to know of it, he marched against Barbak Shah. Barbak Shah was defeated and he ran away to Badaon. He was pursued there and ultimately made to surrender. In spite of this, Sikandar treated Barbak Shah with great leniency and put him once again on the throne of Jaunpur. However, not much power was left in his hands as Sikandar distributed the important fiefs among his own followers and also placed confidential agents in the household of Barbak.

Action against Jaunpur and Husain Shah

After some time, there was a serious rebellion in Jaunpur where the Hindu landholders assembled an army of one lac horse and foot and put to death Sher Khan, brother of the Governor of Kara. The Governor of Kara himself was captured and imprisoned by them. Barbak Shah of Jaunpur was not able to deal with the situation. The rebels opposed the advance of the royal army but they were defeated with great slaughter and dispersed. Sikandar once again reinstated his brother and retired towards Oudh. However, he learnt that Barbak Shah was having some dealings with the rebels and Husain Shah Sharqi. Sikandar got him arrested and he was brought before the king. From Jaunpur, Sikandar marched to Chunar where a number of nobles of Husain Shah were assembled. He defeated them but was not strong enough to lay siege to Chunar.

Husain Shah marched from Bihar with all the forces which he could command and 100 elephants. Sikandar also advanced towards Banaras. From there he marched to attack Husain Shah. Sikandar was able to inflict a crushing defeat on Husain Shah and he pursued him towards Patna with one lac horse. On learning that Husain Shah was continuing his flight from Patna, he marched with his whole army to Bihar. Husain Shah fled towards Lakhnauti where he passed the rest of his life in obscurity. Bihar easily came into the hands of the Khan Khanan in 1495 and the whole of the country was settled by the Sultan.

Treaty with Bengal

The invasion of Bihar aroused the hostility of Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah, the active and warlike ruler of Bengal. He resented the pursuit of his protege and violation of his frontiers. The ruler of Bengal hesitated to march in person against the King of Delhi and

deputed his son for that purpose. Neither party had anything to gain by proceeding to extremities and consequently a treaty was concluded. It was agreed that neither party was to invade the dominion of the other. The ruler of Bengal promised not to help the enemies of Sikandar Shah.

Sikandar Shah remained for some time in Bihar but his army suffered from famine. From there he went to Jaunpur where he re-organised the administration. During his stay at Jaunpur, the conduct of some of his nobles annoyed Sikandar Shah. One noble accidentally struck another on the head with his stick while playing polo with the king and there was a disturbance. Although the parties were separated, they started the quarrel on the following day and the king caused one of them to be flogged. The king was forced to take precautions for his personal safety. In spite of that, a conspiracy was made to depose him and put his brother Fateh Khan on the throne. The conspiracy was found out and the conspirators were banished from the court.

Action against nobles

Sikandar Shah took action against the Afghan nobles. He ordered the auditing of the accounts of some of the nobles and although his order was resented, the Sultan was successful in his object. There were some minor rebellions but those were subdued.

Foundation of Agra

Sikandar Shah was responsible for the foundation of the city of Agra. The decision was due to the fact that the Sultan wanted to have more effective control over the fief-holders of Etawah, Biyana, Kol, Gwalior and Dholpur. The new city of Agra was founded in 1504 A.D. and very soon a beautiful town came into existence. The Sultan also transferred his residence from Delhi to Agra. In 1505 A.D., there was an earthquake. "It was in fact so terrible that mountains were overturned and all lofty edifices dashed to the ground : the living thought, the day of judgement was come ; and the dead, the day of resurrection." The area affected by the earthquake was very large. As a matter of fact, it was general throughout India. Badaoni tells us that the earthquake extended to Persia. There was too much of loss of life and property.

Narwar

In 1508, Sikandar Shah marched to attack Narwar which was usually included in the kingdom of Malwa but was now subject to by a general attack on the fortrers. Under the Stress of Gwalior. There was fighting for some days and that was followed by a general attack on the fortress. Under the stress of famine and want of water, the garrison of Utgir surrendered on certain terms and Sikandar Shah entered the fortress. However, Sikandar Shah destroyed all the Hindu temples and ordered the construction of mosques on their sites.

Chanderi

The fort of Chanderi was captured and given to Afghan officers. In 1510, Muhammad Khan, Governor of Nagaur, submitted and caused the Khutba to be read in the name of the Sultan. The Prince of Chan-

deri expressed a desire to accept Sikandar Shah as his over-lord. The prince was allowed to remain nominally in possession of the city of Chanderi but its administration was given to the leading Afghan officers.

The last expedition was undertaken by Sikandar Shah at the instance of Ali Khan of Nagaur. Ali Khan was a treacherous man and having gone against Sikandar asked the Governor not to surrender. The result was that Ali Khan was deprived of his fief. Sikandar Shah died on 21st November, 1517 A.D.

Internal Administration

It is true that Sikandar Shah had to spend a lot of time in fighting but he was able to find some time to look to administration. He was able to weaken the various chiefs and thereby strengthen his own position. He insisted on the auditing of the accounts of the Afghan nobles even at the risk of their displeasure. When the accounts of Mubarak Khan Lodi after the Bengal campaign were examined, no leniency was shown to him. The balance of the amount was realised from him promptly. With the help of an efficient system of spies, the Sultan was able to get information from every nook and corner of the country. The personal retainers of the great Amirs were appointed by the king himself. The Sultan encouraged agriculture and abolished corn duties. Traders and merchants were helped in every way to do their work in peace and security. Under the orders of the Sultan, lists of poor persons were prepared every year and they were given rations for 6 months. Prisoners were released on certain days in a year. The Sultan listened to the petitions of the aggrieved persons and disposed of cases according to their merit. The Sultan had a good memory and was able to collect a lot of useful knowledge. He patronised the learned people and himself wrote poetry in Persian. It was under his patronage that Mian Bhua translated into Persian a Sanskrit work on medicine known as Tibbi Sikandari. No one was deprived of his Jagir arbitrarily. An established custom was never abrogated. The author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi* tells us that "Every business had its appointed time and a custom once fixed was never changed. When the Sultan had once allowed a particular meat or drink, he never altered it. A man of note came from Jaunpur to visit him in the hot weather and was given six jars of *Sherbet* with his food on account of the heat and thirst; but when he came again in winter he still had six jars of *Sherbet* to drink. The Sultan always behaved to the nobles and great men in exactly the same way for many years as he did on the first day."

The same author tells us that "The Sultan daily received an account of the prices of all things and an account of what had happened in the different districts of the Empire. If he perceived the slightest appearance of anything wrong, he caused instant inquiries to be made about it. . . In his reign, business was carried on in a peaceful, honest, straightforward way. The study of belles-letters was not neglected. . . Factory establishments were so encouraged that all the young nobles and soldiers were engaged in useful works . . . All the nobles and soldiers of Sikandar were satisfied: each of his chiefs was appointed to the government of a district, and it was his especial desire to gain the good-will

and affections of the body of the people. For the sake of his officers and troops, he put an end to war and dispute with the other monarchs and nobles of the period, and closed the road to contention and strife. He contented himself with the territory bequeathed him by his father, and passed the whole of his life in the greatest safety and enjoyment, and gained the hearts of high and low."

Religious bigotry

However, there is one blot on his character which cannot be ignored. Sikandar Shah was a fanatical Muslim and he did a lot to injure the feelings of his Hindu subjects. On one occasion, Sikandar Shah ordered the temples of Mathura to be destroyed and Sarais and mosques were constructed in their places. The idols were given to butchers who made them into meat weights. In the case of Utgir, the Hindu temples were destroyed and mosques were raised on their sites. After the surrender of Mandrael in 1505, Sikandar Shah destroyed the Hindu temples in the town and erected mosques on their sites. He also plundered and laid waste the districts surrounding the fortress. A Brahman of Bengal publicly maintained that Islam and Hinduism were both true and God could be approached by following any one of them. Azam-i-Humayun, Governor of Bihar, was directed to send the Brahman and two rival doctors of the Islamic law to the court. Theologians were summoned from various parts of the kingdom to consider whether it was permissible to preach peace. Their decision was that as the Brahman had admitted the truth of Islam, he should be asked to embrace it and in case he refused to do so, he should be put to death. The decision was accepted by Sikandar Shah and as the Brahman refused to embrace Islam, he was put to death. Sikandar Shah broke the sacred images of the Jwalamukhi temple at Nagarkot. The Hindus were not allowed to have their bath at the Ghats on the banks of the Jamuna. The barbers were prohibited from shaving the heads and beards of the Hindus in accordance with their usual custom. All this must have alienated the feelings of the Hindus against the Lodi dynasty.

Estimate

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "He was the greatest of the three kings of his house and carried out with conspicuous success the task left unfinished by his father. We hear little of the Punjab during his reign and he drew no troops from it to aid him in his eastern campaigns, but there are indications that it was more tranquil and more obedient to the crown than it had been in his father's reign. His vigorous administration amply justified the choice of the minority which, in the face of strong opposition, raised him to the throne, and his selection saved the kingdom from becoming the plaything of an oligarchy of turbulent, ignorant, and haughty Afghans. His weakest action was his support of his hopelessly incompetent brother Barbak, but this weakness was an amiable trait in a character by no means rich in such traits. He seems to have had a sincere affection for his brother, and to have felt that he owed him some reparation for having supplanted him in his birthright, but when he discovered that leniency was a mistaken policy he knew how to act.

"The greatest blot on his character was his relentless bigotry. The accounts of his conquests, doubtless exaggerated by pious historians, resemble those of the raids of the protagonists of Islam in India. The wholesale destruction of temples was not the best method of conciliating the Hindus of a conquered district and the murder of a Brahman whose only offence was the desire for an accommodation between the religions of the conquerors and the conquered was not a politic act, but Sikandar's mind was warped by habitual association with theologians." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 246.)

Ibrahim Lodi (1517-1526)

After the death of Sikandar Shah, his eldest son, Ibrahim was put on the throne on 21st November, 1517 with the unanimous consent of the Afghan nobles and he took up the title of Ibrahim Shah.

Action against Prince Jalal

There were a few nobles who advocated for their own selfish ends a partition of the kingdom. They carried Jalal Khan, a younger brother of Ibrahim, to Jaunpur and put him on the throne. This suicidal policy of dividing the kingdom was condemned by Khan Jahan Lohani, Governor of Rapri. The result was that the Afghan nobles acknowledged their mistake and sent Haibat Khan, 'the wolf-slayer', to persuade Jalal Khan to withdraw from Jaunpur. However, Jalal Khan refused to withdraw from Jaunpur. It was then that Ibrahim issued a Firman by which he ordered the Amirs not to obey Jalal and threatened to punish them if they disobeyed. Jalal Khan allied himself with the Zamindars and improved his position. He was joined by Azam Humayun who also had a grouse against Ibrahim. Ibrahim confined all his brothers in the fort of Hansi and personally marched against Jalal Khan. Kalpi was besieged and the fort was dismantled. Jalal Khan fled towards Agra where the Governor entered into negotiations with him. When Ibrahim came to know of those negotiations, he disapproved of them and passed orders for the assassination of Jalal Khan. The latter took refuge with the Raja of Gwalior. When the fort of Gwalior was captured, he fled towards Malwa. He was captured by the Zamindars of Gondwana and handed over to Ibrahim. While he was being conveyed to Hansi, he was put to death on the way by the orders of the King.

Action against Azam Humayun

Ibrahim Shah called Azam Humayum from Gwalior on mere suspicion and put him and his son Fateh Khan in prison. Islam Khan, another son of Azam Humayun, was deprived of his governorship of Kara-Manikpur. There was a lot of resentment on account of the action taken against Azam Humayun. The rebels collected a large army consisting of 40,000 cavalry, 500 elephants and also a large infantry. The efforts of Shaikh Raju Bokhari, a holy man, to bring about a reconciliation between the parties failed. Ibrahim refused to accept the demand of the rebels that Azam Humayun be released. Negotiations having failed, there was a bitter fighting and there was a lot of bloodshed. To quote the author of *Makhzan-i-Afghana*. "Dead bodies, heap upon heap, covered the field; and the number of heads lying upon the

ground is beyond the reach of recollection. Streams of blood ran over the plain ; and whenever for a length of time, a fierce battle took place in Hindustan, the old men always observed, that with this battle no other one was comparable ; brothers fighting against brothers, fathers against sons, inflamed by mutual shame and innate bravery : bows and arrows were laid aside, and the carnage carried on with daggers, swords, knives and javelins." The ultimate result was that Islam Khan was killed in the battle-field. Said Khan was captured. The rebels suffered terrible losses.

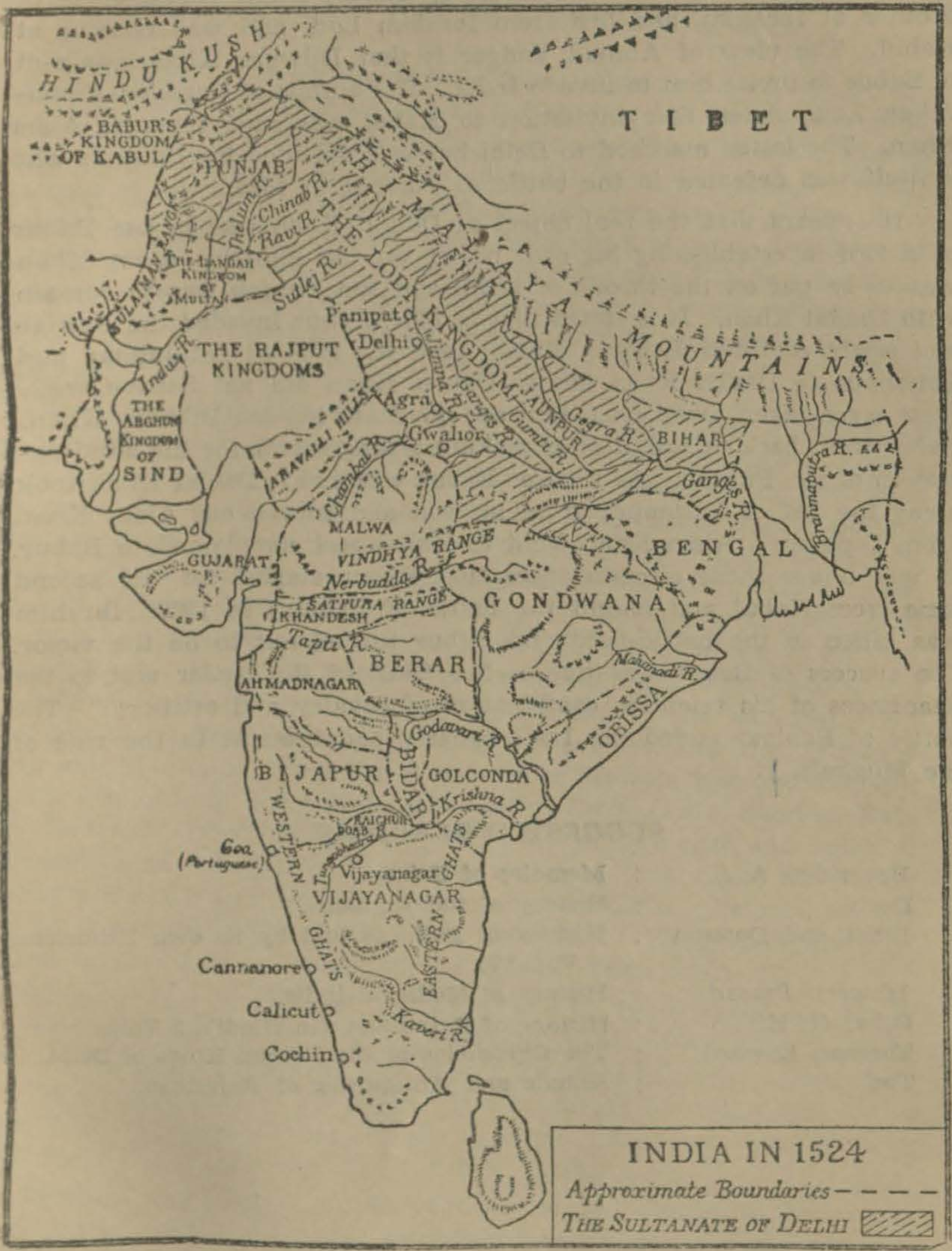
War with Rana Sanga

There is a reference to a war between Ibrahim and Rana Sanga of Mewar. It is stated that Ibrahim organised a large army for the invasion of Mewar and put it under very experienced generals. Mian Husain went over to the side of Rana Sanga at the beginning but later on treacherously deserted him at the crucial moment. The Afghans fell upon the Rajputs and killed a large number of them. Rana Sanga escaped but his followers were butchered. It is to be noted that excepting *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* and *Tarikhi-Daudi*, no other authority refers to this expedition. *Nizam-ud-Din Badaoni* and *Firishta* are silent on this point. There is no mention of this war in the Rajput chronicles. According to Tod, "Sanga organised his forces with which he always kept the field, and ere called to contend with the descendant of Timur, he gained 18 pitched battles against the kings of Delhi and Malwa. In two of these, he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person at Bakrol and Ghatoli ; in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter leaving a prisoner of the blood-royal to grace that triumph of Chittor." It appears that the statement of Ahmad Yadgar regarding the victory of Ibrahim over Rana Sanga is not correct.

Nobles

Ibrahim wanted to strengthen his position at the cost of his nobles and he did all that he could to humble them. He imprisoned Mian Bhua who was one of his father's leading nobles. His only offence was that he was careless of forms and he acted as he thought best in the interests of his master without always troubling to obtain the formal approval of his proceedings. The old man died in prison and his death sapped the fidelity of his son although he was otherwise generously treated. Azam Humayun was treacherously assassinated in prison. Jalal Khan was put to death by the orders of the king when he was being actually taken to the fort of Hansi for imprisonment. Even the greatest nobles feared their safety. No wonder, Darya Khan, Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Husain Khan Farmuli revolted against the Sultan. Husain Khan Famuli was killed in his bed by some holy men of Chanderi. Bahadur Khan, son of Darya Khan, took up the title of Muhammad Shah and defied the authority of Ibrahim. Ibrahim cruelly treated Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab. When Daulat Khan Lodi was summoned to the capital by Ibrahim, the former excused himself on the ground that he would come later on with the treasure of the State and sent his son Dilwar Khan at once. While in Delhi, Dilawar Khan was taken by Ibrahim to the prison where the victims

of his anger were suspended from the walls. Ibrahim addressed Dilawar Khan in these words : "Have you seen the condition of those who have disobeyed me ?" It is stated that Dilawar Khan made his



submission before Ibrahim but somehow managed to escape to his father and told him all that he had seen and experienced at the capital. It was under these circumstances that Daulat Khan Lodi sent an invitation to Babur to invade India.

The various authorities differ on this point. It is stated in the Makhzan that Daulat Khan entered into an alliance with Ghazi Khan

and other Amirs of the Punjab and addressed an invitation to Babur through Alam Khan. The statement of Firishta is that finding no safety for his family, Daulat Khan Lodi revolted and asked Babur to conquer India. Before the invasion of Babur, Alam Khan, uncle or brother of Ibrahim, had fled from Ibrahim Lodi and was residing at Kabul. The view of Ahmad Yadgar is that Dilawar Khan was sent to Babur to invite him to invade India. The author of *Tarikh-i-Khani-Jahan* Lodi states that invitation to Kabul was sent through Alam Khan. The latter marched to Delhi but was defeated by Ibrahim who himself was defeated in the battle of Panipat in 1526.

It appears that the real object of Daulat Khan was to use Babur as a tool in establishing his own power on the Punjab. Alam Khan was to be put on the throne of Delhi and the Punjab was to remain with Daulat Khan. It is stated that in 1524, Babur invaded the Punjab and easily captured Lahore. Babur gave the fiefs of Jullundhar and Sultanpur to Daulat Khan but as Daulat Khan did not behave well, those were taken away from him and given to his son Dilawar Khan. Babur went back to Kabul after making arrangements for the administration of the Punjab. As soon as Babur was away, Daulat Khan took away the fief of Sultanpur from his son and turned out Alam Khan from Dipalpur. Alam Khan went to Kabul and complained to Babur. It was under these circumstances that Babur started for the second time from Kabul and fought the battle of Panipat in 1526. Ibrahim was killed in the battle-field and Babur turned out to be the victor. The success of Babur was due to the "skill of the leader and to the deadliness of his scientific combination of cavalry and artillery." The battle of Panipat ended the Lodi dynasty and brought in the rule of the Mughals.

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CHAPTER XI

DISINTEGRATION OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

The disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate started even during the reigns of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq and the process could not be checked by their incompetent successors. The situation was no better during the reign of the Sayyid and Lodi rulers and the result was that there came into existence a large number of independent dynasties in various parts of the erstwhile Delhi Sultanate. An attempt is made in this chapter to give some details about those dynasties. However, the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagar Empire have been dealt with in separate chapters on account of their importance.

Jaunpur

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firuz Tughluq to perpetuate the memory of his cousin and patron, Muhammad Tughluq also known as Prince Juna Khan. In 1376, when a fresh distribution of territories was made, Jaunpur and Zafrabad fell to the lot of Malik Bahruz Sultan. After the death of Firuz Tughluq in 1388, there was nothing of importance to record until the rise of Khwaja Jahan to power. The original name of Khwaja Jahan was Malik Sarwar. He was a eunuch. The title of Khwaja Jahan was given to him in 1389 and he was given the rank of Wazir. In 1394, Khwaja Jahan received from Mahmud Tughluq the title of Malik-us-Sharq or Lord of the East. The administration of all Hindustan from Kanauj to Bihar was entrusted to him. Khwaja Jahan was able to suppress the rebellions in Etawah, Kol and Kanauj. He was also able to bring under his control Kara, Oudh, Sandila, Dalmau, Bahraich, Bihar and Tirhut. The Rai of Jajnagar and ruler of Lakhnauti acknowledged his authority and sent to him the number of elephants which they formerly used to send to Delhi. He took advantage of the confusion caused by the invasion of Timur and declared himself independent and took up the title of Atabak-i-Azam.

When he died in 1399, he was succeeded by his adopted son Malik Qaranfal who took up the title of **Mubarak Shah.** He was the first to take up the title of the king and struck coins in his own name. The Khutba was also read in his name. It was during his reign that Mallu Iqbal tried to recover Jaunpur but he failed. Mubarak Shah died in 1402 and he was succeeded by Ibrahim Shah.

Ibrahim Shah ruled for 34 years from 1402 to 1436. He was a great patron of learning. He established many schools and colleges. The result was that a large number of scholarly works on Islamic theology, law and other subjects were produced. A large number of beautiful buildings were constructed in the city of Jaunpur. A new style of architecture known as Sharqi style was developed. In this style, the mosques did not have minarets of the usual type and also showed traces of Hindu influence. It was during his reign that Jaunpur got the title of "Shiraz of India."

During the reign of Ibrahim Shah, the relations between Delhi and Jaunpur became bitter. When Mahmud Tughluq ran away from Delhi to Jaunpur in order to free himself from the tyranny of Mallu Iqbal, he was not treated nicely by Ibrahim Shah. The result was that Mahmud Shah took forcible possession of the district of Kanauj which was a part of the kingdom of Jaunpur. In 1407, Ibrahim Shah tried to turn out Mahmud Tughluq from Kanauj but failed. Ibrahim Shah also tried to conquer Bengal but failed.

Ibrahim Shah was succeeded by his son **Mahmud Shah** in 1436. Although he was successful in conquering Chunar, he failed to capture Kalpi. He invaded Delhi but was defeated by Bahlol Lodi. When he died in 1475, he was succeeded by his son **Bhikhan.** He took up a quarrel with his nobles and was murdered by them. He was succeeded by his brother Husain Shah.

Husain Shah was the last ruler of the Sharqi dynasty. His character is both perplexing and disappointing. He was a man of ideas. He had both opportunities and resources for the realisation of his ideas. He was ever on the point of realising some great scheme of aggrandisement and ever missing his opportunity through carelessness, folly and perhaps physical cowardice. Husain Shah continued fighting against Delhi throughout his life. To begin with, he made peace with Bahlol Lodi. However, the hostility started once again between Delhi and Jaunpur. Husain Shah was defeated by Bahlol Lodi and forced to take shelter in Bihar. Jaunpur was annexed to Delhi. Bahlol placed his son Barbak Shah on the throne of Jaunpur. From his retreat in Bihar, Husain Shah continued to give trouble to the rulers of Delhi. It was in the time of Sikandar Lodi that Jaunpur was permanently annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi. Husain Shah died in 1500 A.D. and with his death the Sharqi dynasty came to an end.

The greatest and most enduring achievement of the Sharqi dynasty was architecture. In this respect, the Sharqis "stand supreme in the period before the Mughal Empire." The Atala Masjid which was completed in 1408, has been described in these words by Lane-Poole : "Its characteristic feature, a lofty inner gateway of simple grandeur, recalling the propylon of Egyptian temples, supplied the place of a minaret, and concealed from the quadrangle the too dominating outline of the great dome which covered the house of prayer. The graceful two-storeyed colonnades, five aisles deep, round the spacious quadrangle, broken by minor domes and gateways, the fine ashlar masonry of its plain buttressed exterior, the exquisite and rich, yet never intricate, floral ornament surrounding its doors and windows and prayer-niche, is geometrical trellis-screens and panelled ceilings, are typical of a pure style of Saracenic art, with scarcely a trace of Indian influence. Even in such a land of precious stones of architecture, the Atala Masjid remains a gem of the first water."

Malwa

The history of Malwa is undoubtedly connected with that of Gujarat, Khandesh, Mewar and the Deccan. It was successively ruled by two Muslim dynasties. The Ghuri dynasty ruled from 1401 to 1436

A.D. and the Khalji dynasty from 1436 to 1531 A.D. when it was absorbed into Gujarat. Its capital was Dhar until it was shifted to Mandu by Hushang. Mandu was built at commanding eminence. It had a wall covering an area of 25 miles. It was famous for its Jama Masjid, Hindola Mahal, Jahaz Mahal, tomb of Hushang and palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati.

Malwa was annexed by Ala-ud-Din Khalji in 1305 A.D. and it continued to be ruled by Muslim chiefs under the authority of Delhi until it became independent. **Dilawar Khan Ghuri** had been appointed Governor of Malwa probably in the time of Firuz Tughluq. He made himself practically independent in 1401 although he did not formally give up his allegiance to Delhi and also did not assume the style of royalty.

In 1406, Dilawar Khan was succeeded by his son Alp Khan who took up the title of **Hushang Shah**. The new ruler possessed a restless spirit. He took pleasure in enterprises and wars. In 1422, he left his capital for Orissa in the guise of a merchant and made a surprise attack on the Raja of that state. He agreed to withdraw after getting 75 elephants. On the way, he captured Kherla and took away its Raja as a prisoner. He fought against the rulers of Delhi, Jaunpur and Gujarat. He had also to fight against Ahmad Shah, the Bahmani ruler as the Raja of Kherla was a vassal of the Bahmani ruler. Most of his campaigns resulted in defeats and disasters for him.

When Hushang Shah died in July 1435, he was succeeded by his son Ghazni Khan and the latter took up the title of **Muhammad Shah**. The new ruler ignored completely the affairs of the state and consequently the throne was captured in May 1436 by his minister Mahmud Khan. Thus a new Khalji dynasty came into existence.

Sultan Mahmud Khalji was the founder of the Khalji dynasty in Malwa. He was a brave warrior. He fought against Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat, Muhammad Shah of Delhi, Muhammad Shah III of the Bahmani kingdom and Rana Kumbha of Mewar. In 1440 A.D., his ambition led him to march towards Delhi with a view to become the ruler of Delhi in place of Bahlol Lodi. However, he withdrew on account of the opposition of Bahlol and the dangers of troubles at home. His war with the Rana of Mewar was indecisive. Both sides claimed victory. While the Rana of Mewar built the tower of victory at Chittor, Mahmud Khalji erected a seven storeyed column at Mandu to commemorate his triumph. Mahmud Khalji was undoubtedly the ablest of the Muslim rulers of Malwa. He extended the limits of his kingdom up to the Satpura range in the south, the frontier of Gujarat in the west, Bundelkhand in the east and Mewar and Harauti in the north. His fame spread even beyond India. His position was recognised even by the Khalifa of Egypt. He received a mission from Sultan Abu Said. He was a just and active administrator. According to Ferishta, "Sultan Mahmud was polite, brave, just and learned, and during his reign, his subjects, Mohammadans as well as Hindus, were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely

a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home and his resting place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of the different kings of the earth read." Mahmud Khalji died in 1469 at Mandu at the age of 68 after a reign of about 34 years.

Mahmud Khalji was succeeded by his son **Ghiyas-ud-Din**. He had 15,000 women in his harem. He loved peace. Like a true Muslim, he was very particular about his daily prayers. There were quarrels between his two sons and he was poisoned by one of them in 1500 A.D.

Ghiyas-ud-Din was succeeded by his son **Abdul Qadir Nasir-ud-Din**. He ruled for 10 years and died in 1510. He was succeeded by **Mahmud II.** In order to get rid of the influence of the Muslim nobles, Mahmud II appointed Medni Rai, the powerful Rajput chief of Chanderi as his minister. Medni Rai appointed Hindus to all offices of trust and responsibility. This was too much for the Muslim nobles and they were able to remove Medni Rai with the help of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. However, Medni Rai was able to defeat Mahmud II with the help of Rana Sanga of Chittor. Mahmud II was captured by the Rajputs but he was restored to his kingdom by them. Mahmud II invaded the territories of Ratan Singh, successor of Rana Sanga. The result was that Ratan Singh also invaded Malwa. Mahmud II also gave shelter to Chand Khan, the younger brother of the ruler of Gujarat and a rival to the throne of Gujarat. The result was that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat captured Mandu in 1531 and thereby ended the independence of Malwa. After some time, it was occupied by Humayun. In about 1535, Mallu Khan became independent in Malwa and took up the title of Kadar Shah. However, he was deposed in 1542 by Sher Shah. Malwa was finally conquered by the Mughals from Baz Bahadur in 1561-62 A.D.

Gujarat

Gujarat was a rich province and its richness was advertised by the famous loot of Somnath by Mahmud Ghazni in 1125 A.D. It was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi in 1297 in the region of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. After that, the province was held by Muslim Governors who were subordinate to the rulers of Delhi. Zafar Khan, who was the son of a Rajput convert, was appointed Governor of Gujarat in 1391 by Muhammad Shah, the youngest son of Firuz Tughluq. In 1401, he formally assumed independence. His son Tatar Khan conspired against his father and threw him into prison and declared himself king under the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah. He even marched towards Delhi but was put to death by his uncle Shams Khan. The result was that Zafar Khan was once again able to recover the throne and he took up the title of **Sultan Muzaffar Shah**. He fought a successful war against Hushang Shah, the ruler of Malwa. He was also able to capture Dhar. He died in June 1411.

Muzaffar Shah was succeeded by his grandson named **Ahmad Shah** who ruled from 1411 to 1441. He was a brave and warlike ruler and he spent the whole of his life in fighting and conquering. He has rightly been called the real founder of the independence of Gujarat. In

1414, he marched against the Hindus of Girnar, defeated Rai Mandalik and captured the fort of Junagarh. In 1415, he destroyed the temple of Sidhpur. In 1416, he marched against Dhar. In 1421, he marched against Malwa and besieged it. Hushang was defeated. Ahmad Shah attacked Rao Punja of Idar who had carried on treasonable correspondence with Hushang. The Rao fled but he was overtaken and beheaded. In 1437, Ahmad Shah besieged Mandu and defeated Mahmud Shah Khalji.

In 1411, Ahmad Shah built the city of Ahmadabad on the left bank of the Sabarmati river near the old town of Asawal. Many beautiful buildings were constructed there. He spent a lot of time in improving the civil administration of his dominion. His only defect was that he was intolerant in matters of religion. He waged relentless wars against the Hindus. Their temples were destroyed and their leaders were forced to become Muslims.

When Ahmad Shah died in August 1442, he was succeeded by his eldest son, **Muhammad Shah.** He ruled upto 1451. He was succeeded by **Qutb-ud-Din Ahmed** and **Daud.** Daud annoyed the nobles and was deposed by them. The nobles placed on the throne Abul Fath Khan, a grandson of Ahmed Shah. The new king known as **Mahmud Begarha** and he ruled from 1458 to 1511. The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari writes thus about Mahmud: "Notwithstanding his high dignity and royalty, he had an enormous appetite. The full daily allowance of food for the Sultan was one *man* of Gujarat weight. In eating this he put aside five *sirs* of boiled rice, and before going to sleep he used to make it up into a pasty and place one half of it on the right-hand side of his couch and the other half on the left, so that on whichever side he awoke he might find something to eat, and might then go to sleep again. In the morning after saying his prayers, he took a cup full of honey and a cup of butter with a hundred or a hundred and fifty golden plantains. He often used to say, 'If God had not raised Mahmud to the throne of Gujarat, who would have satisfied his hunger' ?"

Mahmud Begarha ruled the country for about 53 years without the influence of any minister or *harem*. He was a brave warrior and he succeeded in all his campaigns. He saved Nizam Shah Bahmani from aggression on the part of Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa. He defeated the Sumra and Sodha chiefs of Cutch. He suppressed the pirates of Jagat (Dwarka). Bhima, chief of Dwarka, was taken prisoner and was sent to Ahmadabad. There he was hacked to pieces and the fragments of his dead body were hung over the city gates as a fitting punishment for his improper conduct towards the Mulla of Samarqand whose wives and property had been captured by the pirates. He conquered the forts of Junagarh and Champanir. Champanir was named as Muhammadabad. As a result of his conquests, the kingdom of Gujarat extended from the frontiers of Mandu to the frontiers of Sind by Junagarh ; to the Shiwalik Parbat by Jalor and Nagaur ; to Nasik Trimbak by Baglana; from Burhanpur to Berar and Malkapur of the Deccan ; to Karkun and river Narbada on the side of Burhanpur ; on the side of

Idar as far as Chittor and Kumbalgarh and on the side of the sea as far as the bounds of Chaul.

Mahmud Begarha joined the Sultan of Turkey to turn out the Portuguese from the Indian waters. The Portuguese were threatening to monopolise the spice trade which formerly was in the hands of the Muslim traders. They were also trying to control the important sea ports of Western India like Cambay and Chaul. The Egyptian fleet under the command of Amir Hussain, Governor of Jedda and the Indian contingent under the cammand of Malik Ayaz, defeated a Portuguese squadron commanded by Dom Lourenco near Chaul, south of Bombay, in 1508. The Christians were defeated. Dom Lourenco, son of De Almeida, was killed in the fight which lasted for two days. His ship was surrounded on every side. Although his leg was broken by a cannon-ball at the very beginning of the fighting, he continued to give orders. However, another cannon ball struck him in the breast and Dom Lourenco died "without knowing what the word surrender meant". The Portuguese inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined Muslim fleet near Diu in February 1509. In 1510, Mahmud Begarha surrendered Diu to Albuquerque. A Portuguese factory appeared in the Island in 1513.

The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari gives the following estimate of Mahmud Begarha: "He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all the Gujarat kings, including all who preceded, and all who succeeded him; and whether for abounding justice and generosity; for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Musalmans; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence."

Mahmud Begarha was succeeded by his son **Muzaffar II**. He waged successful wars against the Rajputs. He also restored Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa to his throne. He died in April, 1526, after a rule of about 15 years. He was succeeded by Sikandar, Nasir Khan, Mahmud II and Bahadur Shah. The later ruled from 1527 to 1537. **Bahadur Shah** was a brave and war-like prince. He has won undying fame through his gallantry and chivalry. The Sultan twice invaded the Deccan to rescue the rulers of Khandesh and Berar from the persecutions of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. When the Rana of Chittor complained of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, Bahadur Shah laid siege to Mandu and captured it in 1531. He also conquered Virangam, Mandal, Raisin, Bhilsa and Chanderi. He stormed the fortress of Chittor in 1534. However, he annoyed Humayun, the Mughal Emperor, by giving shelter to a political refugee. When Bahadur refused to hand over the refugee, Humayun attacked Gujarat and conquered it. However, when Humayun was forced to leave Gujarat for Bengal, Bahadur was able to recover the possession of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah had also to fight against the Portuguese. When Bahadur Shah tried to turn out the Portuguese from Diu, he met with stiff resistance. Bahadur Shah wrote letters to the princes of the Deccan requesting them to help him in his fight against the Portuguese.

However, those letters were intercepted by the Portuguese and they decided to take his life. Bahadur Shah was induced to pay a visit to Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Governor. This he did in spite of warnings to the contrary. A spear was thrust into his breast and he fell down into the sea and was drowned.

After the death of Bahadur Shah, there was anarchy in Gujarat. There were many weak kings. In 1572, Gujarat was annexed by Akbar.

Mewar

Mewar had the credit of producing brave generals, heroic leaders, prudent rulers and brilliant poets. The Rajputs of the Guhila established their power in Mewar in the 7th Century A.D. Ala-ud-Din Khalji besieged and captured Chittor. However, Chittor was recovered by **Hamir** or his son. Hamir died in 1364 "leaving a name still honoured in Mewar as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes and bequeating well-established and extensive power" to his son, **Kshetra Simha.** Kshetra Simha was succeeded by his son **Lakha** in about 1382. When Lakha died in about 1418, he was succeeded by his son Mokala. The latter was, however, killed in about 1431. The next Rana of Mewar was **Kumbha.** He was the most famous ruler of Mewar. According to Tod, "All that was wanting to augment her (Mewar's) resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of Oxus, and were destined to brust on the head of his grandson, Sangha, was effected by Kumbha; who with Hamir's energy, Lakha's taste for arts, and a genius comprehensive as either or more fortunate, succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Mewar upon the banks of the Ghaggar, the scene of Samarsi's defeat." Kumbha fought against the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat. It is true that he was not successful in all his enterprises, but he was able to keep his neighbours in check. Kumbha was responsible for the construction of 32 out of 48 fortresses built for the defence of Mewar. He was also responsible for the construction of Kumbhagarh "second to none in strategical importance or historical renown". Kumbha is also famous for his Jayastambha or Kirtistambha or Tower of Fame. He was not only a great builder but also a great poet, a man of letters and a musician. He was killed by his son in about 1469.

Kumbha was succeeded by **Rayamalla,** his younger brother. There was a quarrel for succession among his sons and ultimately Rana Sanga came to the throne in about 1509 A.D. **Rana Sanga** was the person who fought against Babur in the battle of Kanwaha in 1527 and was defeated. He was otherwise a formidable enemy.

Khandesh

The province of Khandesh lay in the valley of the Tapti river and it was bounded in the north by the Vindhyas, in the South by the Deccan Plateau, in the west by Gujarat and in the east by Berar. Khandesh was a part of the empire of Muhammad Tughluq. It continued to be so during the reign of Firuz. In 1370, Malik **Raja Faruqi** was put in charge of Khandesh. After the death of Firuz, there was confusion and Malik Raja Faruqi declared himself independent as was

done by Dilawar Khan of Malwa. Malik Raja Faruqi was defeated by Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat on many occasions. He was a man of peaceful habits and he followed a policy of religious toleration towards the Hindus. He encouraged both agriculture and industries.

When Malik Raja died in 1399, he was succeeded by his son **Malik Nasir.** The new ruler was responsible for the conquest of the fortress of Asirgarh from a Hindu chief. This was done by means of treachery. Malik Nasir was defeated by Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Gujarat and was compelled to swear fealty to him. He also fought against his son-in-law Ala-ud-Din Ahmad of the Bahmani dynasty but was defeated.

Malik Nasir died in the year 1437-38. He was succeeded by **Adil Khan I** who ruled from 1438 to 1441 and **Mubarak Khan I** who ruled from 1441 to 1457. Then came **Adil Khan II** who ruled from 1457 to 1503. The new king was an able and vigorous ruler and he tried his best to bring about order in the administration. The country became prosperous during his reign. Rushbrook-Williams points out that Khandesh is a good example of the manner in which the amenities of life can flourish under conditions which prohibit the exercise of the art of politics.

Adil Khan II was succeeded by his brother **Daud** who ruled for about 7 years from 1501 to 1508. Daud was succeeded by his son **Ghazni Khan** but he was poisoned within 10 days of his accession. There was a lot of confusion. There were rival claimants to the throne but ultimately **Adil Khan III** succeeded. There was nothing important in his reign and he died in August 1520. He was succeeded by weak rulers who could not check the encroachments of foreign powers on their dominions. Akbar annexed Khandesh to his empire in January 1601.

Orissa

The kingdom of Orissa extended from the mouth of the Ganga to that of the Godavari. It was consolidated into a powerful kingdom by **Anantavarman Choda Ganga** who ruled for more than 70 years from about 1076 to 1148 A.D. Ganga was a patron of religion and Sanskrit and Telugu literature. The Jagannath temple at Puri is an example of "the artistic vigour and prosperity of Orissa during his reign". His successors also did not allow the Muslim invasions to succeed. **Narasimha I** who ruled from 1238 to 1264 was one of the successors of Anantavarman Choda Ganga and he probably completed the construction of the Jagannath temple at Puri. He was also responsible for the construction of the temple of the Sun-God at Konarak in the Puri district.

In 1434-35, a new dynasty began to rule in Orissa and it was founded by **Kapilendra**. The founder had a lot of energy and ability. He was able to restore the prestige of the kingdom of Orissa. The powerful rebels were suppressed. Kapilendra fought successfully against the Bahmanis of Bidar and the rulers of Vijayanagar. His kingdom extended from the Ganges to the Kaveri. He took possession of Udayagiri, seat of a Vijayanagar viceroyalty, and Conjeevaram.

Purushottama ruled from 1470 to 1497. There were disorders

during his reign. The result was that Narasimha captured the country to the south of the Krishna. The Bahmanis captured the Godavari-Krishna Doab. However, Purushottama was able to re-conquer the Doab. He was also able to re-conquer the Andhra country as far as the Guntur district. Probably he was not successful in getting back the Tamil districts of the empire of Kapilendra.

Purushottama was succeeded by his son **Prataparudra** who ruled from 1497 to 1540. On account of the aggressions of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar and Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golkunda, Prataparudra was not able to maintain his empire. He was forced to give away to Vijayanagar that portion of his kingdom which lay to the south of the Godavari.

It is contended that one of the reasons responsible for the fall of Orissa was the influence of Vaishnavism preached by Chaitanya. Orissa lost her position in the beginning of the 16th century. In 1541-52, the Bhoi dynasty was established by Govinda, who was formerly a minister of Prataparudra. Govinda, his son and two grandsons ruled for about 18 years. In about 1559, Mukunda Harichandana set up a new dynasty. He died in 1568 and in the same year Orissa was annexed by Bengal.

Bengal

Bengal was conquered and brought under the Sultanate of Delhi by Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad-bin-Baktiyar Khalji during the last decade of the 12th century A.D. However, his successors tried to assert their independence. They were encouraged to do so by the fact that Bengal was far away from Delhi and was also very rich. Sultān Balban was able to re-establish his suzerainty over Bengal after putting down the rebellion. He also appointed his son Bughra Khan as the Governor of Bengal. However, Bughra Khan declared himself independent after some time.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq tried to solve the problem of Bengal by dividing it into three independent administrative divisions with their capitals at Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon. After coming to the throne, Muhammad-bin-Tughluq appointed Qadr Khan in-charge of Lakhnauti, Izz-ud-Din Azam-ul-Mulk that of Satgaon and Ghiyas-ud-Din Bahadur Shah to that of Sonargaon. However, in spite of partition, the situation did not improve. Ghiyas-ud-Din Bahadur revolted and issued coins both from Sonargaon and Ghiyaspur. However, he was defeated and killed. **Bahram Khan** became the sole Governor at Sonargaon. When he died in 1336, his armour-bearer named Fakhr-ud-Din declared himself ruler of Sonargaon and took up the title of Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah. Ala-ud-Din Ali Shah declared himself independent in north Bengal and shifted his capital from Lakhnauti to Pandua. He ruled for about 10 years and was succeeded by Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Ghazi Shah.

About the year 1345, **Haji Iliyas** made himself an independent ruler of the whole of the province of Bengal. He annexed the eastern kingdom of Sonargaon in 1352. He got tributes from the kingdoms of Orissa and Tirhut and proceeded as far as Banaras.. As his activities

threatened the Delhi Sultanate, Firuz Tughluq tried to subdue him but failed. Haji Iliyas died in 1357. There was peace and prosperity during his reign. This is attested by the inauguration of a national and typical coinage and the growth of a taste for the arts of peace, especially architecture.

Haji Iliyas was succeeded by **Sikandar Shah.** He ruled from 1357 to 1393. During his reign, Firuz Tughluq made another attempt to recover Bengal, but he failed. A magnificient mosque was built at Adina during his reign. We have also got a large number of coins of various designs of his reign.

Sikandar Shah was succeeded by **Ghiyas-ud-Din Azam.** He had a profound regard for law. He received an embassy from China in 1408 and himself sent one to China in 1409. He died in 1410 after a reign of about 70 years.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Azam was succeeded by his son **Saif-ud-Din Hamza Shah.** At this time, Raja Ganesh, a Brahman Zamindar, came into prominence and Hamza Shah ruled for one year and a few months as a nominal king. The view of the Muslim historians is that Ganesh ruled Bengal as an independent king and abdicated in favour of his son Jadu who later on became a Muslim and took up the title of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Shah. As no coin of Raja Ganesh has been found, it is suggested that he never became a sovereign and contented himself to rule the country in the name of some descendants of Iliyas Shah. Dr. Bhattasali is of the view that Raja Ganesh is the same person as Danujamardana Deva whose name has been found on coins. However, this identification is not accepted by many writers. It appears that the rule of the dynasty of Raja Ganesh did not last long. Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Shah died in 1431 and he was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-Din Ahmad who reigned from 1431 to 1442. The new ruler was extremely unpopular on account of his tyranny and no wonder he fell a victim to a conspiracy organised against him. There was some confusion for some time and ultimately Nasir-ud-Din, a grandson of Haji Iliyas, was put on the throne. He took up the title of **Nasir-ud-Din Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah.**

The new ruler ruled for about 17 years. He built a few buildings at Gaur and a mosque at Satgaon. Rukn-ud-Din Barbak Shah succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah. He kept a very large number of Abyssinian slaves. He "was a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign". He died in 1474 A.D.

He was succeeded by his son **Shams-ud-Din Yasuf Shah.** He was a virtuous, learned and pious ruler. He ruled from 1474 to 1481. Sylhet was conquered by the Muslims during his reign. He was succeeded by **Sikandar II.** As he was found to be of defective intellect, he was deposed and **Jalal-ud-Din Fateh Shah,** a son of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, was put on the throne. The new ruler realised the danger of the increase in the power of the Abyssinians and tried to check the same. However, he himself was murdered in 1486. He was succeeded by **Barbak Shah,** Sultan Shahzada but the latter was murdered within a few months by Indil Khan. After some hesitation, Indil Khan became the ruler of Bengal and took up the title of Saif-ud-Din Firuz. He

was an able administrator and commander. He gave a lot in charity. He died in 1489. He was succeeded by Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah II. However, he was ousted in 1490 by Sidi Badr who took up the title of Shams-ud-Din Abu Nasir Muzaffar Shah. He ruled for a little more than three years. As he was a tyrant, there was a lot of discontentment. He was besieged in Gaur for four months in course of which he died. He was succeeded by Ala-ud-Din Husain Shah.

Husain Shah ruled from 1493 to 1518. He was an enlightened king. He was the most popular ruler of Bengal. He suppressed the power of the palace guards who had become too powerful. He turned out the Abyssinians from Bengal as their presence had become a menace. He welcomed Husain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur in Bengal when he was driven from his kingdom by Sikandar Lodi. He also tried to recover the lost territorial possessions of Bengal. He extended the limits of his territory up to the borders of Orissa in the South. He recovered Magadha from the control of the Sharqis of Jaunpur. He invaded Ahom kingdom of Assam. In 1498, he captured Kamatapur. He also captured Assam. He built a large number of mosques and alms houses in different parts of his territory. According to Dr. V. A. Smith, "His name *is still familiar* throughout Bengal ; and no insurrection or rebellion occurred during his reign of 24 years. He died at Gaur (Lakhnauti) having enjoyed a peaceable and happy reign, beloved by his subjects and respected by his neighbours."

Husain Shah was succeeded by his son Nasib Khan who took up the title of **Nasir-ud-Din Nusrat Shah.** He was a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural affections. He not only refrained from slaying, mutilating or imprisoning his brothers but also doubled the provision which his father had made for them. He was a patron of art, literature and architecture. He was responsible for the construction of Bara Sona Masjid and Kadam Rasul at Gaur. He invaded Tirhut, slew its king and put own relatives in charge of its administration.

Nusrat Shah was succeeded by his son **Ala-ud-Din Firuz Shah.** He ruled for about three months and was killed by his uncle, **Ghiyas-ud-Din Mahmud Shah** who was the last king of the dynasty. He was turned out from Bengal by Sher Khan.

Dr. V. A. Smith points out that some of the Muslim kings were not indifferent to the merits of Hindu literature. A Bengali version of the Mahabharat was prepared under the orders of Nusrat Shah. There are frequent reference in old Bengali literature to emperor Husain Shah and he was held in high esteem and trust by the Hindus. It is pointed out that "the patronage and favour of the Muhammadan emperors and chiefs gave the first start towards the recognition of Bengali in the courts of the Hindu Rajas who, under the guidance of their Brahman teachers, were more inclined to encourage Sanskrit".

Sir Wolseley Haig points out that "Bengal, whether as province of Delhi or as an independent kingdom was not a homogenous Muslim state. Great Hindu land-holders held estates which were, in fact, principalities, and their allegiance to a Muslim ruler, like his to a Sultan of Delhi, depended on the ruler's personality. The general

attitude of the rulers of Bengal to their Hindu subjects was tolerant but it is evident, from the numerical superiority in Eastern Bengal of Muslims who are certainly not the descendants of dominant invaders, that from time to time waves of proselytism swept over the country."

Kashmir

Kashmir enjoyed immunity for long from Muslim conquest. It continued to be under its Hindu rulers up to 1339.

It was in the year 1315 that Shah Mirza, a Muslim adventurer from Swat, entered the service of the Hindu ruler of Kashmir. Shah Mirza captured the throne of Kashmir in the year 1339 and took up the title of **Shams-ud-Din Shah**. He was a wise and generous king. He died in 1349. His four sons ruled Kashmir for about 46 years.

Sikandar ascended the throne in 1394 after the death of his father Qutb-ud-Din. He ruled from 1394 to 1416. It was during his reign that Timur invaded India but fortunately Kashmir was saved. Envoys were exchanged between Timur and Sikandar but they never met each other. Sikandar was generous towards the Muslims and he welcomed Muslim scholars from Persia, Arabia and Mesopotamia. He was responsible for the persecution of the Hindus. They were either converted to Islam or turned out from Kashmir. It is stated that only 11 families of the Brahmans were left in Kashmir. He destroyed many temples and the most important of them was the Martand temple at Mattan. This giant work of art in its present half-burnt and ruined condition proves the religious zeal of Sikandar. He got the title of Sikandar, the *But-Shikan* or idolbreaker.

Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ali Shah who ruled for a few years when he was deposed by his brother Shah Khan who took up the title of **Zain-ul-Abidin.** He was the greatest ruler of Kashmir. He enforced the system of responsibility of the village communities for local crimes. The result was that the number of thefts and highway robberies fell considerably. He regulated the prices of commodities. He lightened the burden of taxation on the people. He stabilized the currency which had been debased during the reigns of his predecessors. He was responsible for a large number of public works. He was a man of liberal ideas. He showed toleration towards the followers of other faiths. He called back the Brahmans who had left Kashmir during the reign of his father. He abolished the Jizya and guaranteed perfect religious freedom to all. He had a good knowledge of Persian, Hindi and Tibetan. He patronised literature, painting and music. The Mahabharat and the Rajatarangini were translated from Sanskrit into Persian. Several Arabic and Persian books were translated into Hindi. For all these reasons, Zain-ul-Abidin has been described as "*the Akbar of Kashmir*". He died in November or December 1470 and was succeeded by his son Haidar Shah.

It is stated that after the death of Zain-ul-Abidin, anarchy "ensued under the rule of nominal knigs who were replaced on the throne as a mark for the machinations of the different parties who were seeking pre-eminence for purposes of self-aggrandisement and plunder". In 1540, Mirza Haidar, a relative of Humayun, conquered Kashmir and although he governed theoretically on behalf of Humayun, he was

practically an independent ruler. He was, however, overthrown by the Kashmir nobles. Ultimately, Kashmir was conquered and annexed to the empire of Akbar in 1586.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Banerjee, R. D.	:	History of Orissa.
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CHAPTER XII

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

The Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan was the most powerful of all the independent Muslim kingdoms that arose on account of the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate. It was during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq that the Amirs of the Deccan called the Amiran-i-Sadah revolted against the Emperor, captured the fort of Daulatabad and declared Ismail Mukh, as the King of the Deccan under the title of Nasir-ud-Din Shah. However, Ismail Mukh was an old man and loved ease and consequently he voluntarily resigned in favour of Hasan, entitled Zafar Khan, who was declared king by the nobles on 3rd August, 1347 under the title of Abul Muzaffar Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah.

Its Origin

The origin of the Bahmani kingdom as given by Ferishta is not accepted by modern historians. The view given by Ferishta is that Hasan was employed in the service of Gangu, a Brahman astrologer at Delhi who enjoyed the confidence of Muhammad Tughluq. One day while Hasan was ploughing the lands of Gangu, he found in a furrow a copper vessel full of gold coins. Hasan took to Gangu all that he had found and the latter was so pleased with his honesty that he recommended Hasan to Muhammad Tughluq. Muhammad Tughluq conferred upon Gangu the command of 100 horses. Gangu named his kingdom after the name of his master.

While rejecting the view of Ferishta, it is pointed out that in the Burhan-i-Maasir Hasan traces his pedigree from Bahman-bin-Isafan-diyar and does not make any mention of Gangu, the Brahman astrologer of Delhi. The view of Ferishta is also contradicted by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, author of Tabqat-i-Akbari, Ahmad Amin Razi, author of Haft Iqlim and Haji-ud-Dabir, author of Arabic History of Gujarat. The view of Ferishta is contradicted by the evidence of inscriptions and coins.

Ala-ud-Din Hasan

After his accession, Ala-ud-Din Hasan selected Gulbarga as his capital and gave it the name of Ahsanabad. As the Hindu rulers of the South refused to submit to his authority, he embarked upon a career of conquests. The countries of the infidels were over-run and one province after another was conquered. The fort of Qandhar was recovered. Sikandar Khan reduced Bidar and Malkhed. The anxiety of Hasan was gone after the death of Muhammad Tughluq as Firuz Tughluq had no inclination to reconquer the territories in the Deccan. Hasan became more active and he won victories over many Hindu and Muslim princes who were compelled to pay tribute. Goa, Dabhol, Kolapur and Telingana were all conquered. Hasan died in February

1358. He left a dominion extending from the Wainganga river in the north to the Krishna river in the south and from Daulatabad in the west to Bhongir in the east. For the administration of his kingdom, he divided it into four Tarafs or provinces namely Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Berar and Bidar. Each province was put under the charge of a governor who was required to maintain an army. According to the author of Burhan-i-Maasir, "Sultan Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shah was a just king who cherished his people and practised piety. During his reign his subjects and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and contentment and he did much towards propagating the true faith."

Muhammad Shah I

Ala-ud-Din Hasan was succeeded by his elder son, Muhammad Shah I. The latter organised the different branches of his Government like the ministry, household troops and provincial administration. He was busy all his life in fighting against the rulers of Warangal and Vijayanagar. Although the Hindus fought with courage and determination, they were defeated. Their territory was plundered. Temples were razed to the ground. The immediate cause of a war with Vijayanagar was that a messenger who had been sent to demand money from the ruler of Vijayanagar was insulted. The ruler of Vijayanagar himself marched into the territory of the Bahmani kingdom and laid waste the country lying between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. The fort of Mudgal was captured and the Muslim garrison was put to the sword. Muhammad Shah took a vow that he would not stop fighting until he had taken the lives of 100,000 Hindus. He personally led the attack on Vijayanagar. The Hindus were defeated and there was a terrible carnage in which even women and children were not spared. Ultimately, peace was made.

Muhammad Shah was ruthless in carrying out his domestic policy. He ordered all public distilleries to be closed and he put down lawlessness with a heavy hand. He died in 1377. It is rightly contended that the acts of cruelty in which Muhammad Shah took delight and the disgraceful orgies and revels which was a common feature of court-life at Gulbarga, do not entitle Muhammad Shah I to the praise showered on him by Ferishta.

Mujahid Shah

Muhammad Shah I was succeeded by his son Mujahid Shah. The Raichur Doab was the bone of contention between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom. When Mujahid Shah asked the ruler of Vijayanagar to leave the Raichur Doab, the latter replied by demanding the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal. Mujahid marched against Vijayanagar but he failed to capture the city. A second attempt was made but that also failed. The Muslims suffered a crushing defeat and ultimately peace was concluded. Mujahid fell a victim to a conspiracy organised by Daud Khan who usurped the throne. However, the usurper himself was murdered in May 1378 at the instigation of Ruh Parwar Agha, the foster sister of Mujahid. She hired a slave who killed Daud Khan in the mosque when he was kneeling down to say his prayers.

Muhammad Shah II

The next ruler was Muhammad Shah II. He was a man of peace. He spent all his time in the pursuit of literature and science. He built mosques. He set up monasteries and public schools. Many learned men came to his court from all parts of Asia. Hafiz, the famous Persian poet, was invited and he actually started for India but had to give up the attempt on account of difficulties. The poet sent an ode for which he was given a good reward. The view of Muhammad Shah was that the king was merely a trustee of the wealth of the people and any careless or unnecessary expenditure amounted to a breach of trust. In his time, a famine broke out and he employed 10,000 bullocks to bring grain from Malwa and Gujarat to meet the situation. He died in April 1397.

A reference may be made at this time to Saif-ud-Din Ghuri who had the privilege of serving the first five Bahmani rulers. Sir Wolseley Haig says that Muhammad Shah I was a diligent and methodical administrator, but as he was all the time occupied with war, wine and slaughter of the Hindus, he had practically no time for constructive statesmanship. The success of his administration due to Saif-ud-Din Ghuri. The same part was played by Saif-ud-Din during the reign of Muhammad Shah II. When there was a famine between 1387 and 1395, a thousand bullocks were employed incessantly to import corn from Gujarat and Malwa. However, that corn was sold at low rates to Muslims only. Likewise, free schools were established for Muslim orphans at Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Elichpur, Daulatabad, Chaul, Dhabol and other cities and towns in which children were not only taught but were housed and fed at public expense. Special allowances were given to the readers of the Qoran, reciters of the Traditions and the blind. Saif-ud-Din Ghuri died in 1397 A.D. at the age of 104.

Firuz Shah

Muhammad Shah II was succeeded by his two sons namely **Ghiyas-ud-Din** and **Shams-ud-Din Daud**. However, their rule lasted for a few months only. In November 1397, the throne was captured by Firuz, a grandson of Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahmani. He took up the title of Taj-ud-Din Firuz Shah. The Author of Burhan-i-Maasir says that Firuz Shah "was an impetuous and a mighty monarch and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and in destroying tyranny and hear-say and he took much pleasure in the society of the Shaikhs, learned men and hermit". However, after a few years of rule, he got himself involved into the common vices of his time. He began to drink hard. He became passionately fond of music. He maintained a large harem which included women of several nationalities. As a Muslim could not have more than four wives, the Sultan resorted to Muta marriages. It is said that about 800 women were daily admitted into his harem in this manner.

In 1398, war broke out with Vijayanagar whose ruler marched into the Raichur Doab with a view to take possession of the fort of Mudgal. Through treachery, the son of the ruler of Vijayanagar was killed. Aggrieved by the death of his son, Deva Raya made feeble

resistance and ran away with his army. A large number of Hindus were slaughtered. Another war with Vijayanagar started in the year 1406. The immediate cause of this war was the desire of the ruler of Vijayanagar to obtain possession of the beautiful daughter of a farmer in Mudgal. The accounts of the beauty of the girl were given by a Brahman who had taught her and the ruler of Vijayanagar decided to marry her. However, the girl refused the offer on the ground that it would mean for her final separation from her own kith and kin whose affection she valued more than the offers of a king. The ruler of Vijayanagar marched his troops towards Mudgal in order to capture her by force. On hearing the approach of the army, the inhabitants ran away including the parents of the girl. As the girl could not be found, the troops plundered the country. This was too much for Firuz Shah. The war started between Vijayanagar and Bahmni kingdom and ultimately the ruler of Vijayanagar was defeated and he had to agree to give his own daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah and also pay a huge war indemnity. Firuz Shah married his own son Hasan Khan to the daughter of the farmer who was the cause of the whole trouble.

In 1420, there was another war between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom and it ended in the defeat of the Bahmani kingdom. Mir Fazlullah, Commander-in-chief of the Muslim forces, was killed in the battle-field. The Sultan himself ran away from the field in utter confusion. The Vijayanagar troops occupied the southern and eastern districts of the Bahmani kingdom. This defeat so much influenced the mind and body of the Sultan that he left his administration in the hands of his two slaves. According to one view, Firuz Shah died a natural death. The other view is that he was forced to abdicate in favour of his brother, Ahmad Shah, in 1422.

Ahmad Shah

Ahmad Shah ruled from 1422 to 1435. He fought against the ruler of Vijayanagar to take revenge for the invasion of the previous reign. The ruler of Vijayanagar entrenched himself in the fort. The whole country was laid waste by the Muslim troops. They put to death men, women and children to the number of 20,000 and celebrated a carnival in its memory. An attempt was made on the life of Ahmad Shah but he was saved. Ultimately, Deva Raya was forced to make peace by which he agreed to pay all arrears of tribute and sent his son with 30 elephants laden with money, jewels and other articles of great value.

In 1425, the Sultan declared war upon Warangal. The Hindus were defeated and their chief was killed. The independence of Warangal was extinguished. Ahmad Shah also fought against Malwa and the neighbouring states. He also fought against Konkan. The last expedition was against Telingana. He shifted his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. He died in February 1435.

Ahmad Shah was a tyrant. He was a fanatical Muslim. He forgot the sufferings of the Hindus in his zeal for Islam. The view that "his disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion," is not correct.

He loved the society of learned men. He gave seven lacs of Deccani Tankas to Shaikh Azari for his writing two verses in praise of the palace of the Sultan at Bidar.

Ala-ud-Din II

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son Ala-ud-Din II who ruled from 1435 to 1457. He had to suppress a rebellion headed by his brother Muhammad who was pardoned and given the government of the Raichur Doab. He remained faithful to Ala-ud-Din for the rest of his life.

He reduced to submission the Hindu chiefs of Konkan. The Raja of Sangameshwar gave his daughter in marriage to Ala-ud-Din II. This was not liked by Malika-u-Jahan, the queen of Ala-ud-Din II and she asked her father, Nasir Khan, ruler of Khandesh to interfere. However, Nasir Khan was defeated.

About the year 1442, Deva Raya, ruler of Vijayanagar, called a meeting of the chief Brahmans and nobles and discussed with them the causes of Muslim success against the Hindus. Their conclusion was that Muslim success was due to the superior strength of the Muslim cavalry and their skill in archery. The result was that Dev Raya himself employed a large number of Muslims in his service and gave them Jagirs. He also constructed a mosque for their worship. There was an attack by Deva Raya on the Bahmani kingdom. There was no decisive battle and sometimes the Hindus were successful and sometimes the Muslims. Ultimately, peace was concluded and Deva Raya agreed to pay the stipulated tribute.

Ala-ud-Din was a champion of Islam and he was very considerate towards the Muslims. We are told that Ala-ud-Din "founded Masjids, public schools and charitable institutions, among which was a hospital of perfect elegance and purity of style, which he built in his capital, Bidar, and made two beautiful villages there as a pious endowment, in order that the revenue of these villages should be solely devoted to supplying medicines and drinks". Again, "To every part of his dominions, he sent censors of morals and just judges; and though he dranks wine himself, he forbade it to others, as also gambling. He put chains on the necks of idle vagabonds and made them street scavengers and labourers, that they might reform and earn their livelihood, or else quit the country. If any one, of any rank, after warning and much correction, was convicted of drinking, lead was to be poured down his throat."

Humayun

Ala-ud-Din II was succeeded by his son Humayun who ruled from 1457 to 1461. He was so cruel that he got the title of Zalim or the tyrant. According to Ferishta, "Humayun Shah, abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in the square, and the cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water for torture. Looking on from a balcony, he had his brother Hasan thrown to a ferocious tiger who tore him to pieces and devoured him. Ingenious tortures were invented by the king and

inflicted on young and old of both sexes. He put the women servants of his household to death for the most trivial faults; and when any of the nobility were obliged to wait upon him so great was their dread that they took a last leave of their families." When he died in 1461, the general sense of relief was expressed by the contemporary poet Nazir in the words:

Humayun Shah has passed away from the world,
God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humayun!
On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
So, 'delight of the world' gave the date of his death.

Nizam Shah

Humayun was succeeded by his son Nizam Shah. As he was a minor, the work of the administration was carried on by his mother Makhdumah Jahan with the help of Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan. The rulers of Orissa and Telingana attacked the Bahmani empire but they were defeated. Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa attacked the Bahmani kingdom and besieged Bidar. The armies of the Bahmani kingdom were defeated. However, a request was made to the ruler of Gujarat for help and when that came the ruler of Malwa had to retire. Another attempt was made by the ruler of Malwa in 1462 but that also failed. Nizam Shah ruled from October 1461 to July 1463. He was succeeded by his brother who took up the title of Muhammad Shah III.

Muhammad Shah III

At the time of his accession, Muhammad was only 9. As Khwaja Jahan, the Wazir, embezzled the public funds, he was condemned in open Darbar and murdered by one of the nobles of the court. The place of Khwaja Jahan was taken by Mahmud Gawan who was also given the title of Khwaja Jahan. Gawan extended the dominions of the Bahmanis to an extent never reached before.

In 1469, Gawan tried to subdue the Hindu Rajas of the Konkan. When he had captured many forts, Raja of Sanghameshwar surrendered the fortress of Khalna to the agents of Gawan. According to the author of *Burhan-i-Massir*, "This unrivalled minister seized many forts and towns and captured immense booty and valuable goods such as horses, elephants, maidens and female slaves as well as precious jewels and pearls fell into the Minister's hands." Gawan also captured Goa. The forts of Rajamundry and Kondavir were also captured. There was a famine in 1474 and a large number of persons died. In 1478, Muhammad Shah III invaded and devastated Orissa. The ruler of Orissa gave to the Sultan many elephants and other valuable gifts. In 1481, Kanchi or Conjeevaram was attacked. The old temples of that place "were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels and valuable pearls, besides innumerable slave girls." The fort was captured by a determined assault and immense booty fell into the hands of the victors who "levelled the city and its temples with the ground and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity."

In 1470, Nikitin, a Russian merchant, visited Bidar and he has

made the following observations with regard to the Bahmani Kingdom. "The Sultan is a little man, twenty years old, in the power of the nobles. Khorassanians rule the country and serve in war. There is a Khorassanian Boyar; Melik-Tuchar, who keeps an army of 200,000 men; Melik Khan keeps 100,000; Kharat Khan 20,000 and many are the Khans that keep 10,000 armed men.

"The Sultan goes out with 300,000 men of his own troops. The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horse-back and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch-bearers and ten musicians.

"The Sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front 100 horn-men, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing, 100 monkeys, and 100 concubines, all foreign (haurikies).

"The Sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Muhammedan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out. Foreigners are not admitted into the town. This palace is very wonderful; everything in it is carved or gilded, and, even to the smallest stone, is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully. Several courts of justice are within the building. Throughout the night the town of Bidar is guarded by 1,000 Kutovalovies (Kotwals), mounted on horses in full armour, carrying each a light."

While the military record of Muhammad Shah III is one of triumph, the Sultan himself became mentally unbalanced on account of his habit of drinking hard. In 1481, he committed a blunder by getting Mahmud Gawan murdered.

Mahmud Gawan

Mahmud Gawan was, by common consent, the greatest of the Mohammadan administrators of the Deccan. He was a native of Qawan or Gawan in Iran. His ancestors were the wazir of Shah Gilan. At the age of 45, Mahmud Gawan went to the Deccan for trade. Ala-ud-Din II made him an Amir of his court. His son Humayun conferred upon him the title of Malik-ul-Tujjar. After the murder of Khwaja Jahan, Muhammad Shah III made Mahmud Gawan the chief authority in the State. Although the new minister was given unlimited powers, he behaved with moderation. With a singleness of aim which was unparalleled in the history of the Bahmani empire, he devoted himself to the service of the State. He fought wars, subdued countries and "increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never reached before."

Mahmud Gawan was a great administrator. He re-organised the military department of the State and gave the entire control into the hands of the Sultan in order to weaken the position of the nobles. The mutual dissensions of the Deccanis and the foreigners were a source of

great trouble. The natives of the Deccan were less energetic and enterprising than those of the more northern latitudes, and, being unable to compete with the hardy Arab, the intellectual Persian and the virile Turk, they were obliged to give place to them at court as well as in camp. The quarrels among them were also complicated by sectarian differences. The natives were all Sunnis but the foreigners were mostly Shias. The conflicts were not confined to mere intrigues for place and power but frequently found expression in pitched battles and bloody massacres.

Mahmud Gawan so completely enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan that he was able to carry out his reforms with success without joining one party or the other. He organised the finances. He improved the administration of justice. He encouraged public education. In order to make the State demand just and equitable, the village lands were surveyed. Corrupt practices were put down. Those who were guilty were punished. The army reformed and better discipline was enforced. Prospects of the soldiers were improved.

However, his success aroused the jealousy of the Deccanis and a conspiracy was made to take his life. The keeper of the seals of Gawan was bribed and he was induced to affix the seals to a blank paper on which a letter was written from Mahmud Gawan to the ruler of Vijayanagar containing treasonable matter. That letter was placed before the Sultan whose ears had already been poisoned by his enemies. The Sultan called Gawan to his private apartment and put him the following question: "If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment?" Without knowing the purpose of the Sultan, Mahmud Gawan replied thus: "The unfortunate wretch who practises treachery against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword." The Sultan showed Gawan the letter and the reply of Gawan was that although the seals were his, the letter was a forged one. The Sultan did not care to go into the merits of the case and signalled to his slave Jauhar and he cut off the head of Mahmud Gawan. The last words of Mahmud Gawan were: "The death of an old man like me is of little moment to himself, but to you (Muhammad Shah III) it will prove the ruin of an empire and of your own glory." According to Meadows Taylor, the murder of Gawan was the beginning of the end and "with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom." Muhammad Shah also died within a year of the murder of Gawan, "crying out with his last breath that Mahmud Gawan was slaying him."

The whole of the life of Mahmud Gawan can be summed up in the word 'devotion'. He was devoted to the interest of the Bahmani kingdom. He was devoted to the ideal of territorial expansion. He was devoted to administrative reforms. He fought wars and brought glory to the Bahmani kingdom. Although he was at the helm of the affairs of the State, he lived a very simple life. His wants were very few. He slept on a matress. His food was cooked in earthen vessels. On Friday night, he went from one Parish of the city to another and gave help to the poor and the needy. He loved scholarship and he

possessed a personal library of about 3,000 books. He loved the company of learned men. He was well-versed in mathematics, literature and medicine. According to Ferishta, Gawan was the author of two works known as *Rauzat-ul-Insha* and *Diwan-i-Ashr*.

However, such a saintly person had one blot on his character. He was very enthusiastic in the persecution of the non-Muslims. He was ferocious and blood-thirsty like his master against the Hindus.

The murder of Gawan at the age of 78 was a calamity and that accelerated the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom.

Mahmud Shah

Muhammad Shah III was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah. He was a minor when he became king. When he reached manhood, he became an imbecile. He spent all his time in the company of buffoons and fiddlers who flocked to his court from all quarters. "The people, following the example of their king, attended to nothing but dissipation. Revered sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars and holy-teachers quitting their colleges retired to taverns and presided over the wine flask." The feuds between the Deccanis and the foreigners continued. The provincial governors took advantage of the prevailing confusion and declared themselves independent. The nominal authority of Mahmud Shah was confined to a small area round the capital. He and his four successors were mere puppets in the hands of Qasim Barid-ul-Mamalik and after his death in those of his son Amir Ali Barid, "the fox of the Deccan." The last ruler of the Bahmani kingdom was Kalim Ullah Shah and he came to the throne in 1524. He died in 1527 and with him came to an end of the Bahmani kingdom after its existence for about 180 years.

It is to be observed that there were 18 rulers of the Bahmani kingdom. Five of them were murdered. Two of them died of intemperance. Three of them were deposed and two of them were blinded. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani kingdom were busy with their wars with the Vijayanagar empire. Most of them were tyrants and followed a policy of persecution of the Hindus. Their armies caused much suffering to the people.

After the break up of the Bahmani kingdom, five separate states of the Muslims came into existence. The most important of the five was the **Adilshahi kingdom of Bijapur.** It was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah. Yusuf Adil Shah possessed great ability and strength of character and rose to prominence in the service of Mahmud Gawan. He made himself an independent king of Bijapur in 1489-90. Although he had preference for the Shia sect, he granted toleration to all. He did not hesitate to employ even Hindus in his government. He was just and humane. Scholars from Persia, Turkistan and other Central Asian countries went to his court. His four immediate successors were not able and there were intrigues during their reigns. Ibrahim Adil Shah II was the sixth ruler and he ruled from 1579 to 1625. According to Meadows Taylor, "He was the greatest of all the kings of the Adilshahi dynasty and, in most respects, except its founder, the most able and

popular." In 1618-19, he annexed the kingdom of Bidar to Bijapur. Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal empire by Aurangzeb in 1686.

The **Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar** was founded by Malik Ahmad. His father, Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, was a converted Hindu and Prime Minister of the Bahmani kingdom. Malik Ahmed declared himself independent in 1490. He founded the city of Ahmadnagar and made it his capital. In 1499, he captured Daulatabad. He was succeeded by his son Burhan-i-Nizam Shah in 1508. Husain Shah was the third ruler of the dynasty. In 1565, he joined the Muslim confederacy against Vijayanagar. The other rulers of this kingdom were weak. In 1600 Ahmadnagar was defeated by Akbar. However, it was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1636.

The **Imadshahi kingdom of Berar** was founded by Fateh Ullah Imad Shah. He became independent in 1490. It was conquered and annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574.

The **Qutubshahi kingdom of Golkunda** was founded by Qutub Shah who was a Turkish officer of the Bahmani kingdom. Previously, he was the governor of Telingana under the Bahmani kingdom. He declared himself independent in 1512 or 1518. He ruled up to 1543. Qutub Shah was succeeded by his son Jamshid. The name of the third ruler was Ibrahim. It was during his reign that Golcunda came into conflict with Vijayanagar. It was annexed to the Mughal empire by Aurangzeb in 1687.

The **Baridshahi kingdom of Bidar** was founded by Amir Ali Barid in 1526 or 1527. In 1618-19, Bidar was annexed by Bijapur.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

Its Origin

The early history of Vijayanagar is obscure. Sewell, the famous author of *"A Forgotten Empire"*, has referred to many traditional accounts about the origin of the city of Vijayanagar and observed that "perhaps the most reasonable account would be culled from the general drift of the Hindu legends combined with the certainties of historical facts." Sewell accepts the tradition according to which five sons of Sangama, including Harihara and Bukka, laid the foundation of Vijayanagar on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra facing the fort of Anegundi on the northern bank. Madhava Vidyaranya and Sayana, two great scholars of the age, were responsible for inspiring the sons of Sangama to do the needful.

It is stated that an inscription of Marappa that evil having encompassed the earth, God caused Sangama to be born in royal line for the help of Dharma. Out of the five sons of Sangama, three guarded the northern frontier from Goa in the west to Nellore in the east and the other two captured the south from the Sultanate of Madura. There could be no better opportunity to liberate their country from the Muslims than the present one.

The view of the late Rev. Father Heras was that the foundation of the city of Anegundi, which formed the cradle of the Vijayanagar empire, was laid by Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala king and Harihara who was a near relative of the ruling family of Hoysala, was a frontier officer.

According to another writer, "The fortification of the city that afterwards became Vijayanagar must be regarded as the deliberate act of the great Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III. It was founded soon after the destruction of Kampili by the army of Muhammad Tughluq, and immediately following the invasion of the Hoysala capital, Dora-Samudra."

Another view is that the five sons of Sangama were fugitives from the Telugu country included in the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal whose capital was captured by the Muslims in 1424 A.D.

This much can be said with certainty that the Vijayanagar empire was founded in 1336 by Harihara and Bukka, two of the five sons of Sangama. They were responsible for organising the resistance against the advance of the invaders from the north and they were successful in doing so for about three centuries.

Sangama Dynasty : Harihara I

The dynasty founded by Harihara I and Bukka I is known as the Sangama dynasty after the name of their father Sangama. Harihara was successful in extending the boundaries of his little kingdom. By

1340, he established his control over the valley of the Tungabhadra, portions of the Konkan and the Malabar coast. Harihara and Bukka did not assume any royal title as Ballala III of the Hoysala dynasty was still alive and he exercised sovereignty over the southern districts and the Sultan of Madura claimed authority over the south-eastern part of the peninsula. Harihara I took part in 1344 in the confederacy organized by Krishna Nayak of Warangal to drive out the Muslims from the Deccan. When Virupaksha Ballala, the last king of the Hoysala dynasty, died fighting against the Sultan of Madura in 1346, Harihara and Bukka brought under their control the dominions of the Hoysalas. The brothers continued their career of conquest and consequently within the life-time of Harihara I, the kingdom of Vijayanagar extended from the Krishna in the north to the neighbourhood of the Kaveri in the south and comprised the whole country situated between the eastern and western oceans. In 1352, Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah attacked Vijayanagar. Harihara I had to surrender a portion of his territory to the Bahmani ruler. Harihara I divided his empire into provinces which were placed under the charge of the members of the royal family and "trustworthy viceroys." Harihara died in about 1353 and was succeeded by his brother Bukka I.

Bukka I

Bukka I ruled from 1353 to 1379. He completed the building of the city of Vijayanagar and also added to his empire. He is described in inscriptions as the master of the Eastern, Western and Southern Oceans. He sent a mission to the Emperor of China. He fought against Muhammad Shah and Mujahid Shah of the Bahmani kingdom. As he was defeated, a large number of Hindus were massacred by the Muslims.

Bukka I was a liberal-minded ruler. On one occasion, he brought about a reconciliation between the Jains and the Vaishnavas by asking them to worship in their own manner with equal freedom.

Harihara II

Bukka I was succeeded by his son, Harihara II, who ruled from 1379 to 1406 A.D. He took up the titles of Maharajadhiraja and Rajaparamesvara. On the authority of some Muslim historians, Sewell had stated that the reign of Harihara II was a period of "unbroken peace." However, it has been proved by inscriptions that there were wars between Vijayanagar and the Muslim States. In 1398, Bukka II, son of Harihara II, attacked the Bahmani kingdom in order to capture the Raichur Doab. However, he was opposed and defeated by Firuz Shah of the Bahmani kingdom. A peace was made in 1399 by which Firuz was to get a heavy indemnity. It appears from inscriptions that the Vijayanagar empire in the time of Harihara II extended over the whole of Southern India including Mysore, Kanara, Chingleput, Trichinopoly and Conjeevaram or Kanchi. It is true that Harihara II was a worshipper of Siva but he was tolerant towards other religions.

Deva Raya I

Harihara II was succeeded by his son Deva Raya I who ruled from 1406 to 1422. In his war with the Bahmani kingdom, Deva Raya I was

defeated. The next ruler was **Vijaya-Bukka** or **Vira Vijaya.** He ruled for a few months and was succeeded by Deva Raya II.

Deva Raya II

Deva Raya II ruled from 1422 to 1446. War with the Bahmani kingdom continued and Ahmed Shah massacred women and children of Vijayanagar mercilessly. He celebrated a carnival for three days when the number of Hindus who had been killed reached 20,000. Deva Raya was so much impressed by the efficiency of the Muslim cavalry that he decided to recruit Muslim horsemen in his own army. While doing so, he did not care for his personal religious prejudices. War with the Bahmani kingdom started once again in 1443 and the Muslims inflicted heavy losses upon him. Ultimately, he was forced to pay tribute to the Bahmani rulers.

Deva Raya II made many reforms. He appointed Lakkanna or Lakshmana to the "Lordship of the Southern Sea" *i.e.* in-charge of overseas commerce. It was during his reign that Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners. Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar about the year 1420 or 1421. Abdur Razzaq, an envoy from Persia, visited Vijayanagar in 1442 and remained there till the beginning of April 1443. Both of them have given an interesting account of what they saw.

According to Nicolo Conti, "The great city of Bizengalia is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is sixty miles ; its walls are carried upto the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms.

"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives, on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be great honour for them.

"At a certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god ; others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament and thus suspended and half-dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all.

"Thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions the males and females of all ages, having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clothe themselves in new garments, and spend

three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside, on their roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of susimani, which are kept burning day and night. On the third, which lasts nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things, with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons, and other odoriferous fruits, all of which they bear most patiently. There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the way-side. This is received by all with much laughter."

According to Abdur Razzaq, "The city-Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ever heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer walls there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man ; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of 'the Two Brothers' to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

"The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyat*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina and Jakan and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the Imam Fakhr-ud-Din Razi to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king, there are four bazars,

situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emerald openly in the bazar.

"In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a Chihalsutun, or forty-pillared hall ; and in front of it, there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six yards broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated.

"Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other ; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazar pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. On the left of the Sultan's portico, rises the *diwan-khana* (the council-house) which is extremely large and looks like a palace. In front it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man, its length thirty *ghez*, and its breadth ten. In it is placed the *daftar-khana* (the archives), and here sit the scribes . . . . In the middle of this palace, upon an high estrade, is seated a eunuch called Daiang who alone presides over the divan. At the end of the hall stand chobdars (hussars) drawn up in line. Every man who comes upon any business, passes between the chobdars, offers a small present, prostrates himself with his face to the ground, then rising up explains the business which brought him there and the Daiang pronounces his opinion, according to the principles of justice adopted in this kingdom, and no one thereafter is allowed to make appeal.

"In this country, they have three kinds of money, made of gold mixed with alloy : one called *varahab*, weighs about one *mithkal*, equivalent to two *dinars ; kopeki*, the second, which is called *pertab*, is the half of the first ; the third called *fanam*, is equivalent in value to the tenth part of the last mentioned coin. Of these different coins the *fanam* is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the *fanam*, which they call *tar*. This latter is also a very useful coin in currency. A copper coin with the third of a tar is called *djitel*. According to the practice adopted in this empire, all the provinces, at a fixed period, bring their gold to the mint. If any man receive from the divan an allowance in gold, he has to be paid by the *darabkhana*."

Mallikarjuna

Deva Raya II was succeeded by his son Mallikarjuna who ruled from 1446 to 1465. He was successful in beating back a combined attack by the Bahmani Sultan and the Raja of Orissa. He was able to keep his kingdom intact. Narasimha, the Saluva chief of Chandragiri, came into prominence during this reign and he played an important part in checking foreign aggression

Virupaksha II

Mallikarjuna was succeeded by his brother Virupaksha II. He ruled from 1465 to 1486. As he was an incompetent ruler, there was confusion and disorder in the country. The result was that some of the provinces revolted against the central authority. The rulers of Bahmani kingdom also tried to advance into the Doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Raja Purushottama Gajapati of Orissa advanced as far south as Tiruvannamalai. In order to save the Vijayanagar empire, Narasimha deposed Virupaksha II in 1486 and himself captured the throne. This is known as the First Usurpation. The Sangama dynasty was ended and the Saluva dynasty came into existence.

The Saluva Dynasty

Narasimha ruled the Vijayanagar empire from 1486 to 1492. He enjoyed the confidence of the people and was able to recover most of the revolted provinces. However, Udayagiri remained under the Raja of Orissa and the Raichur Doab under the Bahmani kingdom.

The contention of the Muhammadan historians is that Narasa Nayaka murdered the two sons of his master Narasimha Saluva and usurped the throne for himself. However, the inscriptions tell us that Narasa Nayaka placed on the throne **Immadi Narasimha,** the son of Narasimha Saluva and kept all the power in his own hands. Narasa Nayaka died in A.D. 1505 and his son Vira Narasimha, deposed the last Saluva ruler and seated himself on the throne. This is known as the Second Usurpation which ended the rule of the Saluva dynasty and brought in the Taluva dynasty.

The Taluva Dynasty

Vir Narasimha was the founder of the Taluva dynasty. He ruled from 1505 to 1509. He was a pious king who distributed gifts at sacred places.

Krishna Deva Raya (1509-30)

Vir Narasimha was succeeded by his brother, Krishna Deva Raya. He ruled from 1509 to 1530. He was the greatest ruler of Vijayanagar and one of the most famous kings in the history of India. Domingos Paes, the Portuguese traveller, has described Krishna Deva Raya in these words: "The king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin ; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry ; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receive them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title

"Crisnarao Macacao, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land." He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things." Sewell tells us that Krishna Deva Raya was physically strong in his best days, and kept his strength up to the highest pitch by hard bodily exercise. "He rose early, and developed all his muscles by the use of the Indian clubs and the use of the sword; he was a fine rider, and was blessed with a noble presence, which favourably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his enormous armies in person, was able, brave, and statesmanlike, and was withal a man of much gentleness and generosity of character. He was beloved by all the respected by all. The only blot on his scutcheon is that after his great success over the Muhammadan king he grew to be haughty and insolent in his demands."

Krishna Deva Raya was not only an accomplished scholar himself but was also a patron of learning. According to Krishna Shastri, he was also famous "for his religious zeal and catholicity. 'He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. Krishna Raya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of all captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and above all, the most fabulous wealth that he conferred on temples and Brahmanas, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs who sheds a lustre on the pages of history."

Krishna Deva Raya was a great warrior and he was always successful in the wars waged by him. In 1510, he marched against the rebellious chief of Ummattur in Southern Mysore. The chief was defeated and the fort of Sivasamudram was captured. The other neighbouring chiefs were also made to submit. In 1512, Krishna Deva Raya took possession of Raichur. In 1513, Krishna Deva Raya attacked Gajapati Prataparudra, the ruler of Orissa, in order to get back from him what had been snatched away by Orissa in the reigns of his predecessors. In 1514, he captured the fortress of Udayagiri. An uncle and an aunt of the ruler of Orissa were captured but they were treated with honour. In 1515, he captured the strong fortress of Kondavidu and other minor fortresses in spite of the help given by the rulers of Golkunda and Bidar to the ruler of Orissa. In another campaign against the ruler of Orissa, Krishna Deva Raya besieged Kondapalli and captured it. On this occasion, the wife and a son of the ruler of the Orissa and some nobles and generals fell into the hands of Krishna Deva Raya. He advanced as far as Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district and forced the ruler of Orissa to come to terms. When Ismail Adil Shah tried to recover the Raichur Doab, he was defeated by Krishna Deva Raya in

1520. The Bijapur territory was run over by the forces of Krishna Deva Raya and the fortress of Gulbarga was razed to the ground. It was in this way that Krishna Deva Raya was able to extend his empire to South Konkan in the west, to Vizagapatam in the east and to the extreme border of the peninsula in the south.

Krishna Deva Raya had very friendly relations with the Portuguese. He gave them many concessions because he gained by the import of horses and other things. In 1510, Albuquerque, the Portuguese Governor, asked for permission to build a fort at Bhatkal and the same was granted.

Achyuta Raya (1530-42)

Krishna Deva Raya was succeeded by Achyuta Raya who ruled from 1530 to 1542. It appears that he was not altogether the craven that he is represented by Nuniz to have been. He took to task the rebellious viceroy of Madura. A similar action was taken against the Raja of Travancore for his having given shelter to the viceroy of Madura. However, he made a mistake in leaving things into the hands of two brothers-in-law known as Tirumala. He also annoyed other viceroys. The result was that there was a lot of trouble in the Vijayanagar empire. Achyuta Raya was succeeded by his son *Venkatadri* or *Venkata I.* However, he ruled only for about 6 months. He was succeeded by Sadasiva Raya, a nephew of Achyuta.

Sadasiva Raya (1542-70)

Sadasiva Raya ruled from 1542 to 1570. He was merely a puppet in the hands of his minister Rama Raya. Rama Raya was a capable person and he was determined to restore the prestige of the Vijayanagar empire by actively interfering in the quarrels among the rulers of the Deccan, by joining one alliance and the other and thereby weakening them. His efforts were successful for some time but ultimately they proved disastrous to the empire. In 1543, Burhan Nizam Shah allied himself with Rama Raya and Qutub Shah of Golkunda and declared war upon Bijapur. Ali Adil Shah was able to come to terms with Burhan Nizam Shah by giving some territory through the cleverness of his minister Asad Khan. Asad Khan was also able to detach Vijayanagar from the alliance. After that, he marched against Golkunda and defeated Qutub Shah and wounded him. When Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1557, Husain Nizam Shah invaded Bijapur. When this happened, Ali Adil Shah formed an alliance with Golkunda and Vijayanagar, invaded Ahmadnagar and demanded the restoration of Kalyan and Sholapur. The ruler of Ahmadnagar rejected the demand and war started. According to Ferishta, "The whole country was laid waste in such a manner that from Porundesh to Khiber and from Ahmadnagar to Daultabad, not a mark of population was to be seen. The infidels of Beejanagar, who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Musalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Quran."

The conduct of Vijayanagar on this occasion brought the Muslim rulers together against her. They decided to sink their differences and

formed a quadruple alliance against Vijayanagar. Ibrahim Qutub Shah of Golkunda played an important part in bringing about this alliance. Nizam Shah was persuaded to give his daughter, Chand Bibi, in marriage to Adil Shah. The fort of Sholapur was given as dowry. Adil Shah himself gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Murtaza, the eldest son of Nizam Shah. The Sultan of Berar was not invited to join the confederacy.

Battle of Talikota (1565)

The combined armies of the four princes began their march on 25th December, 1564 towards the south. The allied Deccan Sultans fought against Vijayanagar on 23rd January 1565 at a site marked by two villages of Raksas and Tagdi. This is known as the battle of Talikota and in it the Muslims were victorious. Husain Nizam Shah killed Rama Raya with his own hand and exclaimed: "Now I have avenged of thee! Let God do what he will to me." The battle ended not in a defeat but a complete rout. No attempt was made by the leaders of the various wings to stop the panic. The Hindus were slaughtered with a great ferocity. About a lakh of them were killed. According to Firishta, "the plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired reserving the elephants only for their own use."

Sewell, the famous author of "*A Forgotten Empire*", has given the following description of the fall of the city of Vijayanagar into the hands of the victorious armies of the Muslims: "There was little fear, therefore, for the safety of the city itself. That surely was safe! But now came the dejected soldiers hurrying back from the fight, and amongst the foremost the panic stricked princes of the royal house. Within a few hours these craven chiefs hastily left the palace, carrying with them all the treasures on which they could lay their hands. Five hundred and fifty elephants, laden with treasure in gold, diamonds and precious stones valued at more than a hundred millions sterling, and carrying the State insignia and the celebrated jewelled throne of the kings, left the city under convoy of bodies of soldiers, who remained true to the Crown. King Sadasiva was carried off by his jailor, Tirumala, now sole regent since the death of his brothers, and in long line the royal family and their followers fled southward towards the fortress of Penukonda.

"Then a panic seized the city. The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was cataclysm. All hope was gone. The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except of a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all treasures, to arm the younger men and to wait. Next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjaris, Lambadis, Kurubas, and the like, pounced down on the hapless city and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches. Couto states that there were six concerted attacks by these people during the day.

"The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Musalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment, but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statutes, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vitthalaswami near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The battle of Talikota is one of the most decisive battles in Indian history. It sounded the death-knell of the Hindu empire in the South, and produced a state of chaos, which invariably follows the collapse of a vast political organisation. The Portuguese trade was hampered, because the ruin of the empire destroyed the markets which imported and sold Portuguese goods. The Muslims rejoiced in the fall of their great rival, but it is doubtful whether they had achieved any substantial gains beyond a few slices of territory. The fear of the Vijayanagar empire had ever kept them alert and vigilant; under the perpetual stress of war they had never neglected the efficiency of their armies, but when this fear ceased to exist, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and their mutual jealousies and dissensions so disabled them that they fell an easy prey to the Mughal Emperors of the North. These is no more striking example of Nemesis in medieval Indian history". (*Medieval India*, p. 451).

It cannot be denied that Rama Raya, in spite of his failure, was a great man. Although he was 90 years of age, he still possessed the energy and vigour of youth. It goes to his credit that he personally supervised the military operations in the battle-field. If he failed, that was partly due to the preparations made by his enemies. Rama Raya might have been successful if he had not underrated his enemies.

After Talikota

It is true that the battle of Talikota did a great damage to the Vijayanagar empire but it is not correct to say that the Hindu empire disappeared completely after 1565. It has rightly been contended that Talikota was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric of the

Vijayanagar empire. The empire continued to exist till it got weakened and dismembered—weakened by the constant invasions from the north and dismembered by the dissatisfaction and rebellions of the viceroys within.

It is to be observed that the Muslim confederacy which had won the battle of Talikota did not last long. The old imperial jealousies reappeared among the Muslim Sultans. The result was that the Vijayanagar empire was able to recover once again under the guidance of Tirumala, brother of Rama Raya. After the departure of the Muslims, he went back to Vijayanagar. After some time, he went to Penugonda and restored the prestige of Vijayanagar empire to such an extent that he was able to interfere once again in the affairs of the Muslim States in the Deccan. Up to 1570, Sadasiva was the nominal ruler but in that year he was set aside by Tirumala who captured the throne for himself. With Tirumala started the role of the *Aravidu dynasty* in Vijayanagar. *Tirumala* was succeeded by his son, *Ranga II*. He was a successful ruler. He was succeeded by *Venkata II* who ruled from 1586 to 1614. He was the last great ruler of Vijayanagar who kept the empire intact. The only exception was that in 1612 Raja Oedyar founded the State of Mysore. After the death of Venkata II, the dismemberment of the empire started. There was a war of succession. *Ranga III* could not check the disintegrating forces on account of the selfishness of the rebellious vassals of the empire. The feudatories of the Vijayanagar empire proved to be the worst enemies of the empire. Their insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions helped the Muslim States in their fight against Vijayanagar. Moreover, the chiefs of Seringapatam and Bednur and Naiks of Madura and Tanjore were able to set up independent kingdoms of their own. It was under these circumstances that the Vjayanagar empire disappeared.

Administration of Vijayanagar

The rulers of the Vijayanagar empire were able to set up a very efficient system of administration. It is not correct to say that the administration of the Vijayanagar empire "contained no principle of development, represented no ideal of human progress and therefore could not be lasting." The truth is that the rulers of Vijayanagar continued to organise the administration as demanded by the circumstances.

King

The king of the Vijayanagar empire was the fountain-head of all power in the State. He was the supreme authority in civil, military and judicial matters. This does not mean that he was a tyrant or an irresponsible despot. He was required to rule according to *Dharma*. He was required to keep in view the goodwill and welfare of the people. He was required to bring peace and plenty to the kingdom. The ideal of kingship was given by Krishna Deva Raya in his *Amuktamalyada*. According to him, a crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*. "A king should rule collecting round him people skilled in statecraft, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in his kingdom and extract the same, should levy taxes from

his people moderately, should counteract the acts of his enemies by crushing them with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his subjects, should put an end to the mixing up of the castes among them, should always try to increase the merit of the Brahmans, should strengthen his fortress and lessen the growth of the undesirable things and should be ever mindful of the purification of his cities."

Ministers

The Vijayanagar empire was a vast feudal organisation and the king was at the head of the whole system. He was helped in his work by a council which consisted of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, men of priestly class and poets. The members of the council were not elected but were nominated by the king. The ministers were taken not only from the Brahmans but also from the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The office of a minister was sometimes hereditary and sometimes not. It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of the ministers. The important officers of the State were the Prime Minister, Chief Treasurer, Custodian of the Jewels and the Prefect of the Police. The Prime Minister advised the king in all important matters. The Prefect was like the Kotwal and his duty was to maintain law and order. Nuniz tells us that the Prefect of Police was required to give an account of the robberies in the capital and that lessened their number. There was corruption everywhere. No merchant could see the king without offering bribes to many officers. It appears that bribery was not considered to be something wrong.

The Court

The rulers of Vijayanagar maintained a magnificent court and spent a lot of money for that purpose. The court was attended by nobles, learned priests, astrologers and musicians. Festivals were celebrated with great pomp and show. Nicolo Conti refers to four festivals in particular. The festival of Mahanavami lasted for nine days. According to Abdur Razzaq : "The king of Vijayanagar directed that the nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three or four months' journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naphtha were seated ; and on the foreheads, trunks and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments."

Abdur Razzaq refers to the hospitality of the rulers of Vijayanagar towards the Muslim plenipotentiaries in these words : "One day messengers came from the king to summon me, and towards the evening I went to the Court, and presented five beautiful horses and two trays each containing nine pieces of damask and satin. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Bhahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *zaitun* satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body,

and rather tall. He was exceedingly young, for there was only some slight down down his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him, and, taking the august letter of the emperor, made it over (to the interpreters), and said, 'My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to me'. As I was in profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of Khatai which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskals* of camphor, and, obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to be comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of rice, one *man* of butter, one *man* of sugar, and two *varahas* in gold. This occurred everyday. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening when the king asked me several questions respecting the Khakan-i-Said, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskals* of camphor."

Provincial Government.

The Vijaynagar empire was divided into many provinces for purposes of administration. The terms used for the province are Rajya, Mandala and Chavadi. The provinces were also divided into subdivisions like Venthe, Nadu, Sima, Village and Sthala in the Karnataka portion and Kottam, Parru, Nadu and Village in the Tamil portion. Venthe was a territorial division higher than a Nadu. A Nadu was a territorial division higher than a Village. Kottam was a territorial division higher than a Parru which again was higher than a Nadu. Sthala was a portion of a land comprising several fields. It is not possible to state the exact number of the provinces into which the empire was divided. Relying on the statement of Domingos Paes, some writers have come to the conclusion that there were 200 provinces in the empire. However, this is not correct. Paes confused the tributary vassals with the provincial governors. The view of H. Krishna Shastri is that the Vijayanagar empire was divided into six principal provinces. Each province was under a viceroy or Nayaka or Naik. The latter was either a member of the royal house or an influential noble of the state or some descendant of some old ruling family. Every Governor exercised civil, military and judicial powers within his jurisdiction. However, he was required to submit regularly his account of the income and expenditure of his charge to the Central Government. He was also to help the Central Government with the military whenever required. If the Governor oppressed the people or become a traitor, he was likely to be punished by the king. His Jagir could be confiscated if he did not send one-third of its income to the Central Government. Although controlled by the king in many ways, the Governors enjoyed a lot of autonomy within their jurisdiction and were responsible for creating a lot of trouble in the South after the break-up of the Vijayanagar empire.

The village was the unit of administration. Each village was self-

sufficient. The village assembly was responsible for the administration of the village. Its hereditary officers were the village accountant, village watchman, the superintendent of forced labour etc. These officers were paid either by grants of land or from a portion of the agricultural produce. The heads of corporations seem "to have formed an integral part of the village assemblies". The king had his control over villages through an officer called Mahanayakacharya.

Sources of Income.

The main source of income of Vijayanagar empire was land revenue and its administration was under a department called *Athavane*. Land was divided into three parts for purposes of assessment: wet land, dry land, orchards and woods. Under the Hindu law, the share of the state was one-sixth of the produce but it appears that the same was increased in order to meet the heavy burdens of the State. According to Nuniz, "All land belongs to the king and from his hand the captain hold it. They make it over to husbandmen who pay nine-tenths of the produce to their lords, who, in their turn, pay one-half to the king." It is contended that the statement of Nuniz cannot be accepted as true as it was impossible for the peasantry to live on one-tenth of the produce of their labour. In addition to land revenue, the peasants were required to pay other taxes such as grazing tax, marriage tax etc. The state got its income from customs duties. tolls on roads, revenue from gardening and plantations and taxes from manufacturers, craftsmen, potters, washermen, mendicants, barbers, shoemakers and prostitutes. Abdur Razzaq tells us that the income from the prostitutes was 12,000 *Fanams* which was devoted to the maintenance of policemen attached to the office of the Prefect of the city. The people were required to pay a number of duties on articles of ordinary consumption such as grains, fruits, vegetables, fats etc. Only one road led to the city and it was controlled by a gate. The right of collecting the duties was given to the highest bidder. According to Nuniz, "The gate is rented out for 12,000 *Pardaos* each year and no man can enter it without paying just what the rentees ask. country folks as well as strangers..... everyday enter by these gates 2,000 oxen, and every one of these pays three *Vintees*, except certain polled oxen without horns, which never pay anything in any part of the realm."

The people were allowed to pay taxes in cash or in kind. As the incidence of taxation was heavy, a lot of oppression must have been practised on the people. It appears that the people were given some relief in the form of reduction or remission of taxes if they made complaints about it or appealed directly to the king.

Justice

As regards justice, the king was the supreme court of justice. In all important cases, his word was final. Petitions were presented to the king or the Prime Minister by all those who had a grievance and those were disposed of according to merits. According to Abdur Razzaq, "On the left side of the Sultan's portico rises the Diwan Khana, which is extremely large and looks like a palace.....In the middle of this palace, upon a high estrade, is seated a eunuch called

the Daing, who alone presides over the diwan. At the end of the hall stand the chobdars (hussars) drawn up in a line. Every man who comes upon any business passes between the chobdars, offers a small present, prostrates himself with his face to the ground, then rising up explains the business which brought him there, and the Daing pronounces his opinion according to the principles of justice adopted in this kingdom, and no one thereafter is allowed to make any appeal."

Civil cases were decided according to the principles of Hindu law and the usage of the country. Documents were attested by witnesses. People were fined for breaches of civil law. The administration of criminal law was harsh. Torture was allowed to find out the truth. Theft, adultery and treason were punished with death or mutilation. Sometimes a culprit was thrown before elephants who tore him to pieces. According to Nuniz, "Nobles who became traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place and the same for a murder, unless the death was the result of a duel." The following royal decree refers to the power of the *Nayaks* or *Guadas* to dispose of cases : "The rulers of the towns, the *Nayaks* and the *Gaudas* will see to this. If a caste dispute arises in the country, they will summon the parties before them and advise. And as they have the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding is to be free of cost."

The Army

The military organisation of Vijayanagar empire was under a department called *Kandachara* and its head was *Dandanayaka* or Dannayaka or Commander-in-Chief. The military organisation was of a feudal nature. The king had an army of his own but in addition to that, the provincial governors were required to send their contingents in times of emergency. Nuniz tells us that the rulers of Vijayanagar could recruit as many soldiers as they pleased with the money at their disposal. It is not possible to give an exact estimate of the numerical strength of the army of the rulers of Vijayanagar. According to Paes, Krishna Deva Raya put into the battlefield in 1520 an army consisting of 7,03,000 foot, 32,600 horsemen and 551 elephants. In addition to that, there were a large number of camp followers, sappers etc. It appears that there is some exaggeration in the number given. The army consisted of the infantry, cavalry, artillery and camels. The Vijayanagar army was inferior in strength, patience and endurance to the Muslim armies. A lot of reliance was put on elephants who were practically useless in the face of archers and artillerymen.

The rulers of Vijayanagar were the followers of Vishnu but they followed a policy of religious toleration towards all. According to Edoardo Barbosa, "The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without inquiry whether he is a Christian, a Jew, a Moor or a Hindu."

Critics point out that the provincial Governor under the Vijayanagar empire were given a lot of autonomy and that was responsible for the weakening of the central authority and the ultimate disintegration of the empire. It is also pointed out that the Vijayanagar empire failed to develop a sustained commercial activity. According to Dr. Aiyangar, "This failure proved a vital defect in the imperial career of Vijayanagar and made a permanent Hindu empire impossible." The rulers of Vijayanagar also made a mistake in giving concessions to the Portuguese. By doing so, they sacrificed the stability of the empire for the sake of profit. Nothing was done to curb the individualistic tendency of the people and consequently it was impossible to set up a stable empire. Too much emphasis was not put on military organisation and consequently the rulers of Vijayanagar could not smash their rivals.

Art

As regards the art of Vijayanagar empire, many temples of remarkable beauty were constructed during this period. According to Longhurst, the Hazara temple is "one of the most perfect specimens of Hindu temple architecture in existence". According to Fergusson, the Vitthalasvami temple "shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced". The art of painting was patronised and it reached a high decree of excellence. Music also made progress and some books on the subject were written. Theatre was also encouraged.

Literature

Literature also made progress in the Vijayanagar empire. Its rulers were patrons of all languages *viz.*, Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. Krishna Deva Raya was not only a scholar himself but he also patronised other scholars. Other kings also patronised scholars and poets. It has rightly been stated that the reign of Krishna Deva Raya marked "the dawn of a new era in the literary history of South India. Himself a scholar, a musician and poet, he loved to gather around him poets, philosophers, and religious teachers whom he honoured with munificent gifts of land and money". He himself wrote a book in Telugu called *Amuktamalyada*. In the introduction to that book, it is stated that the king had written five other books in Sanskrit. It is pointed out that there were eight big giants in his court. Peddana was his poet-laureate.

Madhava Vidyaranya and Sayana flourished in the beginning of the Vijayanagar empire. They are well-known for their learning even in modern times. Sayana wrote his famous commentaries on the Vedas and Madhava was "the supreme light incarnate".

The rulers of the Aravidu dynasty also patronised poets and religious teachers. Telugu literature flourished under them with "reinforced vigour". There were authors among the petty chiefs and relatives of the emperors. The rulers of Vijayanagar encouraged people to write on music, dancing, drama, grammar, logic and philosophy. It has rightly been stated that the Vijayanagar empire was "a synthesis of South Indian culture".

Social Condition

A study of the relevant material shows that women occupied a high position in society. They took part in the political, social and literary life of the country. According to Nuniz, "He (king) has also women who wrestle and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside; he has women also for music who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the king are well-versed in music.....It is said that he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen, who every night guard the palace and these are women." Men were allowed to marry more than one wife. This was particularly so among the rich. Child marriage was common. Big dowries were demanded at the time of marriage. The practice of *Sati* was common and was sanctioned by the Brahmans.

Abdur Razzaq refers to the existence of brothels in the city where women of loose character lived. To quote him, "One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 yards broad. On two sides of it there are housese (khanaha) and fore-courts (safhaha), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (kursi), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses, there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and setters, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Everyone is covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of those brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which as stated before, amount to 12,000 *fanams* go to pay the wages of the policemen. The business of these men is to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls, and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft; otherwise they are fined."

Brahmans

The Brahmans were held in high esteem by the rulers of Vijayanagar and no wonder they had a lot of influence in the social, religious and political fields. Nuniz describes the Brahmans as "honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed, but little fit for hard work".

Food

There were no restrictions in matters of food. People took fruits, vegetables, oil and meat of all kinds except that of oxen or cows. According to Nuniz, "These kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the heathen, because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quails, and all kinds of birds;

even sparrows, and rats, and cats, and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga.

"Everything has to be sold alive so that each may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities."

Dr. V. A. Smith is of the opinion that this was "a curious dietary for princes and people, who in the time of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya were zealous Hindus with special devotion to certain forms of Vishnu".

Bloody sacrifices were performed in the Vijayanagar empire. According to Paes, on a certain festival, the king used to witness the slaughter of 24 buffaloes and 150 sheep. When the Mahanavami festival was over, 250 buffaloes and 4500 sheep were killed on the last day.

Economic Condition

The empire of Vijayanagar was very rich. The foreign travellers who visited the Vijayanagar empire have paid tributes to its wealth and splendour. According to Nicolo Conti, "The circumference of the City (Vijayanagar) is 60 miles ; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valley at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In the city there are estimated to be 90,000 men fit to bear arms. The king is more powerful than all the other kings of India." According to Abdur Razzaq, "The country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations for them, filled with molten gold forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the Bazar, were jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers." According to Paes, the king of Vijayanagar had a lot of money. The residents of the city of Vijayanagar carried on trade in precious stones. Things were in plenty and also cheap. Barbosa refers to Vijayanagar as "of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alaxendria, and Cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar".

The prosperity of the Vijayanagar empire was due to the growth of agriculture, industries, trade and commerce. The state followed a wise irrigation policy. Industries were also encouraged by the state. Commerce was inland, coastal and overseas. Calicut was the most important port on the Malabar coast. If Abdur Razzaq is to be believed, there were as many as 300 sea ports in the Vijayanagar empire. There were commercial relations with the islands in the Indian Ocean, the Malaya Archipelago, Burma, China, Arabia, Persia, South Africa, Abyssinia and Portugal. The exports from the Vijayanagar empire were cloth, rice, iron, salt petre, sugar and spices. The imports were horses, elephants, pearls, copper, coral, mercury, china silk and velvet. Edoardo Barbosa tells us that South India got its ships built in the Maldive Islands. The art of ship-building was well-known.

The coins of the empire were those of gold, copper and silver. There were emblems of different gods and animals on them.

We may conclude by saying that the Vijayanagar empire "served a high historical purpose by acting as a champion of Hindu religion and culture against the aggressions of the Muslims in Southern India".

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CHAPTER XIV

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

Theocracy

The Sultanate of Delhi was a theorcacy. The Sultan was the Caeser and Pope combined in one. It is not correct to say that there was a secular state at that time. Islam was the religion of the state and no other religion was recognised. All the resources of the state were meant for the protection and spread of Islam. Dr. Qureshi is of the opinion that the Sultanate of Delhi was not a theocracy because the rule of the ordained priesthood which was an essential feature of theocracy, was absent. This view ignores the fact that under the Sultanate of Delhi the canon law was supreme and the civil law was subordinate to it. It is true that the Ulema in India were not ordained and hereditary but it cannot be denied that they exercised great influence on the affairs of the state and they saw to it that the Quranic law was applied by the rulers of the country. The ideal of a Sultan was to convert all the people to Islam and thus turn Dar-ul-Harb or infidel lands into Dar-ul-Islam or Muslim lands. As a matter of fact, all kinds of facilities were given to the people to become Muslims. If in spite of this, the whole of India was not converted to Islam, that was partly due to practical difficulties.

The Khalifa

It is true that the Caliph or the Khalifa was the king of all the Muslims in all parts of the world but with the spread of Islam in various parts of the world, it became practically impossible to enforce the authority of the Khalifa everywhere. However, the fiction of the unity of the Khilafat was maintained. This was continued in spite of the fact that the last Khalifa was put to death by Hulagu Khan, the Mongol leader. What was actually done was that the Sultans of Delhi described themselves as the Deputy or Assistant of the Khalifa. They received investiture from the Khalifa and inscribed his name on their coins and also got the Khutba read in the name of the Khalifa. Ala-ud-Din Khalji refused to recognise the authority of the Khalifa and Qutub-ud-Din Mubarak himself took up the title of the Caliph. Excepting these two rulers, the other Sultans of Delhi recognised the nominal authority of the Khalifa. However, actually no Sultan of Delhi bothered to obey the Khalifa. No Sultan believed that he got his authority from the Khalifa. No Sultans of Delhi considered it more profitable to maintain their contacts with the outside Muslim world and no wonder they recognised the nominal authority of the Khalifa.

The Sultan

The Sultan was the head of the Delhi Sultanate. He was the source of all power and authority. He was the sovereign head and commander of the army. His will was law. It was the duty of every one to obey his commands. Generally, the form of an election was maintained by the Sultans of Delhi. The nobles and the land-

lords and the most influential Ulema at the capital agreed upon a candidate and declared him as the Sultan. Afterwards, a formal oath of allegiance was taken by them and later on by the people. It cannot be denied that the procedure of election was merely a fiction. The candidate had already decided the issue by conquest in battle and by overwhelming force. Of course, it had the advantage of being legal and conforming to the wishes of the jurists and the people. It is true that an attempt was made to make the choice from the ruling family but the hereditary principle was not always followed. Although Jalal-ud-Din Khalji had already seated himself on the throne, the outward form of election was maintained. Many people did not take the oath of allegiance to the Khaljis for some time but they did so after some time.

The majority of the jurists believe that the Sultan could be deposed if he failed to carry out his trust. Injustice was considered to be a sufficient cause for dethronement. All writers agree that a man suffering from a mental or physical infirmity could not continue to be a sovereign. Great importance was attached to the loss of power of judgment and eye-sight. The very fact that a large number of Delhi Sultans were removed from the throne shows that they were not considered to be sacrosanct. It is true that there were intrigues and rebellions even against competent rulers but those had not much chances of success.

The Sultan was required to be a person capable of dealing with the problems of the state. He was to be in full possession of physical and mental faculties. Ordinarily, the ruler was expected to be a male and no wonder of the election of Sultana Razia created a lot of trouble.

It is true that the absence of a hereditary principle of succession had its defects but it enabled a large number of brilliant men to be the rulers of Delhi. It was not an easy thing to occupy the throne of Delhi and no wonder fools and pleasure-seekers could not afford to remain long on the throne. The Delhi Sultanate required all the care and work that a man could give. The rough and ready method of selecting the Sultan worked well and the right man was found at the right time.

It is true that the Sultan was recognised as the supreme interpreter of the law but actually he could not go against the recognised interpretation. It was not possible for him to disregard Ijma or preponderant concurrence of opinion on any point. Where the jurists disagreed, the Sultan could make his own decision but while doing so he was required to get the advice of the learned jurists. The Sultan was expected not to contravene the *Shara* while making laws. The sovereignty of law was not merely a legal fiction. The Sultans of Delhi showed remarkable respect for the *Shara* in their public dealings. It is true that there were certain violations but in many cases even the mighty Sultans humbled themselves before the majesty of the law.

The Sultan enjoyed great prestige. They were considered to be the heart of the system. Their existence was the primary necessity of social life. Without a ruler, all order was to vanish and the very existence of the human race could be endangered. It was his sword which cleansed the world of anarchy and of evil. A just Sultan could expect to find a place under the banner of the Prophet on the day

of reckoning. It was the duty of the Sultan to give full protection to the people to develop themselves.

The Sultan was expected to protect Islam. He was to settle disputes among his subjects. He was required to defend the territories of Islam and keep the highways and roads safe for travellers. He was to maintain and enforce the criminal code. He was to strengthen the frontiers of Muslim territory against possible aggression. He was to wage a holy war against those who acted in hostility to Islam. He was to collect rates and taxes. He was to apportion the shares of those who deserved an allowance from the public treasury. He was to appoint officers to help him in his public and legal duties. He was required to keep in touch with public affairs and the condition of the people by personal contact "The Sultan controls affairs, maintains rights and enforces the criminal code; he is the Pole Star around which revolve the affairs of the world and the Faith; he is the protection of God in his realm; his shadow extends its canopy over his servants, for he forbids the forbidden, helps the oppressed, uproots the oppressor and gives security to the timid."

It is not proper to contend that the Sultan was absolutely a despot and there was no limitation on his powers. However, in actual practice, absolute authority exists only in the dream of the despot. All political power is limited and depends on the cooperation of strong elements in the state.

The Nobles

A very effective check was put on the power of the king by the nobles. No Sultan could afford to offend the powerful nobles without endangering his own position. Some of these nobles were the heads of clans and consequently had a permanent following. It was not easy to impose the royal will on them. They considered themselves to be the equals of the Sultan and capable of founding royal dynasties themselves. Their relationship with the Sultan varied according to the character and capability of the Sultan. The only ideal that held the nobles together was the service of Islam. It was realised that a faith without a state was futile and a state without a faith was without any guidance. It is these feelings which kept the nobles together and they obeyed the Sultan so long as they felt that he was performing his duties. If he was found to be incapable, the nobles did not hesitate the revolt against him. It must not be forgotten that the nobles very often did what was advantageous to them.

The Ministers

There is an Arab adage that "The bravest of men require arms and the wisest of kings need ministers" and the same was true of the Delhi Sultans. During the rule of the so-called Slave dynasty, there were four ministers *viz.*, the Wazir, the Ariz-i-Mamalik. the Dewan-i-Insha and the Diwan-i-Rasalat. Sometimes, the Naib or Naib-i-Mamalik was also appointed. He exercised great authority particularly when the Sultan was weak. Ordinarily, he was inferior to the Wazir. It was later on that the offices of the Sadr-us-Sudur and Diwan-i-Qaza were raised to the status of ministers. Thus, there were 6 ministers under the Delhi Sultanate. The Comptroller of the Royal household was not technically a minister but he exercised greater powers than a minister did.

The Delhi Sultans were surrounded by the wisest and most ex-

perienced men in the realm. They had wonderful opportunities of seeking advice and counsel and keeping in touch with public opinion. The ministers were just the servants of the Sultan and responsible to him alone. However, this does not mean that a minister had no real authority. The position and powers of a minister were well-defined by law and sanctified by tradition.

Wazir

The chief minister was called the *Wazir* and great importance was attached to this post. The Wazir stood mid-way between the sovereign and his subjects. He was considered to be a partaker in sovereignty. It was recognised that no empire could be stable or prosperous without a Wazir. "Sovereignty and dominion could not attain the pinnacle of their height without the help and cooperation of a Wazir, whose wise deliberations would result in promoting the welfare of the country and the prosperity of the people."

In the Sultanate of Delhi, there were two types of Wazirs. Most of them possessed special and limited powers. A few of them enjoyed unlimited authority and ruled the empire in the name of the Sultan. Some Sultans were too much under the control of the Wazir who practically usurped all power.

The functions of the Wazir have been given in the following passage: "The kings show well how to lead expeditions, conquer countries, give rewards and shine in the assembly or the battle-field; but it is in the domain of the wazir to make a country prosperous, to accumulate treasures, to appoint officials, to ask for accounts, and to arrange the stock-taking of the commodities in the *Karkhanahs* and the census of the horses, camels, mules and other animals, to assemble and pay the troops and artisans, to keep the people satisfied, to look after the men of piety and of fame and to give them stipends, to take care of the windows and the orphans, to provide for the learned, to administer the affairs of the people, to organise the offices and look after their efficiency, in short, to transact the business of the state." The Wazir was the head of the entire machinery of the government. Although his immediate concern was the central finance office, he was also responsible for other offices at the headquarters. He appointed and superintended the civil servants. He organised the agency for the collection of revenue. He exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined the accounts submitted by the various departments of the Government. The various statements were compared, checked and passed in his office. It was his duty to recover the money illegally spent by the local officials. All the requirements of the military department were referred to him for his final approval. It was his office which kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted assignments. It was his department which paid stipends to scholars and men of learning and also gave doles to the poor and needy. Every subject from the Governor to the peasant had dealings with him or his assistants.

The Sultans always supported their Wazirs in enforcing discipline. There was always co-operation between the Sultan and the Wazir. There was always the possibility of the interested parties poisoning the mind of the Sultan against the Wazir and wise Wazirs always guarded against that possibility. The Wazir was to conduct himself in such a way that he did not create too many

enemies. Most of the Wazirs were men of culture and refined taste. The only exception was Khan Jahan Maqbul.

Diwan-i-Risalat

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the functions of Diwan-i-Risalat. The view of Dr. Qureshi is that he dealt with religious matters and was also incharge of the grant of stipends to scholars and pious men. However, the view of Dr. Habib Ullah is that he was a minister for foreign affairs and was in charge of diplomatic correspondence. Ambassadors and envoys were sent to and received from foreign rulers. It is pointed out that the view of Dr. Habib Ullah is preferable. The reason is that there was already an officer who was in charge of religious affairs, endownments and charity and he was known as Sadr-us-Sudur.

Sadr-us-Sudur

Very often, the offices of Sadr-us-Sudur and Diwan-i-Qaza were held by one person. The Sadr-us-Sudur was required to enforce Islamic rules and regulations. He was required to see that the Muslims observed those rules and regulations in their daily lives. He had in his charge a lot of money to give to Muslim divines, scholars and men of piety. The head of the Diwan-i-Qaza was the Qazi-i-Mumalik also known as Qazi-i-Quzat.

Diwan-i-Insha

The Diwan-i-Insha dealt with royal correspondence. It has rightly been called "The treasury of secrets." That is due to the fact that *Dabir-i-Khas* who presided over this department, was also the confidential clerk of the state. The Dabir-i-Khas was assisted by a number of Dabirs who had established their reputation as masters of style. All correspondence between the sovereign and the rulers of other states or his own tributaries and officials passed through this department. Every order from the Sultan was first drafted in this department and then taken to him for sanction after which it was copied, registered and then dispatched.

Barid-i-Mumalik

The Barid-i-Mumalik was the head of the state news agency. His duty was to keep himself informed of all that was happening in various parts of the empire. There was a local Barid at the headquarters of every administrative sub-division and it was his duty to send regularly news-letters to the Central Office. It is only men of honesty who were appointed to this post. If a Barid did not report a misdeed or some act of gross injustice committed by a well-placed official, he had some time to pay for this mistake with his life. There was nothing which was outside the sphere of the Barid. He was the confidential agent of the Central Government to report on every aspect of public administration. He was required to report on the Government officials, the financial position, the state of agriculture, purity of coinage etc. He was required to send his own impressions regarding the review of troops. He attended all important functions. He kept his informers everywhere and did not allow anything to escape. The Barid was paid well so that he may be above temptation.

Wakil-i-dar

The Wakil-i-dar was the chief dignitary of the royal household. He controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of

allowances and salaries to the personal staff of the Sultan. The royal kitchen, stables and even the children of the Sultan were under his control. All royal orders relating to the household were communicated through him. He reported all affairs requiring royal sanction. Everybody was required to approach the Sultan through him and consequently he exercised great influence and was considered in many respects to be the deputy of the Sultan. As he was always dealing with men of importance, he was required to be exceedingly tactful. Even his staff was selected very carefully. He had to keep the Sultan well-informed about the affairs of the state particularly because most of the important personages with whom he dealt, had direct access to the Sultan.

Diwan-i-Arz

The Ariz-i-Mumalik was the head of the ministry of war called Diwan-i-Arz. He was responsible for maintaining the army in a state of efficiency. He acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit. He inspected the troops at least once a year and examined the condition of the equipment of every trooper. The promotion of every soldier depended upon him. He kept Master rolls and revised the salaries at each annual review. His office was responsible for the recommendation of assignments to soldiers and the payment of the troops. Whenever a campaign was undertaken, the Ariz was incharge of all preparations. Although the general was nominated by the Sultan, the choice of the troops was generally left to him. In all important wars, he himself accompanied the army. He looked after supply and transport. After a victory, he supervised the collection of the booty which was divided in the presence of the Commander-in-chief. The Diwan-i-Arz was rightly called the "source of the livelihood of the fighters for the Faith."

Naib-ul-Mulk

Under the Delhi Sultanate, a noble was generally selected as Naib-ul-Mulk or Lord Lieutenant of the realm. The actual authority varied with the character of the Sultan. Sometimes, it was merely an empty title, but at other times, the Naib-ul-Mulk was practically the absolute authority. He was the head of the military organisation and was entrusted with the government of the centrally administered areas. A noble was selected to act as Naib-i-Ghaibat during the absence of the Sultan. He was the representative of the Sultan at the capital and dealt with all emergent and routine business.

Finance

The fiscal policy of the Sultanate period was based on the theory of finance of the Hanafi School of Sunni jurists. The Muslim state had two sources of revenue and those were religious and secular. The religious taxes could be demanded only from the Muslims and those were grouped under the name of *Zakat.* It was an act of piety to pay Zakat. The Zakat was payable in gold or silver, herds and merchandise. The Zakat when assessed on value or weight, was 1/40th of the property. Zakat could be levied only on that property which was in the possession of the owner for at least one year. There is a mention of a separate treasury for Zakat.

The secular taxes were Kharaj, Jizya, the tax on non-Muslim traders and imposts on spoils of war, on mines and treasure-trove.

Kharaj was the tax on land held by non-Muslims. According to Islamic law, its rate varied from 1/10th to one-half.

Jizya

Jizya was a poll-tax charged only from the non-Muslims. There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the nature of this tax. One view is that it was a religious tax levied on the non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life and property and exemption from military service, as non-Muslims were not entitled," according to orthodox jurists, to live in a Muslim countries. The view of Dr. Qureshi is that Jizya was levied from the non-Muslims as the cash equivalent "of the assistance which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as they do in the Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it." Military service was compulsory for all Muslims and the Sultan could call upon any Muslim to defend the state. This religious duty did not affect the non-Muslims. This shows that Jizya was not a payment for the privilege of living in a Muslim state.

Critics point out that whatever might have been the original intention with which Jizya was levied in Islamic lands outside India, there is no doubt that by the time the Arabs conquered Sind, Jizya had acquired a religious importance. Jizya was levied on the non-Muslims as the state gave them "protection of life and property and exemption from military service." It was considered to be a religious duty by the Sultans to realise the Jizya with all the rigour they could command. It is pointed out that those who hold Jizya to be a secular tax ignore the fact that it was levied in lieu of the protection of life and property of the Zimmis and they put emphasis merely an exemption from military service. It is well-known that even the vassal Hindu Rajas who rendered military service, were not exempted from the payment of Jizya.

Jizya was not levied from women, children, monks, beggars, the blind and the crippled. It was not levied even from the Brahmanas. It was only during the reign of Fruz Shah that Jizya was levied from the Brahmanas. There was a lot of trouble and ultimately the rich Hindus of Delhi undertook to pay for the Brahmanas. On a subsequent representation, the Sultan reduced the tax on the richer Brahmanas to 10 Tankas of 50 Jitals each. The entire Hindu population was divided into three grades for the purpose of Jizya. The first grade paid at the rate of 48 Dirhams, the second 24 Dirhams and the third 12 Dirhams.

The Zakat on imports was a fortieth of the value of the merchandise. It was 5% on horses. These charges were double in the case of non-Muslim traders. Sikander Lodi abolished the Zakat on grain and it was not renewed by any subsequent Sultan. The spoils of war were known as *Ghanimah*. Legally, out of all the booty collected one-fifth was to be kept for the state and the rest was to be distributed among the soldiers. However, it was lawful for the Sultan or Commander-in-chief to select an animal, a sword or some other article which particularly pleased him. The share of the state was known as *Khams*. Against the Islamic law, a practice grew up that only a fifth was distributed amongst the soldiers and four-fifths were kept by the state. The state was entitled to a fifth of all minerals provided those were solid and capable of being melted. A fifth of the treasure-trove was to be given to the state and rest was

to be kept by the finder. However, if the land did not belong to the finder, the land-owner was entitled to four-fifths of the treasure and the rest was to go to the state. The property of the Muslims dying intestate and without heirs belonged entirely to the state. However, the property of a Hindu dying in similar circumstances was handed over to his community.

Land Revenue

The main source of income of the Sultan was the land revenue. There were four kinds of land, viz., Khalisa territory, land divided into Iqtas and held by Muqtis either for a number of years or for life time, principalities of the Hindu chiefs who had come to terms with the Sultan and the land given away to Muslim scholars and saints in gift. The Khalisa land was directly administered by the Central Government. However, the state dealt only with the local revenue officers and not the individual peasants. There was an Amil or revenue clerk in each sub-division who collected revenue from the Chaudharis and Muqaddams who in their turn realised it from the peasants. The share of the state was based on a summary assessment. The assessment and collection of revenue in the Iqta was in the hands of the Muqti who deducted his own share and paid the surplus to the central government. The Sultan appointed an officer called Khwaja in each Iqta to supervise the collection of revenue and also to put a check on the Muqti. There was a possibility of collusion between the Muqti and the Khawaja. The Waqf land or Inam land was free from revenue assessment.

Very important changes were made by Ala-ud-Din Khalji in revenue administration. He confiscated the lands held by Muslim grantees and religious land held as Milk, Inam, Idarat and Waqf. Hindu Muqaddams, Khuts and Chaudharis were made to pay taxes from which they were formerly exempted. The state demand was increased to one-half of the produce. He also imposed the house tax and grazing tax on the peasants. The object of his policy was to increase the revenue and make all classes of people shoulder the burden of taxation. The strictness with which the revenue policy was followed by Ala-ud-Din could not be followed by his weak successors. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq softened the rigour but did not reduce the state demand from one-half of the produce. He recognised the principle of making deductions for the damage done to the crops due to natural calamity or accident. He allowed the Khuts, Muqaddams and the Chaudharis to enjoy exemption from the taxes on their lands and their grazing animals. He laid down that the state demand from any Iqta was not to be increased more than one-tenth or one-eleventh of the standard assessment in a year. Muhammad Tughluq increased the state demand to 50% in the Doab. The increased tax was realised in spite of famine and consequently there was a rebellion. When it was too late, he advanced loans and sank irrigation wells. The result was that the whole of the Doab was ruined. The Sultan also created a new department of agriculture known as Diwan-i-Kohi. But that also did not succeed. Firuz Tughluq cancelled the Taqavi loans. He increased the salaries of the revenue staff. He fixed the revenue of the entire Khalisa land on a permanent basis. He abolished as many as 24 taxes. He levied only five taxes viz., Kharaj, Khams, Jizya, Zakat and irrigation tax. He constructed many canals and

sank many wells for irrigation purposes. He encouraged the cultivation of superior crops. He planted many gardens. The main defects in his revenue administration were the application of the principle of farming out of land revenue, the granting of assignments of land revenue and public sale of assignment deeds and the extension of the scope and rigour of realisation of Jizya.

There is a controversy amongst scholars regarding the scale of land revenue demanded by the Sultans of Delhi. The view of Dr. Qureshi is that the state demand was fixed at one-fifth of the gross produce. Those who do not accept this view point out that the Muslim law lays down that the rate of Kharaj should vary from one-tenth to one-half of the produce. The rate of land revenue might have been one-fifth of the produce in the time of the so-called Slave Kings but it was increased to one-half by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The Delhi Sultans after Ala-ud-Din Khalji continued to levy the land revenue at the same rate. It was later on that Sher Shah Suri lowered it to one-third of the produce.

There were various kinds of tax-farmers. Sometimes, the village headman acted as a tax-farmer by undertaking to pay a fixed amount to the state on behalf of the peasants. Sometimes the governor of a province was made responsible for the collection of the land revenue and a settlement had to be made with him regarding the amount of money which he was to pay. The tributary chiefs were tax-farmers in a sense because they paid only a fixed tribute. However, the worst tax farmer was the speculator whose only concern was to make as much money as he could unmindful of the sufferings of the peasants.

The system of the granting the produce of a defined area of land in return of services was common in India before its conquest by the Muslims and the same was adopted by the Delhi Sultans. The assignment system continued throughout the period, although it was restricted considerably by some Sultans. The view of Ala-ud-Din Khalji was that the assignments encouraged the nobles to rebel and consequently he refrained from giving many assignments. Mubarak Shah was very generous in giving assignments. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq did not interfere with assignments. In the time of Muhammad Tughluq, the salaries of all high officials were paid by assigning to them the revenue of "towns and villages". The number of assignments grew in the time of Firuz Shah. It is to be noted that to begin with the persons to whom assignments were given were in actual possession of those lands or areas and did not merely receive a fixed amount from the local officials. As a matter of fact, the assignment-holders regarded those villages as their hereditary property. However, the nature of the assignments changed later on. The holder of the assignment came to be entitled only to the revenue of the area and he was not to have any right to manage the same. It is not possible to say as to when this change took place but it was positively before Muhammad Tughluq and probably during the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji who adopted many measures to curb the power of the nobles.

Water Rate

According to Dr. Qureshi, the Muslim rulers did not charge any extra rate even for the water supplied through channels by the state. Firuz Shah Tughluq built canals with his private money and charged

9,00,000 horsemen. Kaiqubad had 1,00,000 mounted soldiers at Delhi. when he made preparations to march against his father. Firuz Tughluq had 90,000 soldiers excluding slaves.

The pay of a soldier must have varied at different times. During the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, a fully equipped cavalryman was paid 234 Tankas per annum. However, the Sultan had to regulate the prices in order to make that salary worthwhile for him. Muhammad Tughluq paid about 500 Tankas in addition to food, dress and fodder. It is not clear whether the soldier was given dress and food only when he was on active service or he was given the same even in normal times. We are told that a Khan was paid a lac of Tankas. The Malik was paid 50 to 60 thousand Tankas. An Amir was paid 30 to 40 thousand Tankas. A Sipah Salar was paid 20,000 Tankas. Petty officials received one to ten thousand Tankas a year. Soldiers were paid directly by the state. They were usually paid in cash. By the system of assignments, the nobles were able to get more than their official salary. The assignments were for the personal salary of the officials and did not include the pay of the soldiers.

The Sultans were the masters of military strategy. They employed very commonly the art of ambushing and surpise attacks. Before the actual battle, the prospective theatre of war was thoroughly surveyed. The army was very often divided into the advance-guard, the centre, the right wing, the left wing, the rear-guard and the reserve. According to Dr. Qureshi, there were flanking parties on either flank of an army. However, the army of Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat in 1526 had no such flanking party. Scouts rendered a very useful service.

Justice

The department of Justice was the most ill-organized department of the Sultans of Delhi. The Sultan dispensed justice through the Diwan-i-Qaza. He also gave justice through the agency of Diwan-i-Mazalim. Muhammad Tughluq set up a separate department called Diwan-i-Siyasat.

The Diwan-i-Mazalim was presided over by the Amir-i-Dad. This was so when the Sultan was not present in person. Ibn Batuta tells us that Muhammad Tughluq personally heard complaints, on every Monday and Thursday. The Sultan sat on a high throne, surrounded by his bodyguard and officers. The Qazi-i-Mumalik set at the side of the Sultan to give him legal advice. On days when the Sultan did not sit in public, the Hajibs received the complaints and passed them on to the chief Hajib who submitted them to the Sultan. The Governors were required to sit as courts of Mazalim. They were helped by the Sahib-i-Diwan and the Qazi. The courts of Mazalim heard complaints against officials.

The Diwan-i-Qaza had contracts with the departments of Siyasat and Mazalim but its main concern was civil litigation. It may be said that Qaza dealt with common law and Siyasat and Mazalim dealt with administrative law. The head of the Diwan-i-Qaza was the Qazi-i-Mumalik, also known as Qazi-i-Quzat. The same person was also appointed Sadr-us-Sudur. The chief Qazi was given a salary of 26,000/-Tankas a year under Muhammad Tughluq. He was in charge of the whole legal system and the administration of religious affairs. He heard appeals from the lower courts and ap-

pointed the local Qazis. Great importance was attached to the Qazi of Delhi. Ibn Batuta was appointed the Qazi of Delhi by Muhammad Tughluq and was addressed as "Our lord and master".

There was a Qazi in every town and his duty was to settle disputes, supervise and manage the property of orphans and lunatics, execute testamentary dispositions and supervise Awqaf. He was required to help destitute widows to find suitable husbands. He was responsible for street maintenance etc. All contested property was deposited with the Qazi or his nominee. It was the duty of the local governors and officials to help the Qazi in maintaining the dignity of law and to cooperate with him in bringing wrong-doers to their senses. The Qazis were not under the Governors as they were directly appointed by the Central Government.

The Amir-i-Dad was associated with justice. He presided over the court of Mazalim in the abence of the Sultan. When the Sultan was present in person, Amir-i-Dad was responsible for its executive and administrative business. Ordinarily, a man of high rank was appointed as Amir-i-Dad as he had to try complaints against governors and big commanders. Muhammad Tughluq paid his Amir-i-Dad 50,000 Tankas. Amir-i-Dad had his assistants in the provinces and with the army. He looked after the executive side of justice. It was his duty to see that the decisions of the Qazi were carried out. Amir-i-Dad was also responsible for the proper maintenance of mosques, bridges and public buildings, city walls and gates. He controlled the Kotwal, the police and the Muhtasib. His office kept copies of the documents registered with the Qazi. It was his duty to forbid a covenant which violated law.

The Sultan believed in the view that a dominion could subsist in spite of misbelief, but it could not endure with the existence of injustice. The officials were generally chosen for their learning and piety. Some Sultans set a high example of justice. Balban is said to have inflicted extreme penalty on a governor who was guilty of murder when he was drunk. Muhammad Tughluq appeared as a defendant in the court of Qazi and when the case was proved against him, he insisted on the penalty. Many instances have been given by Ibn Batuta which show that Muhammad Tughluq had great respect for law. The Qazi was not allowed to get up when the Sultan entered his court. A man complained that the Sultan owed him money. The Sultan appeared before the Qazi and paid the debt. Firuz Shah did not hesitate to execute a favourite who was found guilty of murder.

Police

The Sultans were very anxious to maintain the security of the state. The routine police duties were performed by the Kotwal. The force of the Kotwal patrolled the city at night and guarded throughfares. The Kotwal secured the cooperation of the people in the performance of his duties. He maintained a register of the inhabitants of every quarter, kept himself informed of their activities and means of livelihood and took cognizance of every new arrival and departure. His jurisdiction extended to the rural area also. He also acted as a committing magistrate. The criminal code was severe and punishments were deterrent. In certain cases, the criminal was paraded in the city. The life and property of a rebel

were at the mercy of the Sultan. Ala-ud-Din Khalji introduced the system of punishing the family of the rebel. The penal code of the Shar was applied to crimes which came under the jurisdiction of the Qazi.

There was no uniform administrative system under the Sultans of Delhi. During the 13th century, the Delhi Sultanate consisted of military commands known as Iqtas. Each Iqta was under a Muqti. When Ala-ud-Din Khalji conquered practically the whole of the country, he allowed big and small provinces to remain as they were. There were three kinds of provinces under Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The first kind consisted of the old Iqtas. To the second category belonged the newly conquered provinces and those were placed under military governors known as Walis. To the third category belonged the principalities of the Hindu vassals who were reduced to the position of governors. When the Delhi Sultanate was at its height, it had 23 provinces, *viz.*, Badaun, Bihar, Delhi, Deogiri, Dwarasamudra, Gujarat, Hansi, Jajnagar, Kalanaur, Kanauj, Kara, Kuhram, Lahore, Lakhnauti, Ma'bar, Malwa, Multan, Oudh, Samana, Sehwan, Sirsuti, Telang and Uch.

Governor

About the appointment of a Governor, Hasan Nizami says that "a famous and exalted servant was chosen so that he might look after the soldiers, servats, warriors and clerks and save them from the treachery of the unbelievers and the designs of the polytheists; he should take pains to fulfil the expectations of the people; he should exercise the greatest circumspection in military and revenue matters; and he should maintain the traditions of benevolence and charity so as to leave a name for eternity."

Qutb-ud-Din Aibak gave certain instructions to his Wali. The Wali was required to protect and enforce the laws, customs and regulations. He was to look after the Ulema, the warriors and civil officials. He was to reconcile the people by reducing their dues and introducing measures of prosperity. He was to increase the produce by the extending cultivation. He was to maintain justice and protect the weak from the rapacity and tyranny of the strong. He was to see that the decisions of the courts were enforced. He was to desist from capital punishment and guard the highways, encourage trade and protect traders. When Fateh Khan was appointed the Governor of Sind by Firuz Shah, certain instructions were given to him. He was to act as the chief executive officer. He was to protect the people and guard their interests. He was to help the learned and the holy. He was to maintain the army in a happy and contented condition. He was to supervise the work of the Diwan-i-Wizarat. He was to protect the peasants from undue exactions and tyranny. He was to supervise the work of public officers.

Sahib-i-Diwan

In every province, there was a Sahib-i-Diwan, also known as Khwaja. He was appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Wazir. He was generally an expert accountant. His duty was to keep account books and submit detailed statements to the headquarters. It was on the basis of those sheets that the Department of the Wazir settled the account with the Muqti. Officially, the Khwaja was subordinate to the Governor. However, in actual practice, he was a power to reckon with and he was a check on the

authority of the Governor. The reports of the Khawaja might lead to the dismissal of the Governor.

Shiqs

During the 13th century, there was no lower unit of administration than the Iqta. However, during 14th century, the provinces were divided into Shiqs. Probably, this was not done everywhere. Muhammad Tughluq divided the viceroyality of the Deccan into four Shiqs. There was a Shiqdar at the head of a Shiq. He was probably a military officer and his duty was to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction.

Parganah

The next smaller unit was the Parganah which has rightly been identified by Moreland with the Qasbah meaning thereby an aggregate of villages. The next division was the *village*. Ibn Batuta refers to *Sadi* which he defines in these words: "These people give the name of Sadi to the collection of a hundred villages." Ibn Batuta refers to the Sadi of Hindpat which can be identified with the Pargana of Indrapat in the neighbourhood of Delhi. It appears that the term Sadi was not officially adopted and that explains its absence from contemporary records.

It appears that the administration of villages continued in the hands of Hindu officials. There was a Panchayat in every village and most of the disputes were settled there. The people of the village looked after their affairs themselves and ordinarily they were not interfered with by the Sultan. There was a Chowkidar and a Patwari in every village.

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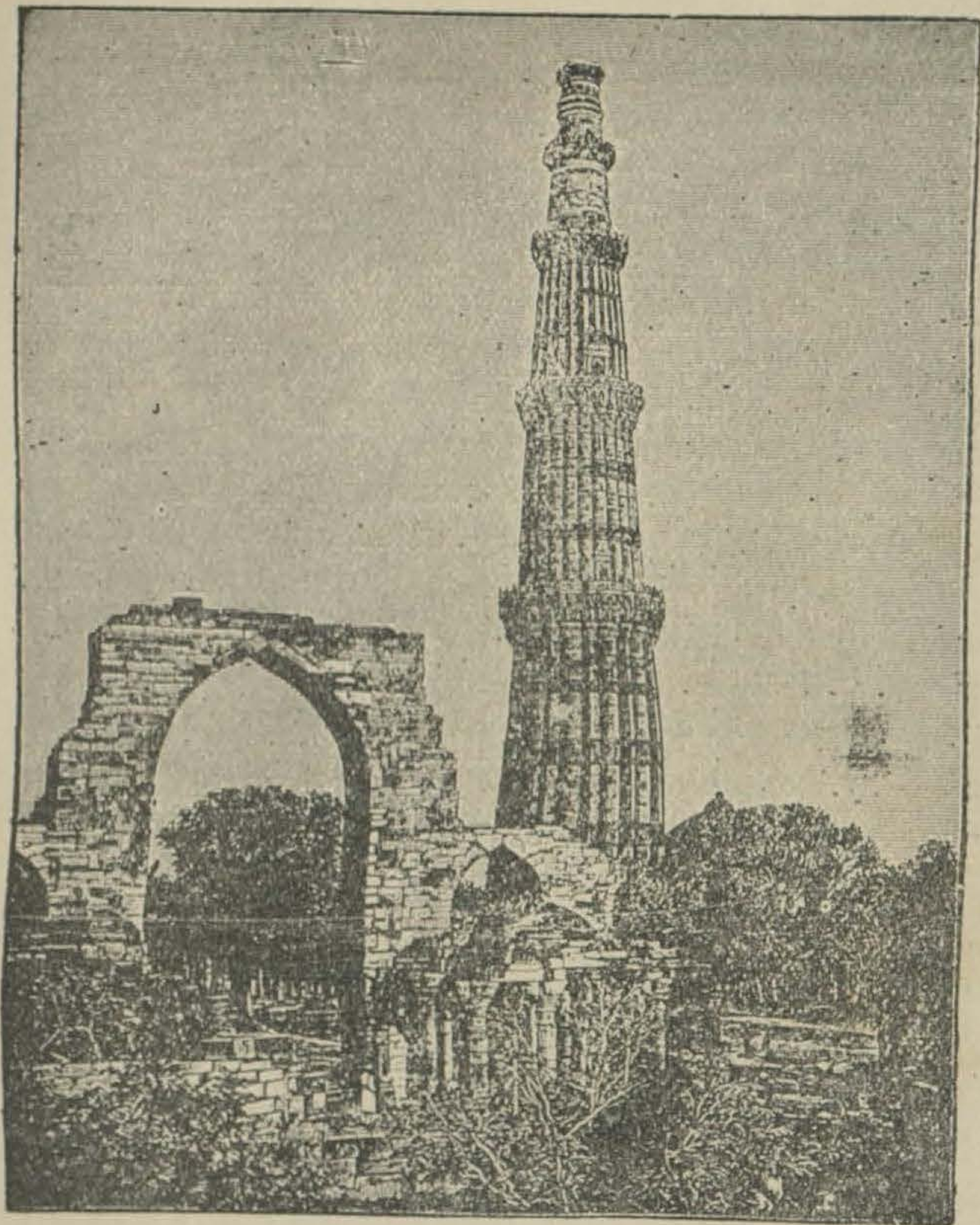
CHAPTER XV

ARCHITECTURE AND LITERATURE

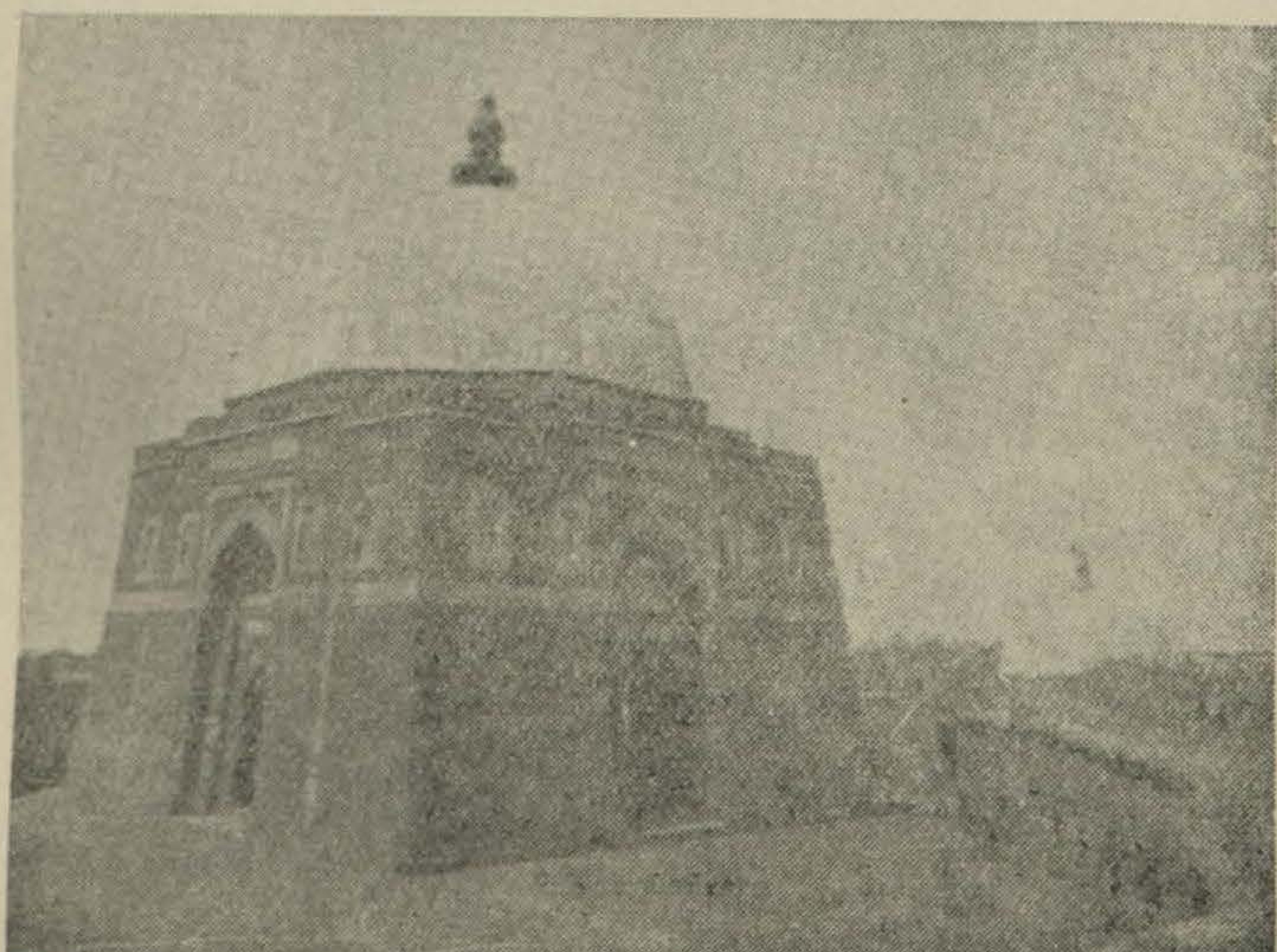
The Turks who conquered India were not mere barbarians. They had a genius for architecture. According to Fergusson, "Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of the architectural career of these Pathans in India. A nation of soldiers equipped for conquest and that only, they of course brought with them neither artists nor architects, but, like all nations of Turanian origin, they had strong architectural instincts, and, having a style of their own, they could hardly go wrong in any architectural project they might attempt."

It is not correct to describe the architecture of the Sultanate period as "Indo-Saracenic" or "Pathan" as done by scholars like Fergusson. Likewise, it is not correct to describe it as entirely Indian in "soul and body" as done by Havell. As a matter of fact, there was a blending of Indian and Islamic styles. Sir John Marshall rightly points out that "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art." Likewise, it is not merely "a modified form of Hindu art..... Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources, though not always in an equal degree." Before the coming of the Muslims to India, there already existed in this country what are known as Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain styles of architecture. The Muslims also brought with them the arts of different parts of Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and South-Western Europe. The mingling of the styles brought into existence a new style of Indian architecure. In the case of Delhi, the Islamic influence predominated. "At Jaunpur, on the other hand, and in the Deccan, the local styles enjoyed greater ascendancy, while in Bengal the conquerors not only adopted the fashion of building in brick but adorned their structures with chiselled and moulded enrichments frankly imitated from Hindu prototypes. So, too, in Western India they apporpriated to themselves almost *en bloc* the beautiful Gujarati style, which has yielded some of the finest buildings of medieval India; and in Kashmir they did the same with the striking wooden architecture which must have been long prevalent in that part of the Himalayas."

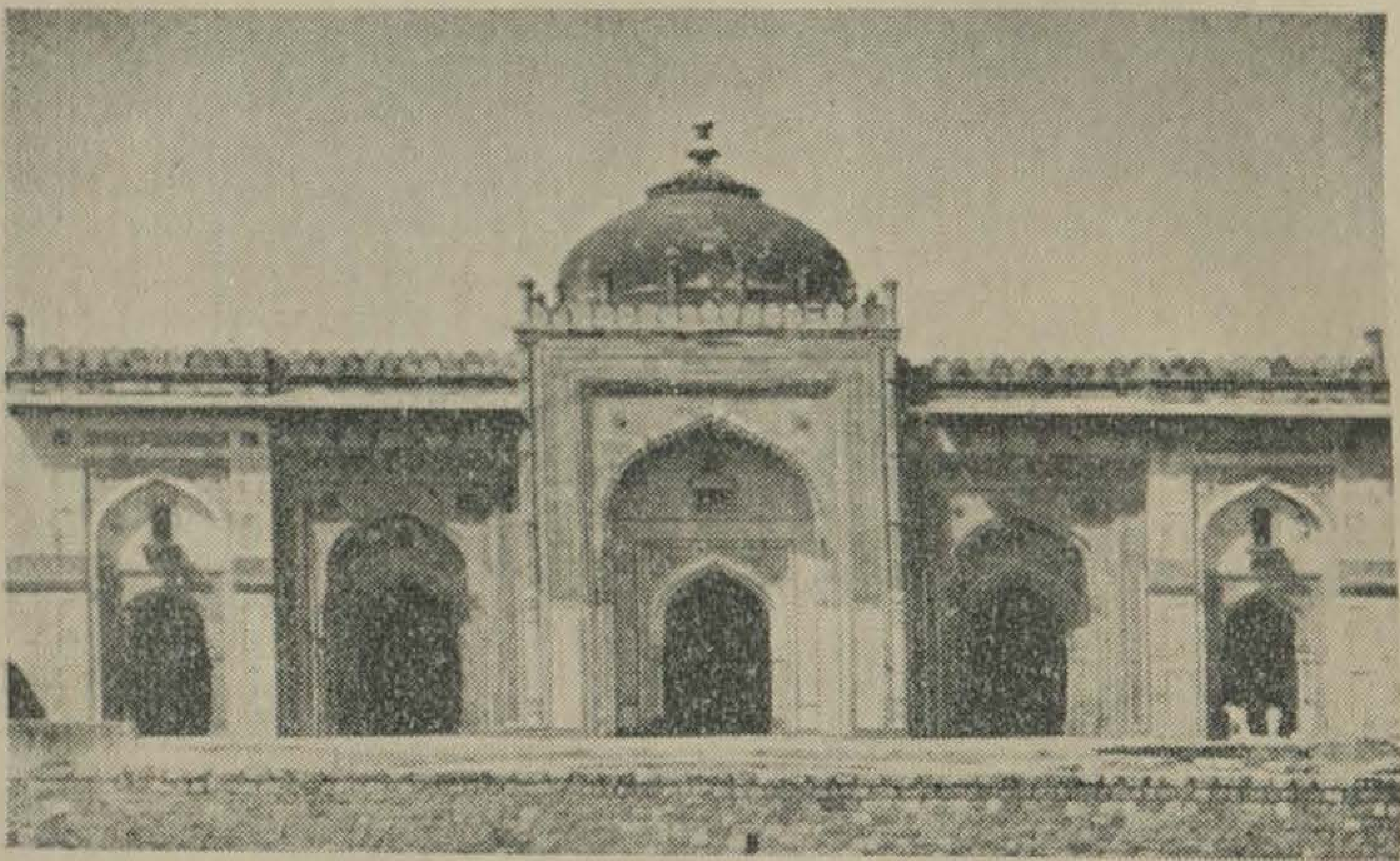
The amalgamation of the foreign and native styles of architecture was made possible by certain factors. The Turks in India had to employ Indian craftsman and sculptors who had their own ideas about the form and method of construction and consequently they were able to introduce into Muslim buildings their own ideas. Moreover, the Muslims used the materials of Hindu and Jain temples for their mosques, tombs and palaces and this fact also affected the Muslim buildings in the country. There were also certain resemblances in the Muslim and Hindu buildings which enabled the Muslims to convert the temples into mosques by demolishing their flat roofs and providing domes and minarets in their places. Sir John Marshall has rightly pointed out that one feature common to Hindu temples and Muslim mosques was "the open court encompassed by chambers or colonnades, and such temples as were built on this plan naturally lent themselves to conversion into mosques and would be the first to be a adapted



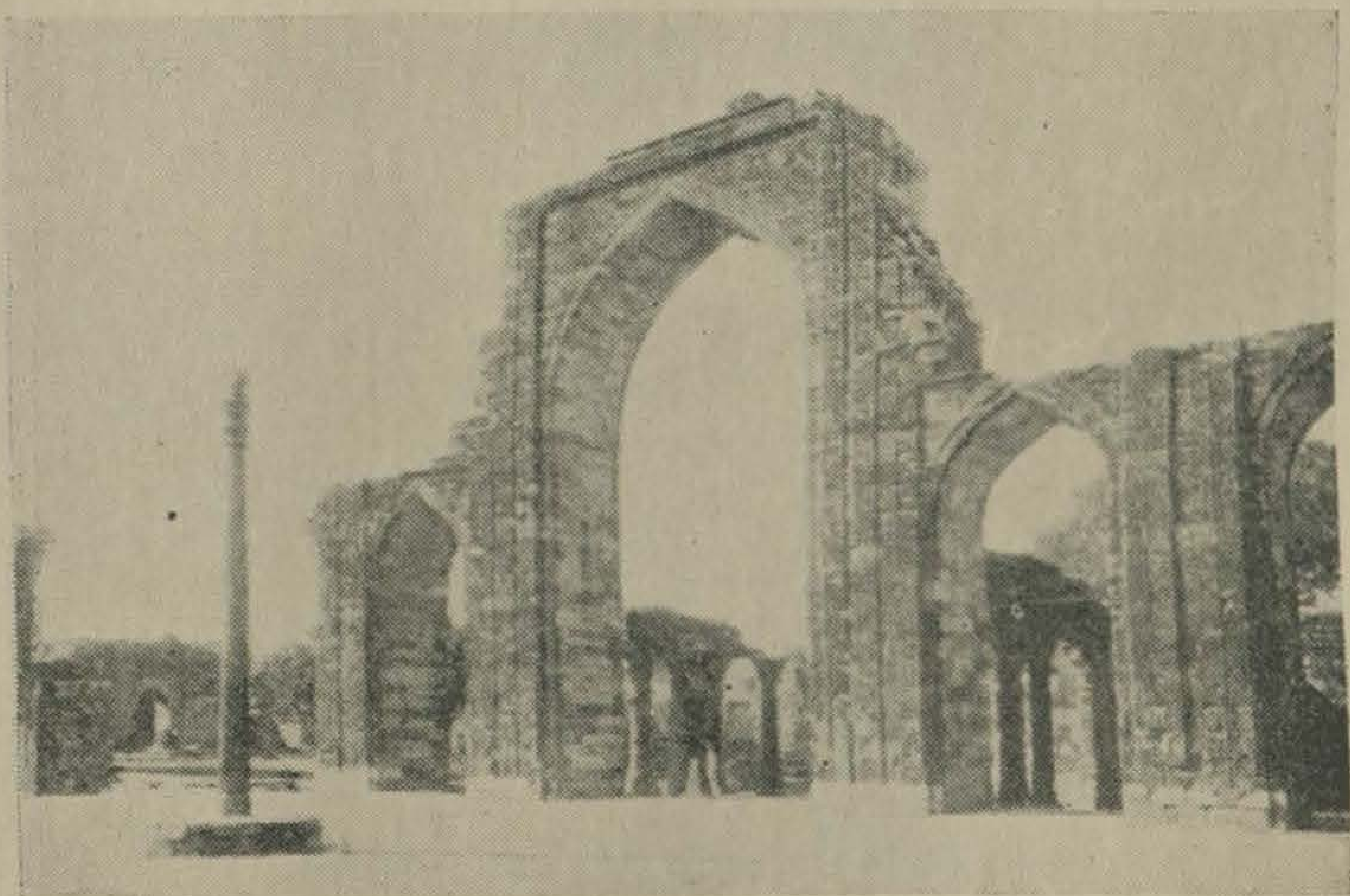
Qutb Minar



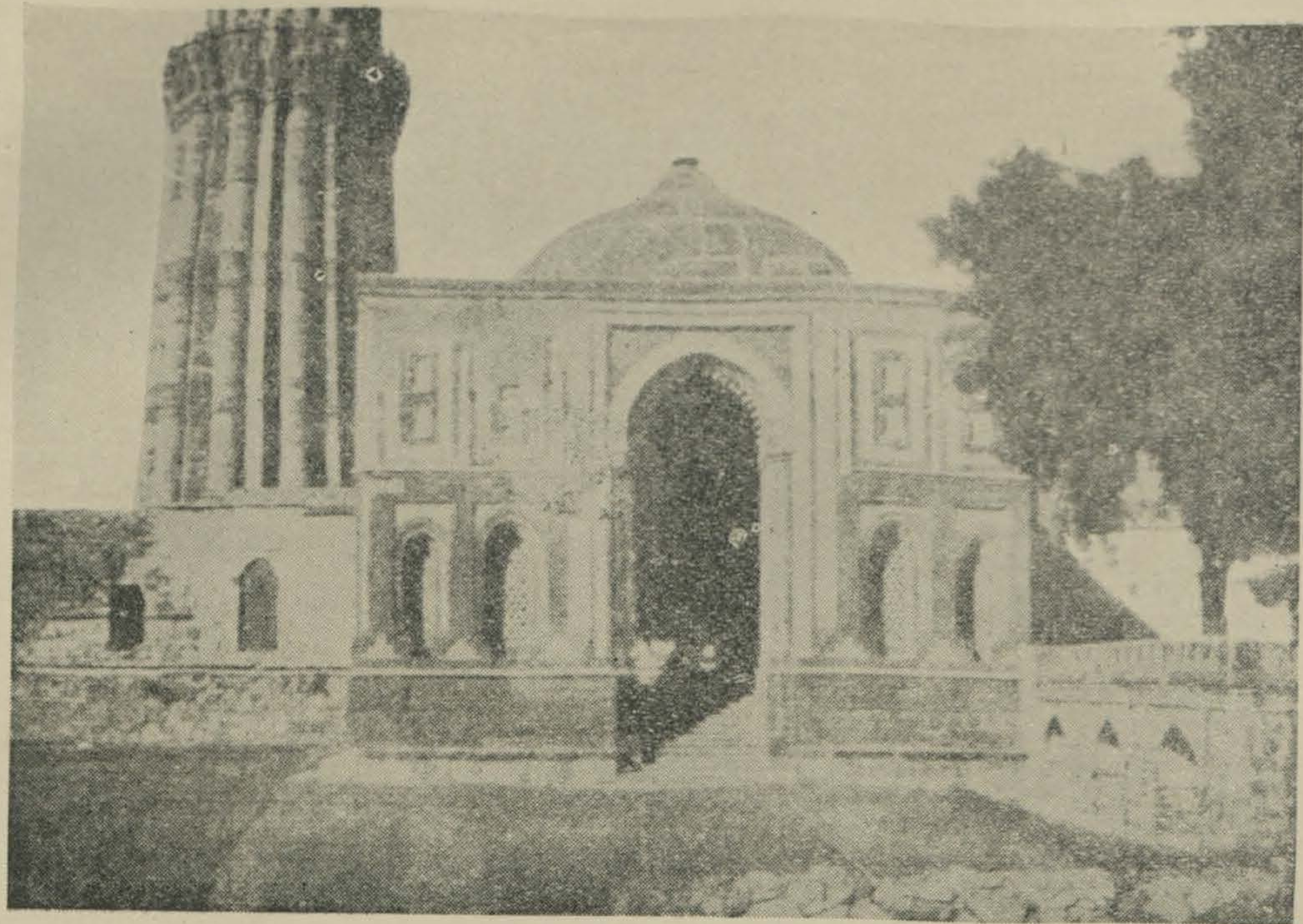
Tomb of Ghiyas-ud-Din



Moth-ki-Masjid



Quwwat-ul-Islam Masjid



Alai Darwaza, Delhi



Adina Masjid

for that purpose by the conquerors. Again, a fundamental characteristic that supplied a common link between the styles was the fact that both Islamic and Hindu arts were inherently decorative. Ornament was as vital to the one as to the other; both were dependent on it for their being."

According to Sir Henry Sharp, "The monotheistic puritanism of Islam delighted in the simplicty of the unbroken dome, the plain symbolism of the pointed arch and the slenderness of the minaret. Hindu polytheism, on the other hand, invited to variety and complexity of form and the decoration of every part with deep bas-relief and the human figure.... The conquerors could not fail to be influenced by the arts which had flourished around them. Hindu ornament began to invade the simple Islamic forms. The plain severity of the dome submitted to the imposition of the Kalasha or ornate lotus-cresting, and its metal finial gave place to an elaborate carving in stone. Moreover, the Muhammadans learned from the Hindus lessons in the proportionate massing of buildings and the disposition of their parts. Lack of symmetry was remedied; and in the tombs of Isa Khan and Humayun, we find a splendid synthesis of Muslim ideals and Hindus methods of treatment." (Delhi, Its Story and Buildings, pp. 20-21.)

Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque

The first architectural construction made by Qutb-ud-Din Aibaq was the **Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque.** This was founded in 1191 A.D. to commemmorate the capture of Delhi and was dedicated "to the might of Islam." It consisted of an open quadrangle enclosed by colonnades of which the western one constitutes the prayer chamber. Seen from within or without, the building, as originally designed, presented an essentially Hindu appearance. Half of the plinth on which it stood was actually the basement of a Hindu temple and the rest of the structure was composed of materials from the 27 shrines of the Hindus. In 1198, an arched screen of Muhammadan design was thrown across the whole front of the prayer chamber. It is pointed out that the screen is not an architectural success. It is obviously an after-thought and not an integral and organic part of the structure. In 1230 A.D., Iltutmish more than doubled the area of the mosque by throwing out wings to the prayer chamber and screen and by adding an outer court. The new work was fundamentally Islamic in character and obviously designed, if not, executed, by Muslim craftsmen. Ala-ud-Din Khalji also enlarged the mosque.

Qutb Minar

Qutb Minar was originally intended to be a tower from which the Muslim could be called for prayer. However, it very soon came to be regarded as a tower of victory like those at Chittor and Mandu. As originally designed, the Qutb Minar stood some 225 feet in height and comprised 4 storeys. Only a portion of the first storey was constructed by Qutb-ud-Din Aibaq and the rest was completed by Iltutmish. In the time Firuz Shah Tughluq, the Minar was struck by lightning and the fourth storey was dismantled and replaced by two smaller ones. Its height was also raised to 234 feet. In 1503, the Minar was again restored and its upper storeyes were repaired.

On the strength of certain short Nagari records in the interior, attempts have been made to prove that the Minar was originally Hindu and Muslims merely recarved the outer surface. This view is rejected by Sir John Marshall who points out that the whole

conception of the Minar and almost every detail of its construction and decoration is essentially Islamic. While towers of this kind were unknown to the Indians, those were familiar to the Muslims. The calligraphic inscriptions and the elaborate stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies also point out to its Muslim origin. Fergusson was of the view that the Qutb Minar was the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere. According to Sir John Marshall, "Nothing, certainly, could be more imposing or more fittingly symbolic of Muslim power than this stern and stupendous fabric; nor could anything be more exquisite than its rich but restrained carvings."

The **tomb of Iltutmish** is unpretentious in its form and dimensions. It is a simple square chamber. However, its decoration is very elaborate. Almost the entire surface of the walls within are covered from floor to ceiling with Quranic texts.

The **Sultan Ghari** was built in 1231-32 A.D. Its plan is not like the tomb of Iltutmish or of any other tomb in India. It stands in the middle of a square fortress-like enclousure with round turrets at the four corners. Most of the enclosure is of grey granite, but the mosque and entrance portico and the exterior facing of the tomb are of white marble.

The **Arhai-Din-Ka-Jhompra** was built at Ajmer in 1200 A.D. by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak. Later on, Iltutmish beautified it with a screen. The view that the building was originally built within two and a half days is not accepted and it is suggested that it might have taken two and a half years to construct it. In style and construction, it closely resembles the Quwwat-ul-Islam at Delhi, but its area is more than double and several parts of it are more spacious and dignified. The architect at Ajmer has succeeded in creating a hall of really solemn beauty. However, it does not possess the delicate subtle beauty of Quwwat-ul-Islam.

The **tomb of Balban** is a simple structure comprising a square domed chamber, 38 inches across, with an arched entrance in each of its sites and a smaller chamber to the East and West. Unfortunately, every trace of decoration has disappeared from the tomb and what is left is a mere shell. However, the presence of arches built on true scientific principles gives it great importance. It is a symbol of a reaction against the Hindu influences of the Hindu artisans.

Ala-ud-Din Khalij was responsible for the construction of the **Jamaat Khana Masjid** at the Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and the Alai Darwaza at the Qutb. The Jamaat Khana Masjid is the earliest example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Muslim ideas and with materials especially quarried for the purpose. It is of red sand-stone and consists of three chambers. Originally, the building was intended not as a mosque but as a tomb for Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din and consisted of the central chamber only. The side wings were added in the beginning of the Tughluq dynasty when it was converted into a mosque.

The **Alai Darwaza** was built in 1311 A.D. It was the southern gateway leading into Ala-ud-Din's extension of Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. In spite of mutilations, the Alai Darwaza is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture. Like the tomb of Iltutmish, it consisted of a square hall roofed by a single dome, with arched entrances piercing each of its four walls. It is of red sand-stone relieved by white marble. It is freely adorned with bands of Quranic

texts. In every feature, whether structural or decorative, the Alai Darwaza is incomparably better. Seen at a distance, its well-proportioned lineaments are accentuated by the alternating red and white colour of its walls. An added dignity is given by the high plinth on which it stands. If seen from very near, the harmony of form and colour is increased by the wealth of lace-like decorations on its walls. According to Sir John Marshall, "The key-notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of its parts. Whoever the architect may have been, he was a man of irreproachable taste, who was not satisfied merely with repeating traditional ideas but who set himself to think out and perfect every detail of his creation." The other monuments of Ala-ud-Din at Delhi were **City of Siri** and the **Hauz-i-Alai** or the **Hauz-i-Khas** tank. The city of Siri was constructed in about 1303 in order to protect the population of the suburbs of Delhi. Only some fragments of the encircling walls of the city are now left. Even they throw some light on the military architecture of that period.

There was a change in the art of architecture under the Tughluqs. Lavish display of ornament and richness of details gave place to puritanical simplicity. This change was due partly to the urgent need for economy and partly to the general revulsion of feeling against that excesses of the Khalji regime. The extreme religious bigotry of the Tughluq was also responsible for the change. There was also a decay of skilled craftsmanship during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq on account of the wholesale shifting of the population of Delhi to Daulatabad.

There are only two monuments of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq which are important and those are the **city of Tughluqabad** and the sepulchre which he built for himself beneath its walls. The walls, landscape, bastions, battlements, narrow loopholes, steep entrance-ways and lofty narrow portals of the two monuments produce an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur. The marble and sand-stone of which the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-Din is built, are treated in a strikingly novel fashion. The impression created by the walls is one of simplicity and strength. No resting place could have been devised better for the founder of the Tughluq dynasty.

During the first two years of his reign, Muhammad Tughluq founded the small **fortress of Adilabad** and the city of Jahan Panah. Adilabad was merely an outwork of the larger city of Tughluqabad and was almost identical with it in style. **Jahan Panah** was made by linking up the walls of old Delhi with those of Siri. It was in this way that the suburbs which had grown up between them were enclosed. The fortifications were 12 yards in thickness and were constructed of rough rubble in lime. There was also a double-storyed bridge of seven spans, with subsidiary arches and a tower at each end, which served as a regulator for drawing off the waters of a lake inside the walls.

Firuz Shah Tughluq was responsible for the construction of cities, forts, palaces, embankments, mosques and tombs. He was responsible for the foundation of the city of Jaunpur, Fatehabad and Hisar Firuza. At Delhi, he built the palace Fort of Firuzabad. He provided not less than 120 rest houses for the convenience of Muslim travellers. Canals were dug to bring water to the newly-established cities. Firuz Shah was responsible for the construction of Kotla Firuz Shah. He built there eight public mosques and one private mosque and three palaces. Within the walls of Kotla Firuz Shah, the best preserved monuments

are the Jami Masjid and a pyramidal structure crowned by a pillar of Asoka which was brought to Delhi from the village of Topra in the Ambala District. Firuz Shah also built for himself at the Hauz-i-Khas, the college and tomb. The mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani, the Prime Minister of Firuz Shah, is also of great interest.

Another monument of the Tughluq period is the tomb of the saint, Kabir-ud-Din Auliya, locally known as Lal Gumbad. There is reason to believe that it was constructed in the reign of Naṣir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah (1389-92). It is a copy of the tomb of Tughluq Shah.

The Sayyid and Lodi kings had very limited resources at their command and consequently they could not afford to have vast and ambitious schemes of buildings. The chief and best example of architecture during this period are the tombs of kings and nobles. The important tombs of the kings are those of Mubarak Shah Sayyid (at Mubarakpur), Muhammad Shah and Sikandar Lodi. The tombs of the nobles are not without much dignity and strength and the most important among them are the tombs of Bare Khan and Chhote Khan, the Bara Gumbad, the Shish Gumbad, the tomb of Shihab-ud-Din Taj Khan, Dadi Ka Gumbad and Poli Ka Gumbad. The Moth Ki Masjid was built by the Prime Minister of Sikandar Lodi and it is considered to be the finest specimen of the architecture of the Lodis.

Provincial Architectures.

No account of the architecture of the Sultanate period will be complete without a reference to the architecture of the various provinces which became independent of Delhi. The provincial architectures were similar to Delhi architecture but in certain respects they differed. The rulers of various provinces could not afford to spend as much money as the Sultans of Delhi did. Moreover, provincial architecture was very much influenced by the local art traditions of pre-Turkish period. The peculiar conditions prevailing in various provinces also affected their art.

Multan

Multan was one of the earliest cities to be occupied by the Muhammadans. During the several centuries of continuous Muslim rule, many monuments of importance must have been erected in the city. The earliest buildings were two mosques. The first was built by Mohammad bin Qasim and the seccond was constructed on the site of the famous temple of Aditya which was demolished by the Karmathians. The shrines of Shah Yusuf Gardizi (built about 1152 A.D.), Bahaul-Haqq (built in 1262 A.D.) and Shams-ud-Din also known as Shams-i-Tabrizi (built after 1276 A.D.) are also important. The tomb of Shadna Shahid is an excellent example of the methods of construction prevalent at that time. The tomb of Rukn-i-Alam was built by Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq between 1320 and 1324. This is considered to be "one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead." The spirit underlying its design is largely Persian.

Bengal

The Bengal school of architecture is a class by itself and is inferior to most of the other provincial architectures in design, execution, finish and decoration. The buildings of this period in Bengal were largly made of bricks and stone was very rarely used. The architecture was characterised by "the use of pointed arches on short pillars and the Muslim's adaptation of the traditional Hindu

temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from the bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs like the lotus." The ruins of the buildings are to be found at Gaur or Lakhanauti, Tribeni and Pandua. The tomb and mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi were built at Tribeni in the Hughli District. The tomb was built largely out of the materials taken from a temple of Krishna which formerly stood on the same spot. The **Adina Masjid** was constructed by Sikandar Shah (1358-89) in the new capital of Pandua. This mosque was the most ambitious structure of its kind in Eastern India. In area, this mosque was almost as big as the great Mosque of Damascus. It was 507½ feet from north to south and 285½ feet from east to west. Although it was regarded in Bengal as one of the wonders of the world, its design was not worthy of its size. According to Sir John Marshall, no place of worship was ever devised of such magnitude and with so little sense for the beautiful as the Adina Masjid. Considered by themselves, the several parts and details are admirable enough but no amount of perfection in its parts can compensate for the lack of organic composition and due proportion in the economy of the whole. Cunningham has rightly observed that its design is more suitable for a caravansarai than a mosque. It is monotonous and commonplace. The mosque and minar at Chhota Pandua in the Hughly District and the mosque and tomb of Akhi Siraj-ud-Din at Gaur were also constructed during the reign of Sikandar Shah.

The **Eklakhi tomb** at Pandua is the tomb of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Shah who was the son of Raja Kans. According to Sir John Marshall, this tomb is one of the finest in Bengal and peculiarly interesting as the prototype on which many mosques in that part of India were subsequently modelled. The design is simple and the fabric is of brick.

The **Sath Gumbad** mosque was constructed about 1459 A.D. It is noteworthy for its cornet turrets and the unusual treatment of its frontal cornice. The interior is a fine spacious apartment. The Dakhil Darwaza was built by Barbak Shah (1459-74). It is a superb example of work what can be achieved in brick and terracotta. It is 60 feet in hight and 113 feet from back to front. It consists of a central arched passage with guard rooms on either side. At each of its four corners is a five-storeyed tapering turret, once crowned by a dome. Its outstanding merit is the surprising boldness of design and the masterly skill with which its facades have been broken up and diversified by alternating effects of light and shade. The Tantipara Masjid has suffered very much from the effects of time, but even in its ruins, it is an object of beauty. Cunningham was of the opinion that this was the finest edifice in Gaur. If perfection of detail were the criterion of good architecture, his opinion would be fully justified. In the matter of superficial ornaments, the Tantipara Masjid marks the zenith of the Bengal school.

The **Lotan Masjid** is the best surviving example of the type of mosque peculiar to Bengal. It is said to take its name from a favourite dancing girl of Yusuf Shah (1474-81). This Masjid is of brick and has a square prayer chamber built on the model of the Eklakhi tomb.

The Firuza Minar at Gaur was designed to do duty both a tower of Victory and the Mazina of a mosque. It was a five-storeyed tower about 84 feet in height.

The monuments of the Husain Shah period (1493-1552) are the Chhota Sona Masjid (Small Golden Mosque), the Bara Sona Masjid (Great Golden Mosque) and the Qadam Rasul Mosque. The Bara Sona Masjid has the merit of simplicity and impressiveness. Fergusson was of the view that it was perhaps the finest memorial now left in Gaur.

Gujarat

The Gujarat style of architecture was probably the finest and most beautiful of all the provincial architectures. According to Dr. Burgess, the Gujarat style combined "all the beauty and finish of the native art with a certain magnificence which is defecient in their own works." The Jain temple of Abu which was finished in 1032 A.D., served as a source of inspiration to master-craftsman who were employed by the rulers of Gujarat. Ahmad Shah was a great builder and he founded the city of Ahmedabad in the first half of the 15th century. There he built mosques and palaces. In their construction, he gave a free hand to his craftsmen. The Tin Darwaza (Triple Gate-way) was the principal entrance to the outer courtyard of the palace. It is 37 feet in thickness. The charm of this gateway lies in its perfectly proportioned and delicately framed archways.

The tomb of Darya Khan (1453) is permeated with a strong Persian spirit. It is an imposing square structure with a lofty central dome and lower domed verandahs on its four sides.

With the accession of Mahmud Begarha, the architecture of Gujarat entered upon its most magnificent stage. The new ruler was responsible for the founding of new cities. Ahmedabad was enclosed with additional lines of fortification and beautified with broad streets and a multitude of splendid edifices. He came to have a special fondness for Champanir and there he caused a city and a palace citadel to be built. He also built the Jama Masjid at Champanir. This Mosque has been described as second to the none in Gujarat. It is undoubtedly a striking edifice.

The mosque of Rani Sipari (1514) was considered by Fergusson as one of the most exquisite structures in the world. According to Sir John Marshall, it is difficult to single out a building in the whole world in which the parts are more harmoniously blended or in which balance, symmetry and decorative rhythm combine to produce a more perfect effect. The Mosque is a small one but this very smallness is an asset in its favour.

The mosque of Sidi Sayyid is unusually plain and chaste. It is difficult to imagine anything more simple and unassuming. This mosque has gracefully well-proportioned arches and superbly designed window screens.

Malwa

Malwa evolved a distinct style of architecture. There are two mosques at Dhar which was the original capital of Malwa. The one mosque was originally a Sanskrit college which was attached to a Hindu temple. Even now, it is known as Bhojashala. It was later on converted into a mosque. The second mosque was built out of the materials of Hindu buildings. The pillars and tombs are Hindu in form.

Mandu was established as the capital of Malwa by the local Sultans. Of all the fortress cities of India, Mandu is the most magnificent. The plateau on which it stands rises a thousand feet and

more above the plains of the Narbada. There was a time when the whole of the plateau within the walls was covered with buildings. However, most of them are now levelled to the ground. It is only a few palaces, mosques or tombs that have been left. The mosque of Dilawar Khan Ghuri is interesting for its pillars and carved ceilings. The Jami masjid at Mandu was planned and begun by Hushang but the same was finished by Mahmud Khalji. The latter also built the remarkable Darbar Hall now known as the Hindola Mahal. Sir John Marshall is of the view that among all the monuments at Delhi of that period, there is not one that can equal the impressive grandeur of the **Hindola Mahal** or the Jami Masjid at Mandu. The former of these two buildings is unique of its kind. Its plan is T-shaped, the stem of the T forming the Darbar Hall and the cross a group of smaller apartments in two storeys intended for the Zanana and furnished, whatever necessary, with lattice screens. The Hindola Mahal is 160 feet long and about 100 feet wide. The **Jami Masjid** is almost as simple as but less vehement in style than the Hindola Mahal. From east to west, it measures 288 feet and from north to south it is about 20 feet less. The Jami Masjid lacks in poetry and creative inspiration. It is too cold and formal and calculated to rank among the really great architectural creations of India. However, it does not suffer from dull monotony like the Adina Masjid at Pandua. One cannot help feeling the eloquence of its forceful and silent appeal.

The tomb of Hushang was most probably built by himself. It is the first great tomb in India wholly of white marble. One special feature of its design is the broad expanse of the dome in relation to the interior of the tomb chamber.

Mahmud was responsible for the construction of **Jahaz Mahal.** On account of its fine arched halls, its roof pavilions and boldly designed reserviors, it still forms one of the most conspicuous landmarks at Mandu. The palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati were built on the plateau overlooking the Narbada.

Jaunpur

It is unfortunate that many very fine monuments of Jaunpur were destroyed or mutilated by the Lodis after its annexation, but there are a few which have come down to us. The Masjid and fort of Ibrahim Naib Barbak were built respectively in 1376 and 1377. The Atala Masjid was started in 1377 but it was completed in 1408 in the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. The site of the Atala Masjid was once the site of a temple of Atala Devi. It was out of the materials of that temple that the mosque was largely built. Its plan is typical of most Indian mosques and many of its features are directly copied from the architecture of the Tughluqs. The architect of the Masjid made the screen so massive and imposing that it over-shadowed all else in quadrangle. Sir John Marshall is of view that if the object of the architect of the Atala Masjid was to accentuate the importance of the prayer chamber and at the same time produce something novel, there is no doubt that he succeeded remarkably well. There are few mosques in Islam which are so imposing in their proportions or so arresting in style as this Masjid. According to Lane-Poole, the Atala Masjid is a gem of the first water.

The Jhanjhri Masjid was erected by Ibrahim in honour of Hazarat Said Sadr Jahan Ajmali. Though smaller in size, it is very similar in design to the Atala Masjid. It is possible that both of them were constructed by the same architect. The Lal Darwaza is

a small and pale edition of the Atala Masjid. Its style is markedly Hindu. The Jama Masjid was erected in the reign of Husain Shah.

About the Sharqi architecture of Jaunpur, Burgess observes thus: "The whole of the ornamental work on these mosques has a character of its own, bold and striking rather than minute and delicate, though in some of the roof-panels there are designs that may bear comparison with similar patterns on Hindu and Jain shrines. The **mihrabs** are marked by their severe simplicity; they are simply patterns of the entrances and of the niches on the outer walls, with flat backs and structural arches over them. They form a link, however, in the evolution of the favourite form under the Mughul rule."

Iltutmish was responsible for the construction of the Hauz-i-Shamsi, the Shamsi-idgah and the Jami Masjid at Badaun. The Jami Masjid is one of the largest and most massive mosques in India. It is 280 feet in length from north to south. It is constructed upto a height of 12 feet out of sandstone blocks plundered from the Hindu temples. The Idgah at the village Rapri in Uttar Pradesh was built in 1311 A.D. in the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The Chaurasi Gumbaz is to be found at Kalpi in the Uttar Pradesh. It is considered to be the resting place of one of the rulers of the Lodi dynasty but his name is not known with certainty.

Kashmir

When the Muslims conquered Kashmir, they found there a large number of fine buildings left by their predecessors. What the Muslim rulers did was that they converted the stone temples of the Hindus into mosque and tombs for themselves. The tomb of Mandani was erected in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470). This tomb is considered to be a beautiful specimen of Kashmir art. The Jami Masjid at Sirnagar was built by Sikandar but it was expanded by Zain-ul-Abidin. It is still considered to be an instructive example of the pre-Mughal style of architecture. The mosque of Shah Hamadan in Srinagar was built exclusively of timber.

Vijayanagar

Krishnadeva Raya built the Hazara Temple which is considered to be the one of the most perfect specimens of the Hindu temple architecture in existence. According to Fergusson, the Vitthala temple of Krishnadeva Raya is "the finest building of its kind in Southern India."

Most of the rulers of Mewar were patrons of art and architecture. The fort of Kumbhalgarh and the Kirti Stambha or Jaya Stambha of Rana Kumbha are very famous. The Kirti Stambha is one of the most remarkable towers in the country. It was built partly of red standstone and partly of white marble. There are the images of a large number of Hindu gods and goddesses. The Jain Stambha at Chittor is embellished with beautiful carving and lattice work. A large number of buildings were erected during this period at a place called Amber near Jaipur. However, many of them are in ruins now

Bahmani Kingdom

The rulers of the Bahmani Kingdom encouraged architecture by founding cities and buildings, mosques and fortresses. The mosques at Gulburga and Bidar are noble specimens of the Deccan art. The tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah known as the Gole Gumbaz has a peculiar style of its own. It is contended that it has some traces of Ottoman influence. The rulers of Bijapur were great builders. The

huge city wall was started by Yusuf and completed by Ali. Some of the tombs and mausoleums are wonderful works of art.

Literature

The old view used to be that the period from 1206 to 1526 A.D. was entirely barren from the literary and cultural point of view. Dr. Qureshi has put forward the view that the Delhi Sultanate was a culture state. Both views are extremes and the truth lies midway between the two. It is true that the Turko-Afghan rulers were essentially warriors but they were also the patrons of Islamic learning. They took pride in patronizing learned men and spent a lot of money on them.

As a result of the Arab conquest of Sindh, some of the important Sanskrit works such as Brahmasiddhanta of Brahmagupta and his Khanada Khandyaka were translated into Arabic with the help of Hindu scholars. Al-Beruni who came to India along with Mahmud, was an accomplished Sanskrit scholar. After the conquest of Nagarkot, a Sanskrit manuscript fell into the hands of Firuz Tughluq and he got it translated into Persian and gave it the name of Dalayal Firuz Shahi.

Amir Khusrau was unquestionably the greatest of the Indian poets. He was born at Patiala in 1253. His father was a Turkish refugee. Amir Khusrau himself took up service as a poet under Prince Mohammad Khan, the son of Balban and after the death of his patron enjoyed the patronage of the successive Sultans from Balban to Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq. Towards the end of his life, he gave up the world and became a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. Amir Khusrau wrote a good deal. He is said to have written more than 4 lacs of couplets. He was the first Muslim writer who made use of Hindi words and also adopted Indian poetic imagery and themes. His important writings are Khazayan-ul-Futuh, Tughluqnama and Tarikh-i-Alai.

Amir Hasan Dehlwi was a poet of considerable eminence. He is described as "musical and most pleasing." He was in the court of Muhammad Tughluq. He composed a Diwan and wrote the memories of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia. **Badr-ud-Din** or Badri-i-Chach was a native of Tashkand. He was in the court of Muhammad Tughluq and composed odes in his praise. His poetry is difficult and loaded with imagery.

Minhaj-us-Siraj was the author of Tabqat-i-Nasiri. There is brevity, boldness and vigour in his style. **Zia-ud-Din Barani** was the author of Tarikhi-i-Firuz Shahi. He took a lot of trouble in writing this book and made it a compendium of all kinds of useful knowledge. Barani was patronized by both Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq. **Shams-i-Siraj Afif** continued the Tarikhi Firuz Shahi of Barani. He was more methodical and careful in his treatment of the subject than Barani. However, there is a lot of unnecessary repetition in his work. It is also full of praise for his master. **Ain-ul-Mulk Multani** held important offices under Ala-ud-Din Khalji, Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq. He was a clever and accomplished man of highest ability. He wrote some excellent books such as Ain-ul-Mulki, and Munshat-i-Mahru also called Insha-i-Mahru. His writings give a lot of useful information regarding the political, social and religious condition of India in his time. **Ghulam Yahya bin Ahmad** was the author of Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi. This book is valuable for the period during which the author lived. In many

respects, it corrects and suplements Minhaj-us-Siraj, Zia-ud-Din Barani and Shams-i-Siraj Afif. Fatuh-us-Salatin of **Isami** contains the history of India for more than 300 years. **Hasan Nizami** was the author of Tajul-Maasir.

Some literature was produced under the patronage of the rulers of the various provinces. Jaunpur was a famous seat of learning and many learned men were attracted to the court of Ibrahim. **Qazi Shihab-ud-Din Daulatabadi** wrote Hawash-i-kufiah Irshad and Bad-ul-Bayan. **Maulana Shaikh Ilahdad** wrote on the Hedaya. The other famous writers were Mughis Hasnavi, Zahir Dehlwi, Maulana Hasan Nashqi, Maulana Ali Ahmed Nishani and Nurul Haq.

A reference may be made to the literature produced by the Hindus during this period. It is absolutely incorrect to say that the Hindu mind during this period became sterile and it did not produce any literature of merit. The truth is that the Hindus created a lot of literature during this period.

Ramanuja wrote his commentaries on the Brahma Sutras in which he explained his conception of Bhakti. Parthasarthi Misra was the author of Sastra Dipika. Many books on Yoga, Nyaya and Vaisesika systems of Philosophy were written during this period. Deva Suri was a great Jain logician of the 12th century. The Gita Govinda of **Jayadeva** is an excellent specimen of lyrical poetry. There is beauty, sweetness and wealth of emotion in the writings of Jayadeva. According to Dr. Keith, "Jayadeva is a master of form and diction and above all he is not merely of remarkable skill in metre but he is able to blend sound to emotion in a manner that renders any effort to represent his work in translation utterly inadequate."

A large number of dramas were written during this period. Harkeli Nataka and Lalitavigraharaja Nataka were wirtten in the 12th century. During this period, Prasanna Raghava was written by Jayadeva, Hammir-mada-mardana by Jaya Singh Suri, Pradyumnabhyudaya by Ravivarman, Pratap Rudra Kalyan by Vidyanath, Parvati Parinaya by Vamana Bhatta Bana, Gangadas Pratap Vilas by Gangadhara and Lalita Madhava by Rupagoswami. Jiva Goswami wrote as many as 25 books in Sanskrit. Vijnanesvara wrote the Mitakshara which is a commentary on Yajnavalkya. This commentary on Hindu law has been the law of this country for many centuries. Jimuta Vahana was the author of Dayabhaga. That work formed the basis of the law of inheritance and partition in Bengal for many centuries. The Smriti literature "flourished in Mithila so luxuriantly that the writers came to be regarded as forming a separate school." The study of astronomy was promoted by Bhaskaracharya who was born in 1114 A.D. Kalhana wrote the famous Rajatarangini which deals with the history of Kashmir. The other important writers were Padam Bhatta, Vidyapati Thakur and Vachaspati Misra. Sayana wrote his famous commentaries on the Vedas. Madhava was responsible for the compilation of Siva-Gama Stotra. Naga Chandra, also known as Abhinava Pampa, was the author of Pampa Ramayana. In addition to Naga Chandra, the other Jain writers were Hema Chandra, Prabha Chandra. Hastimalla, Asadhara and Sakalakrirti.

A lot of vernacular literature was also produced during this period. Chandbardai was the author of 'Prithvi Raja Rasau'. This work contains 69 books and 1,00,000 stanzas. It has not been possible to fix the exact date of its composition. There is a mixture of legend. fiction and history in this book. The poet has given an account of

the life and exploits of Prithvi Raja. He describes Padmavati or Sanjogata thus:

> Arrayed with the tokens of the King of Love,
> Filling a golden tray with pearls,
> Lighting a lamp she waved it round;
> Taking her confidant with her, boldly the maiden,
> Goes, as Rukmini went to meet Murari.

Jagnayak was the author of Alhakhand. In that book, the deeds of love and war of Alha and Udal, two brave warriors of Parmala of Mahoba, are described. **Sarangdhara** was the author of Hammir Rasau and Hammir Kavya. These books contain an account of the glories of Raja Hammir of Ranthambor.

Khusrau was essentially a Persian poet but he was also interested in Hindi poetry. He has referred to the greatness of the Hindi language in his poem called Ashiqa. His view was that the Hindi language was not inferior to the Persian language. He also compared the grammar and syntax in Arabic to that in Hindi. In his writings we come across such words as Pradhana, Sundar Kamin etc.

The leaders of the Bhakti Movement also added to the literature. Namadeva wrote in Marathi but some of his Hindi songs are to be found in the Grantha. Some hymns were composed by Ramananda. Some of the sayings of Kabir are to be found in the Sakhis and Raminis. Hindi literature owes a lot to Kabir. Guru Nanak also composed some hymns which are a mixture of Hindi and Panjabi The songs of Mirabai in Hindi are very famous.

Narsi Mehta was a poet of Gujarat and he wrote beautiful short religious songs. Krittivasa prepared a Bengali translation of the Ramayana from Sanskrit. According to D. C. Sen, "It is in fact the Bible of the people of the Gangetic valley and it is for the most part the peasants who read it." The Mahabharata was also translated into Bengali. Krishnadevaraya himself wrote a poem called Amuktamalyada. His poet laureate was Allasani Peddana. He was a writer of original merit. His famous work was Svarochisa Manucharitra.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

The Bhakti movement was started during the period of the Delhi Sultanate. Its exponents put too much emphasis on Bhakti or devotion to attain the ultimate end of human life. It is not correct to say that the Bhakti movement owes its origin to the presence of Islam in India. The path of Bhakti or devotion was already known to the Hindus although there were many among them who put emphasis on Jnana (knowledge) and Karma (action). However, it cannot be denied that the Bhakti movement got an impetus from flourished in the 14th century in Northern India. He wandered of idols but also in breaking them and who also believed in the unity of God and equality of all human-beings. It has rightly been pointed out that the Bhakti movement represented the mood of the Hindu mind which can be given the name of "escapism". Most of the Hindus during this period did not find any opening for rise in this worldly life and no wonder, they tried to forget themselves by putting all their faith in devotion itself.

The earliest exponent of the Bhakti cult was **Ramanuja** who flourished in the early years of the 12th century. He was educated in Kanchi or Conjeevaram under the guidance of Yadava Prakash. From there, he went to Sringeri to take the place of Yamunacharya. People became jealous of his learning and an attempt was made to kill him. He was persecuted by the Chola king who wanted him to become a follower of Siva. Ramanuja managed to escape to the territory of Hoysala Yadava prince Vishnuvardhana. There he managed to convert the brother of the ruler to Vaisnavism.

The philosophy of Ramanuja was a reaction against the Advaita philosophy of Shankara. His contention was that individual souls were not essentially one with God. They all emanated from Him as sparks from fire. God was not purely an abstract thing. He possessed real qualities of goodness and beauty. Ramanuja stood for a Saguna Isvara. He asked the people to do Bhakti without any desire and in a spirit of renunciation. The number of the followers of Ramanuja was very large in the South and small in the North.

Nimbarka was a contemporary of Ramanuja. He believed that Bhakti could be obtained through grace. The way to eternal beauty and joy was devotion for the lotus-like feet of Lord Krishna. There are a large number of the followers of Nimbarka in Uttar Pradesh.

Another exponent of the Bhakti cult was **Madhava.** He gave up the world when he was very young and became a wandering monk. He spent a lot of time in study and was thus able to defeat many of his opponents. His view was that the final aim of man is the direct perception of Hari which leads to Moksha or eternal bliss. Release from transmigration can only be secured by means of knowledge and devotion.

Another exponent of the Bhakti movement was **Ramanand** who flouished in the 14th century in Northern India. He wandered about the country and was successful in establishing the worship of Rama and Sita. He did not believe in caste system and admitted


Chaitanya


Ramananda


Nanak


Kabir


Madhava

men among his followers from all castes. Out of his 12 chief disciples or Chelas, one of them was a barber, another Chamar and still another a weaver. Kabir was one of the followers of Ramanand. There are a large number of the followers of Ramanand in the Gangetic plain. He was the first reformer who used the Hindi language for the spread of his ideas.

Vallabhacharya was a Tailang Brahmana. He was born in 1479 A.D. He began to show signs of greatness from his childhood and he was able to acquire a lot of knowledge at a very early age. He visited a large number of places such as Mathura and Brindaban and ultimately settled down at Banaras. His view was that there was no distinction between Brahma and the individual soul. The later would get rid of its bondage by means of Bhakti alone. His contention was that the home was the centre of all wordly desires and should be given up completely. However, if that was not practicable, one should dedicate oneself to the service of God who alone could free man from evil. Vallabhacharya advocated the worship of Krishna and the dedication of everything to Him alone. It is unfortunate that the followers of Vallabhacharaya departed from the true spirit of his teachings and interpreted them in a material sense. What they preached and acted upon was that God should be pleased not by self-denial and austerity but by enjoying wordly pleasures in every possible way. It is on account of this that the philosophy of Vallabhacharya came to be known as "the Epicureanism of the East."

Chaitanya was the greatest saint of the Bhakti movement. He was born in Bengal in 1485 A.D. He gave up the world at the age of 25 and became a Sanyasi. He wandered about the country and taught people to love and worship Krishna. Wherever he went, thousands of people flocked to him. He gave them the message of love and peace. He was so much absorbed in love for Lord Krishna that the very thought of him playing upon his flute in the woods of Brindaban, threw him into an ecstasy. He wanted his followers to have perfect humility in their actions and have absolutely no pride in whatever they do. To quote him, "Krishna dwells in every soul and therefore gives respect to others, without seeking any for himself." Again, "Neither do I want followers, nor wealth, nor learning, nor poetical powers. Give unto my soul a bit of devotion for Thee. Great pride never produces any good. How will He who is called the vanquisher of the proud bear with your pride?" Chaitanya had too much of love for the poor and the weak. Whenever he saw their sorrows, his heart melted with pity. He was opposed to the caste system and believed in the universal brotherhood of man. His conviction was that the name of Lord Krishna did not know the barriers of caste and race. Haridas was one of the followers of Chaitanya and he was an outcaste. He asked Chaitanya not to touch him and while embracing him, Chaitanya observed thus: "You have dedicated yourself to me; that body of yours is mine in every respect; an all-sacrificing and all-loving spirit dwells in it; it is holy as a temple. Why should you consider yourself unclean?" That was the reason why both the high and low followed Chaitanya.

Love is the watch-word of the cult of Chaitanya. To quote him, "Every man must offer body and soul to Him, and must disdain his personal gratifications. He must be prepared to carry out his Lord's will and in doing so must not shrink from any sacrifice. He will worship his image, he must talk of him, he must wreathe flowers for him, he must burn incense and wave the Chamars in his temple and

offer his services day and night to the Lord and to the world as well. Vaisnavism, it must be repeated, is not the religion of the recluse, nor is it a non-proselytising creed."

Chaitanya gave the following advice to the religious teachers: "Do not take too many disciples, do not abuse gods worshipped by other peoples and their scriptures, do not read too many books and do not pose as a teacher continually criticising and elucidating religious views. Take profit and loss in the same light. Do not stay there where Vaishnava is abused. Do not listen to village tales. Do not by your speech or thought cause pain to a living thing. Listen to the recitation of God's name. Recollect His kindness, bow to Him and worship Him. Do what He wills as a servant, believe Him to be a friend and then dedicate yourself to Him."

Another preacher of the Bhakti movement was **Namadeva**. He belonged to Maharashtra and his followers belonged to all castes and classes. He himself belonged to the caste of tailors. He had faith in the unity of God and believed that one could attain salvation only through love of God. Some of his saying are given below:

(1) Love for him who filleth my heart shall never be sundered;
Nama hath applied his heart to the true Name,
As the love between a child and his mother,
So is my soul imbued in the God.

(2) If thou give me an empire, what glory shall it be to me?
If thou cause me to beg, how shall it degrade me?
Worship God, O my soul, and thou shalt obtain the dignity of salvation,
And no more transmigration shall await thee,
O God, Thou didst create all men and lead them astray in error;
He to whom Thou givest understanding knoweth thee.

(3) One stone is adored,
Another is trodden under foot.
If one is a God, the other is also a God—
Saith Namadeva, I worship the true God.

(4) Of me am blind. Thy name, O King, is the proof,
I am poor, I am miserable, Thy name is my support.
Bontiful and merciful Allah, Thou art onerous;
Thou art a river of bounty, Thou art the Giver, thou art exceedingly wealthy;
Thou alone givest and takest, there is none other:
Thou art wise, Thou art far-sighted, what conception can I form of Thee.
O Nama's lord, Thou art the Pardoner, O God.

Kabir was the greatest disciple of Ramanand. Nothing certain is known about his early life. The tradition is that he was born of a Brahman widow of Banaras who left him near a tank from where he was picked up by a Muslim weaver. His date of birth is not certain but he flourished towards the close of 15th century. He was nominally a Muslim but actually his thoughts were that of a Hindu. Although he was a married man, yet he became a great saint. He was opposed to the caste system. His conviction was that salvation could be got by devotion to God. He condemned all kinds of sham, insincerty and hypocrisy. He criticised the worship of idols. He asked the people to give up their pride and devote all their time to devotion to God. The following poems of Kabir illustrate his teachings.

(1) It is not by fasting and repeating prayers and the creed,
That one goeth to heaven;
The inner veil of the temple of Mecca
Is in man's heart, if the truth be known.
Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple.
Conscience its prime teacher;
Sacrifice wrath, doubt, and malice;
Make patience thine utterance of the five prayers,
The Hindus and the Mussalmans have the same Lord.

(2) If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong?
If Rama be within the image, then who is there to know what happens without?
Hari is in the East; Allah is in the west. Look within your own heart, for there you will find both Karim and Rama.
All the men and women of the world are His living forms.
Kabir is the child of Allah and Rama; He is my Guru; He is my Pir.
Vain too are the distinctions of caste.
All shades of colour are but broken arcs of light.
All varieties in human nature are but fragments of humanity.
The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brahmans, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.

Another exponent of the Bhakti movement was **Guru Nanak**. He was born in 1469 at Talwandi. From his childhood, he had a religious bent of mind. He preached the unity of God and condemned idolatry. He wanted his followers to give up falsehood, selfishness and worldliness. He put greatest emphasis on good actions and purity of life. He had both Hindu and Muslim disciples. His teachings can be illustrated from his following sayings:

(1) Religion consisteth not in mere words;
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.
Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation.
Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage.
Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world;
Thus shalt thou find the way to religion.

(2) Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer-carpet, what is just and lawful thy Quran,
Modesty thy circumcision, civility thy fasting, so shalt thou be a Mussalman.
Make right conduct thy Ka'baha, truth thy spiritual guide, good works thy creed and thy prayer,
The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thine honour, says Nanak.

(3) Hadst thou the eighteen Puranas with thee,
Couldst thou recite the four Vedas,
Didst thou bathe on holy days and give alms according to man's castes,
Didst thou fast and perform religious ceremonies day and night,
Wast thou a Qazi, a Mulla, or a Sheikh,
A Jogi, a Jangam, didst thou wear an ochre-coloured dress,
Or didst thou perform the duties of a household—
Without knowing God, Death would bind and take all away.

The influence of the Bhakti movement in South India can be seen from the following poems:

(1) How many flowers I gave
At famous temple shrines:
How many mantras said;
Oft washed the idol's head!
And still with weary feet
Encircled Siva's weary feet
But now at last I know
Where dwells the King of Gods,
And never will salute
A temple made with hands.

(2) O Brahmans, list to me
And answer if you can!
Do rain and wind avoid
Some men among the rest
Because their caste is low?
When such men tread the earth,
Hast seen it quake with rage?
Or does the brilliant sun
refuse to them its rays?
When shall our race be one great brotherhood
Unbroken by the tyranny of caste?

(3) O Brahmans, list to me!
In all this blessed land
There is but one great caste,
One tribe and brotherhood.
One God doth dwell above
And he hath made us one
In birth and frame and tongue.

It is rightly pointed out that the Bhakti movement had two objects in view. One object was to reform the Hindu religion and the other was to bring about a reconciliation between Hinduism and Islam. So far as the object of reform of Hinduism was concerned, that was amply fulfilled. The exponents of the Bhakti movement were able to concentrate on the shortcomings in the Hindu society and consequently some of the evils were removed. However, as regards the reconciliation of Hinduism and Islam, that could not be achieved. The Turko-Afghan rulers were not prepared to accept the fact that Ram and Rahim and Ishwar and Allah implied the same thing. There was too much of fanaticism in their hearts which made such a reconciliation difficult, if not possible. However, one indirect effect of the Bhakti movement was the evolution and enrichment of vernacular languages in India. The exponents of the Bhakti movement wrote in various vernacular languages and thereby helped their growth.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bhandarkar : Vaishnavism and Saivism.
Carpenter : Theism in Medieval India.
Farquhar : An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.
Macauliffe : The Sikh Religion, 6 Volumes.
Ranade : Indian Mysticism.
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INDEX

PART II

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABUR'S INVASION

On the eve of Babur's invasion, India was parcelled out among numerous mutually warring states. There was no paramount power in the country and a struggle for supremacy was going on. India was not in a position to present a united front to any enemy who might possess the audacity and ambition to carve out an Empire for himself. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, India was "a congeries of states at the opening of the 16th century and likely to be the easy prey of an invader who had the strength and will to attempt her conquest."

Kingdom of Delhi. The Delhi Sultanate was not strong. The Lodi dynasty, founded by Bahlol, had a small territory. It included the Punjab, the Doab, Jaunpur, Oudh, a part of Bihar, Tirhut and the country between the Sutlej and Bundelkhand. Although King Bahlol in his life-time had conquered Jampur and Sikandar Lodi had tried to consolidate his power, the position of Ibrahim Lodi (1517—26) was not at all strong. Erskine has described the actual position of Ibrahim Lodi in these words: "These extensive possessions, though under one King, had no very strong principle of cohesion. The monarchy was a congeries of nearly independent principalities, jagirs, and provinces, each ruled by a hereditary chief, or by a Zamindar or delegate from Delhi; and the inhabitants looked more to their immediate governors who had absolute powers in the provinces and in whose hands consequently lay their happiness or misery, than to a distant or little known sovereign. It was the individual, not the law that reigned. The Lodi princes, not merely to strengthen their own power, but from necessity, had in general committed the Government of the provinces and the chief offices of trust to their own countrymen, the Afghans; so that men of the Lodi, Fermuli and Lohani tribes held all the principal jagirs which from the habitual modes of thinking of their race, they considered as their own of right and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign."[1]

According to Lane-Poole, a throne depending on the allegiance of "an aristocracy of rapacious and turbulent chiefs demands politic concessions on the part of the monarch. Afghans above most men resent an undue assumption of superiority and tell with delicacy the tedious etiquette and obsequious ceremony of a formal court. The King must be their chief, a bona comrade and admitted leader in arms, but he must not give himself airs or show a want of respect for the free and outspoken clansmen upon whose swords dominion rests." King Bahlol was such a man. He had tried to build his power on the love of his nobles and always tried to act according to their wishes. No wonder, he was able to carry them with himself. We are told that if on any occasion some nobles rebelled against him, he would go to them, hand over his sword to them and ask them to sever his head from his body. On the other hand, Ibrahim Lodi was

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1. Erskine, W. : History of India under Babur and Humayun.

a man of a different temperament. In order to strengthen his position, he tried to destroy the feudal-lords. Mian Bhaua fell a victim to his anger. Azam Humayan was assassinated in prison. Even the greatest barons trembled for their safety. Darya Khan, Khane Jahan Lodi and Hussain Khan broke into open rebellion, Hussain Khan was assassinated in his bed, and his tragic death made the Afghan nobles bitterly hostile to Ibrahim Lodi. Darya Khan's son assumed the title of Mohammad Shah, struck coins in his own name and resisted the Delhi Sultan. The discontentment of the nobles reached the climax when Ibrahim Lodi cruelly treated the son of Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab. Daulat Khan Lodi was called to the court, but he sent his son Dilawar Khan in his own place. The King was annoyed and with a view to give expression to his own feelings, he took Dilawar to a room where the victims of Royal caprice were suspended from the walls. Addressing Dilawar, King Ibrahim declared: "Have you seen the condition of those who have disobeyed?" Dilawar understood the hint and kept quiet. Having come to Lahore, he communicated all that he had seen to his father. Alarmed for his safety, Daulat Khan sent an invitation to Babur, the ruler of Kabul, to invade India.

It is admitted on all hands that the behaviour of Ibrahim towards the nobles was insulting. He would order the Afghan chiefs to keep standing in his court with folded hands. They were made to observe the rules of etiquette which were certainly irksome. It was the discontentment and hatred among the nobles for the Sultan that made his position weak. When revolts took place, the Sultan tried to stem the rising conflagration by the blood of some of the leading Amirs. The result was still wider disaffection. This explains as to why the numerical superiority of Ibrahim's forces in the Battle of Panipat (1526) did not help him to win victory against Babur.

Mewar. Another important state in India at that time was that of Mewar under Sangram Singh, better known as Rana Sanga. Its capital was Chittor. The reigning dynasty traced its origin from Guhil. It produced a series of remarkable rulers among whom Rana Kumbha (1433—68) occupied a very prominent position. Rana Sanga was a great warrior and through his valour he had consolidated his position. He had undertaken several successful campaigns against the ruler of Malwa. He had conquered Bhilsa, Sarangpur, Chanderi and Ranthambore and given them to his own vassals. The princes of Ambar acknowledged him as their over-lord. The Raos of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raisin, Kalpi, Boondi, Rampur and Abu paid homage to him as his feudatories. According to Tod, 18,000 horses, 7 Rajas of the highest rank, 9 Raos and 104 chieftains bearing the titles of Rawal and Rawat with 500 war-elephants followed him to the battlefield. Rana Sanga had made his power felt in Central India. Even Babur admitted in his Memoirs that Rana Sanga attained his position of eminence by his valour and sword. He had lost one eye, one arm and was crippled in one of his legs and consequently Tod called him "the fragment of a soldier."

Rana Sanga was the head of the Rajputs. "The Rajputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their lives

for their own honour." Rana Sanga was not only powerful but also ambitious. He aspired to capture the throne of Delhi and Agra which were next to his own territory. It was with a view to realise his ambition that he invited Babur to attack India. He was under the delusion that Babur, a descendant of Timur, would come to India, conquer it and after plundering it go back to Kabul, leaving for him an open field for the realisation of his ambition. The strength of Rana Sanga can be judged from the fact that the soldiers of Babur had to fight a more desperate battle at Kanwah in 1527 than at Panipat in 1526.

Vijayanagar. The Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar which had been founded in the time of Mohammad Tughlak in the 14th century, was a bulwark against the spread of Islam in the South. The contemporary King on the throne of Vijayanagar was Krishnadeva Raya. He was the greatest ruler of the Vijayanagar Empire. He was a great soldier and general. He was a patron of literature and art. Vijayanagar was at its height politically, economically and culturally. Foreign travellers and diplomats were dazzled by its wealth, prosperity and power.

Peas, the Portuguese Chronicler who visited India about 1522, writes thus about Krishnadeva Raya: "He is the most learned and perfect king that could possibly be cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage... He is by rank a greater lord than any by reason of what he possesses in arms and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things." Again, "He respects all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. Krishnadeva Raya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love of literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people; and above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmins mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs, who sheds a lustre on the pages of history."

The rulers of Vijayanagar were always fighting against the Bahmani Kingdom. Hardly a reign passed when there was no large-scale fighting. The Bahmani Kingdom began to disintegrate after the execution of Mahmud Gawan, the Prime Minister, in 1481. It broke up into five independent Kingdoms of Ahmednagar (1489—1633), Bijapur (1489—1686), Golkunda (1512—1687), Berar (1484—1527) and Bidar (1490—1574).

Khandesh. The kingdom of Khandesh was situated in the valley of the river Tapti. It was independent from the end of the 14th century. Its founder was Malik Raja Faruqi. As the rulers of Gujrat were determined to establish their hold over Khandesh, the two kingdoms were almost perpetually at war with each other. After

1508, there was chaos in Khandesh on account of the struggle for succession to the throne. The rival claimants were backed by Gujrat and Ahmednagar. Ultimately, Adil Khan III ascended the throne of Khandesh. After his death in 1520, he was succeeded by Mohammad I. However, on account of the long distance between Delhi and Khandesh, the politics of Khandesh did not influence those of Delhi.

Kashmir. The independent kingdom of Kashmir was established by Shah Mirza in 1339. The most important ruler of Kashmir was Zainul-Abidin (1420—70) who followed a policy of religious toleration and patronage of Sanskrit. He has been called the "Akbar of Kashmir". After his death in 1470, there was anarchy in the country. In 1540, Mirza Haider, a relative of Humayun, conquered Kashmir.

Orissa. Orissa was a Hindu state and was not subjugated by any Muslim ruler. It exercised an effective barrier to the expansion of Bengal towards the South. However, it did not exercise any great influence on the politics of Northern India.

Gujrat. Gujrat got its independence under Zafar Khan in 1401. One of the most famous rulers of Gujrat was Mahmud Begarha (1458—1511). He captured Champanir, Junagadh and Cutch. King Mahmud was jealous of the power of the Portuguese and he tried to crush them by joining the Sultan of Turkey. To begin with, he was successful against the Portuguese and defeated them in 1508. However, later on the Portuguese recovered and he was defeated. King Mahmud was mild and just to his own servants. Whether for abounding justice or generosity, for excesses in religious wars and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Mussalmans, for soundness of judgment, for power for valour and victory, Mahmud was a pattern of excellence. He was a bigoted person. He was succeeded by Muzaffar Shah II who had to fight against enemies all his life and was defeated by Rana Sanga of Mewar. His son, Bahadur Shah, ascended the throne in 1526.

Malwa. The kingdom of Malwa became independent in the time of Firoz Tughlaq. In 1435, the Ghori dynasty of Malwa was supplanted by the Turki Khilji dynasty under Mahmood Khan. According to Ferishta, "Sultan Mahmood was polite, brave, just and learned and during his reign, his subjects, Mohammadans as well as Hindus, were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home and his resting place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of different kings of earth read." The next two kings were Ghiyas-ud-Din and Nasir-ud-Din and the latter died in 1512. In the time of Mahmood II, all power was captured by the Rajput chief known as Medini Rao. The Hindus were appointed to important positions of trust and responsibility. This led to bickerings amongst the Muslims. Medini Rao defeated the forces of Malwa and the Sultan fell into the hands of the Rajputs. Rana Sanga restored him to his kingdom. In 1531, Malwa was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat.

Bengal. Bengal was independent from the time of Firoz Tughlak. The ruling dynasty was called the Hussaini dynasty. Ala-ud-Din Hussain (1493—1519) was the first ruler of the Hussaini dynasty. He extended his empire up to Assam. The ruler came into conflict with Sikandar Lodi. He was obliged to make peace and

agree to respect the eastern frontier of Bihar. Nusrat Shah was his son. He was a contemporary of Babur and made peace with him. He was a patron of Bengalee literature. The Mahabharata was translated into Bengalee under his orders. On the whole, the people of the province were prosperous and contented with their lot.

Sind. The province of Sind had become independent towards the end of the reign of Mohammad Tughlak. At the beginning of the 16th century, there was a lot of confusion and lawlessness in the country. The Sumra dynasty was decaying and Shah Beg, Governor of Kandhar, had an eye on Sind. In 1520, Shah Beg defeated the Subras and occupied the province. His son, Shah Hussain, annexed Multan. The power of the Afghans was at its height on the eve of Babur's invasion of India.

Babur himself gave an account of India on the eve of his invasion. He referred to five Muslim kings and two Hindu kings. According to him, the greater part of Hindustan was under the Sultan of Delhi, although there were other independent and powerful states. To quote Babur himself, "The five kings who have been mentioned are great princes and are all Mussalmans, and possessed of formidable armies and rulers of vast territories. The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar. Another is the Rana Sanga who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chittor."

According to Edwardes and Garret, although India was politically divided, yet culturally she was becoming one. The spread of the Bhakti movement was bringing the Muslims and the Hindus nearer one another. There was a better understanding between the two. The great apostles of the Bhakti movement were Ramananda, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Namdeva, Kabir and Nanak. Their teachings set aside the caste-distinctions and thereby brought both the Hindus and the Muslims together.

The Sufis in Islam supplemented the work of the reformers of the Bhakti movement. The result of all this was that the Hindus began to respect the Muslim saints and the Muslims began to respect the Hindu Yogis. The Bhakti movement gave an impetus to the growth of such vernaculars as Hindi, Bengalee, Marathi and Maithili. Sanskrit flourished in the courts of the Hindu kings. Rup Goswami a Minister of Hussain Shah of Bengal, composed several works in Sanskrit and *Vidagdha Madhava* and *Lalita Madhava* are most important among them. In the field of architecture, a new contribution was made by the combined efforts of the Hindus and Muslims.

Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. However, on account of the frequent invasions, villages were built and destroyed very often. Ordinarily, there was always a surplus of corn produced in the country. There was a lot of trade with Malaya, China, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Bhutan. The upper and middle classes in India were fond of luxury. However, the common people were poor. On the whole, the country was prosperous.

India was full of good soldiers, but there was not much of discipline and training. The Indians refused to accept the latest inventions in the field of military science. It was difficult for them to fight against the latest weapons of the West. There was also clannishness among the people. No wonder, the Indian army was no match for Babur.

CHAPTER II

BABUR (1526—30)

Zahir-ud-Din Mohammad, surnamed Babur, was born in 1483. He was connected with both the families of Timur and Chingiz Khan. Thus, he had in him the blood of the two greatest conquerors of Central Asia. At the early age of 12, his father, Sultan Umar Shaikh Mirza, died and Babur became the king of Farghana. At the time of his accession, he was surrounded on all sides by his enemies. His uncles and cousins took advantage of his youth and inexperience and attacked him right and left. Ahmed Mirza attacked Babur in 1940. Fortunately for Babur, his attack failed and he himself died in 1495. It was now the turn of Babur to have his revenge and he took full advantage of the confusion that prevailed in Samarkand after the death of Ahmed Mirza, his uncle. In November 1497, Babur was able to capture Samarkand. Unfortunately, while at Samarkand, Babur fell ill and his ministers gave out that he was dead. They also put on the throne the younger brother of Babur named Jahangir.

As soon as Babur recovered from his sickness and came to know of the trick played upon him, he marched from Samarkand to recover Farghana. Due to his ill-luck, Babur lost both Samarkand and Farghana. He could not capture Farghana because Jahangir was securely established there and as regards Samarkand, it was occupied in his absence by his cousin, Ali. The result was that in February 1498, Babur was not the king of any place. His only possession was Khojend. He had to live a wanderer's life for more than a year. However, in June 1499, he was able to recapture the capital of Farghana.

In 1500, Babur conquered Samarkand for the second time but he was forced by the Uzbegs to leave the same. After the loss of Samarkand, he lost Farghana also in the same year. The result was that after all these ups and downs of life, Babur was left with nothing in 1502 and no wonder he left his native land to try his luck somewhere else.

Babur set out for Kabul. At that time, there was political chaos in that country. The reason was that Babur's uncle, Ulugh Beg, had died in 1501 and his son Abdur Razzak was deposed by a usurper named Mukin Beg. There was a strong feeling in Kabul that the usurper should be turned out and a prince of the royal blood be put on the throne. Babur managed the whole situation to his own advantage and the ultimate result was that he occupied Kabul in 1504. As the king of Kabul, he ruled from 1504 to 1526 when he led his major offensive against India. In that interval, Babur conquered Kandhar and Herat. In 1513, he again tried his luck to conquer Samarkand after the death of Shaibani. He entered into an alliance with the Shah of Persia, and captured both Bokhara and Samarkand. However, he was not destined to sit on the throne of Samarkand for long. Within less than a year, he was driven out of Samarkand.

It was only after his final failure in Samarkand that Babur paid his full attention to the conquest of India. He himself wrote thus in 1526: "From the time I conquered the land of Kabul till now, I

had always been bent on subduing Hindustan. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct of my Amirs, sometimes from the opposition of my brothers etc., I was prevented. At length, these obstacles were removed and I gathered an army (1519) and marched on to Bajour and Swat and thence to advance to Bhera on the west of the Jhelum River."

Babur reached as far as the Chenab in 1519. Acting on the advice of his ministers, he sent an ambassador to Ibrahim Lodi demanding the restoration of the country which belonged to the Turks. The ambassador was detained at Lahore and came back empty-handed after many months. After conquering Bhera, Khushab and the country of the Chenab, Babur went back to Kabul.

In 1520, Badakshan was captured and was put under the charge of Humayun. In 1522, Kandahar was captured and given to Kamran.

At this time, Babur received many invitations and those came particularly from Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab, Ala-ud-Din, uncle of Ibrahim, and Rana Sanga. There could be no better chance for him to fulfil his ambition of conquering India. Babur at once started and reached Lahore. On his arrival at Lahore he found that Daulat Khan Lodi had already been turned out by an Afghan chief. Babur defeated the Afghan chief, captured Lahore and left for Kabul after appointing Ala-ud-Din as the Governor of Lahore. All this happened in 1524. However, Ala-ud-Din was not allowed to stay long at Lahore and he was driven out by Daulat Khan Lodi. Ala-ud-Din ran away to Kabul.

Battle of Panipat, 1526. After making elaborate preparations, Babur set out for the conquest of India. First of all, he had to deal with Daulat Khan who had turned out Ala-ud-Din from Lahore. After defeating him, Babur advanced to Delhi *via* Sirhind. Ibrahim Lodi came out of Delhi to give battle to Babur. The opposing armies met on the historic plains of Panipat. Babur had certain advantages. His artillery worked wonders. In spite of the superior numerical strength of Ibrahim Lodi's armies, he was defeated and killed in the battlefield. The result was that the Kingdom of Delhi and Agra fell into the hands of Babur. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The battle of Panipat placed the empire of Delhi in Babur's hands. The power of the Lodi dynasty was shattered to pieces and the sovereignty of Hindustan passed to the Chaghtai Turks".

"Just as Clive's victory at Plassey has a great significance in the establishment of the British rule in India; similarly Babur's victory in the first battle of Panipat has a great significance in the establishment of Mughal kingdom in India. These battles were followed by some greater brilliant victories like those of Kanwah in the case of Babur and Buxar in the case of Clive. Just as the Mughal Empire was established after Kanwah, similarly British rule was established after the battle of Buxar."

According to Beveridge, "His autobiography is one of those priceless records for all times and is fit to rank with the confession of St. Augustine and Rousseau and the memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia, it stands almost alone".

According to King, "As a picture of the life of an Eastern sovereign in Court and camp, the book stands unrivalled in the oriental biography".

According to Lane-Poole, "The line of emperors who proceeded from Babur's loins is no more. The very name of Mongol has lost its influence on the banks of Laxartes; the Turk is the servant of the Russian he once despised. The last Indian sovereign of Timur's race ended his inglorious career in exile at Rangoon almost within our own memory, a few years later, the degenerate descendants of Chingiz Khan submitted to the officers of the Tsar. The power and pomp of Babur's dynasty are gone, the record of his life—the '*littera scripta*' that mocks at time—remains unaltered and imperishable".

After the Battle of Panipat, Babur sent his forces at once to occupy Delhi and Agra. On 27th April, 1526 the Khutba was read in the principal mosque of Delhi in the name of Zahir-ud-Din Mohammad Babur, the first of the Great Mughals. Sir Wolsely Haig points out that it is an irony that Babur and his descendants are known as Mughals. Actually they were Barlas Turks. In his early days, Timur had to fight bitterly against the Mughals before he could overcome them. They eventually succeeded in expelling Babur from the home of his fathers. However, the term 'Mughal' had become a generic term for warlike adventurers from Persia or Central Asia. Although Timur and his descendants hated the name 'Mughal', it was their fate to be known as the Mughals. It seems too late to correct the error now. The Arabic form of the name is *Mughul* or *Mughool* but in India, It has assumed the form *Mughal*. The Portuguese used the form 'Mogor'.

Babur had to meet with certain difficulties. The Rajputs were not friendly to him. There were many Afghan chiefs who considered their claims to be superior to that of Babur. Moreover, his own followers began to desert him on account of the hot climate of the country. It was the iron will of Babur that saved the situation. He made it clear to his followers that he was determined to stay on in India and those who wanted to go back to Kabul might do so happily. The result was that with the exception of a few persons, the rest of his followers decided to sink or swim with their own leader.

Battle of Kanwah, 1527. The victory at Panipat did not make Babur the ruler of India. He met a stronger foe in Rana Sanga of Mewar. The latter had the ambition to occupy the throne of Delhi itself. Such a formidable foe had to be disposed of if Babur was to have an unchallengeable position.

In 1527, Rana Sanga advanced with a large army to Biana. Babur also advanced to Fatehpur Sikri. The advance-guard of Babur was defeated by the Rajputs and the result was that his followers got disheartened. At this time, Babur showed his qualities of leadership. He ordered the breaking of the cups of wine. He repented of his past sins and promised to give up wine for the rest of his life. He addressed his soldiers in these words: "Noble men and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy.

With fame, even if I die, I am contented;
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

"The most High God has been propitious to us, and has now

placed us in such a crisis that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from his warfare nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

The appeal of Babur had the desired effect and he started the attack with heavy artillery fire. Then, according to Ferishta,* Babur himself "charged like a lion rushing from his lair". After an obstinate battle, and Rajputs were defeated and Babur became the Victor of Kanwah.

Regarding the importance of the Battle of Kanwah Prof. Rushbrook Williams has observed thus: "In the first place the menace of Rajput supremacy which had loomed large before the eyes of Mohammadans in India for the last few years, was removed once for all. The powerful confederacy which depended so largely for its unity upon the strength and reputation of Mewar, was shattered by a single great defeat and ceased henceforth to be a dominant factor in the politics of Hindustan. Secondly, the Mughal Empire of India was soon firmly established. Babur had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim, and the sign and seel of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonists. Hitherto, the occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Babur's career of adventure; but from henceforth it became the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of fortune are now passed away. The fortune is his, and he has to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which this battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is, and fighting in plenty, to be done; but it is fighting for the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his Kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne. And from it is also significant of Babur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindustan."[1]

According to Dr.G.N. Sharma, "But whatever may have been the causes of the defeat, the consequences of the battle of Khanua were immense and immeasurable. The battle had not proved to be a light adventure for Babur who had almost staked his life and throne and suffered a grievous loss in men and money before he could claim success. Nevertheless, the victory had far-reaching results and shifted the sovereignty of the country from the Rajputs to the Mughals who were to enjoy it for over two hundred years. It would be however a mistake to suppose that the Rajput power was crushed for ever and that they wielded no influence in the politics of the country. No one realized it better than Babur himself who stopped short of further encroachment upon Rajasthan. After Khanua he did nothing more than storming Chanderi and obtaining possession of that fortress on 29th January, 1528."

After losing the Battle of Kanwah, Rana Sanga took a vow never to enter the portals of Chittor without defeating Babur. When he

1. Williams, L. F. Rushbrook: An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, pp. 156-57.

heard Babur's siege of Chanderi, he started for that place. However, he died in January, 1528 before he could render any help.

According to Dr. Sharma, in spite of his heroism, Rana Sanga was not a statesman of high order. "In his relations with Babur, he showed vacillation and want of decision and firmness. He broke the agreement with Babur. Even after he had decided not to help him, he failed to proceed and capture Agra which he ought to have done immediately after Babur had moved south of the Punjab to fight with Ibrahim Lodi. Had he done so he would have not only acquired the immense treasures and resources that lay stored in that town but also the support of the entire race of the Indian Afghans and other notables who were at that time thoroughly inimical to Babur. He occupied himself after Babur's victory at Panipat in the more congenial task of establishing his rule over the territory in Rajasthan that still belonged to the Afghans instead of making preparations for a contest with Babur. After he had conquered Bayana he did not engage Babur for about a month and foolishly allowed him time to complete his preparations. He proceeded from Bayana to Khanua by a long route that took him about a month, though from Bayana Khanua could have been reached in a day's time. He failed to appreciate the strength and weakness of Babur's position and military establishment. The greatest mistake of his life, however, must be considered to be his failure to make an alliance with Ibrahim Lodi for driving away Babur who was then a foreigner and hence an enemy not only of Ibrahim but also of all Indians of that time. An impartial student of history must, therefore, conclude the chapter of Sanga's relation with Babur by adding that the former was completely outwitted by the latter in diplomacy and war."[1]

Medini Rao of Chanderi (1528). After the Battle of Kanwah, the power of the Rajputs was crippled but not completely crushed. The remnants of the Rajput army were gathered together and the lead was taken by Medini Rao of Chanderi. Babur carried the fort of Chanderi by storm. The whole of the garrison of the fort was put to the sword. After this, there was no other Rajput chief to challenge the authority of Babur.

Battle of Ghagra, 1529. Babur had still to deal with the Afghans. Mahmood Lodi, the brother of Ibrahim Lodi, had captured power in Bihar and many other chiefs had joined him. Babur sent his son Askari in advance and himself followed him. Many Afghan chiefs made their submission to Babur on the way. When Mahmood[2] was deserted by his supporters, he moved towards Bengal where he was given shelter. Babur went in hot pursuit of him and defeated him in the Battle of Ghagra in May, 1529. Babur's artillery rendered him great service in his action against the Afghans.

It was in this way that "in three battles Babur had reduced northern India to submission". The rest of his life was spent in organizing the administration of the provinces which formed his new kingdom. His system was purely feudal. He divided his territory into a large number of Jagirs and those were distributed among his officers. Those officers were responsible not only for the collection of land revenue

1. Sharma, G.N.: Mewar and the Mughal Empire, p. 45.
2. He was the son of Sikandar Lodi.

on those Jagirs but were also in charge of the civil administration of those areas. Much of the territory remained in the hands of the native land-holders whether they were Hindus or Muslims. We are told that from the provinces "west to east from Bhera and Lahore to Bahraich and Bihar and north to south from Sialkot to Ranthanbhor", Babur got an equivalent of £2,600,000 as land revenue.

Death of Babur, 1530. The circumstances leading to the death of Babur in December, 1530 are curious. It is stated that his son, Humayun, fell sick and it was declared that there was no possibility of his survival. It was at this time that Babur is said to have walked three times round the bed of Humayun and prayed to God to transfer the illness of his son to him. He uttered the following words: "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" It is stated that from that time onwards, Humayun began to recover and the condition of Babur went from bad to worse and ultimately he breathed his last.[1] Before dying he addressed the following words to Humayun: "I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people, and all of these I confide to you."

At the time of his death, Babur was hardly 48 years of age. However, he was "the King of thirtysix years, crowded with hardship, tumult and strenuous energy." In accordance with his will, his dead body was taken to Kabul and "there lies at peace in his grave in the garden on the hill, surrounded by those he loved, by the sweet-smelling flowers of his choice and the cool running stream; and the people still flock to the tomb and offer prayers at the simple mosque which an august descendant built in memory of the founder of the Indian Empire".

Babur's Memoirs. Babur's autobiography called *Tuzuk-i-Babri* is popularly known as Memoirs of Babur. Babur wrote this book at different times whenever he had any leisure. It was written in Turki. It was twice translated into Persian by Payanda Khan and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana. It has also been translated into many European languages, particularly English and French. It was translated into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826. A. S. Beveridge has published a revised English version. The book was translated into French in 1871. It is to be noted that Mrs. Beveridge translated the work from the original Turki and the others had translated from the Persian translation. Consequently, her translation is more authentic and reliable.

Babur was a master of flawless style in Turki. He has given his impressions in a very frank manner. He did not hesitate even while recording his own shortcomings. It appears that the whole story is like a romance. Babur's Memoirs are a first rate authority on the history of his age. The only unfortunate thing about them is that they are not complete. There are gaps at certain places.

According to Elliot and Dowson, Babur's Memoirs form one of

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1. It appears from the account of Gulbadan that Babur fell ill that very day and died soon after. But according to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Babur was sickly for two or three months after the recovery of Humayun. The latter was summoned to the capital from his jagir when the condition of Babur became serious. According to S.R. Sharma, the death of Babur was due to the poison given to him by the mother of Ibrahim Lodi. Gulbadan also refers to this fact.

the best and faithful pieces of autobiography extant. They are infinitely superior to the hypocritical revelations of Timur and the pompous declamation of Jahangir. They are not inferior in any respect to the Expedition of Xenophon and rank but little below Commentaries of Caesar. They are equal in simplicity and exhibit much less dissimulation than that celebrated work. The Memoirs abound in statistical details which evidently display Babur as a man of genius and observation. The modern travellers have agreed that Babur's description of Kabul and its environments as well as that of Farghana and the countries to the north of Hindukush are not to be exceeded for their fidelity and comprehensiveness. His description of Hindustan occupies in the translation twentyfive closely printed quarto pages. It contains not only an exact account of its boundaries, population, resources, revenues and divisions but a full enumeration of its useful fruits, trees, birds, beasts and fishes, with such a minute description of their several habitudes and peculiarities as would make no contemptible figure in a modern work of natural history. The Memoirs contain the characters of his countrymen and contemporaries—their appearance, manners, dress, pursuits, tastes, habits and actions. Babur has described them with such minuteness and reality that they seem to form part of our acquaintance and to live amongst us as one of ourselves. We also get from the Memoirs an idea of the character of Babur. We find him after all trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out on his career and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyment of nature and imagination. Babur seems to have been a man of frank and generous character. There are throughout the Memoirs various traits of singular clemency and tenderness of heart for a monarch and professional warrior. He weeps ten whole days for the loss of a friend who fell over a precipice after one of his drinking parties. He spares the lives and even restores the domains of various chieftains who had betrayed his confidence and afterwards fallen into his power. However, there are cases of ferocity and a hard-hearted wastefulness of life. In his wars in Afghanistan and India the prisoners were commonly butchered in cold blood after the action and pretty uniformly a triumphal pyramid was erected of their skulls. Those executions were carried out with great solemnity before the Royal pavilion. It is stated that on one occasion, such was the number of prisoners brought forward for killing that the tent of Babur had three times to be removed to a different place, the ground before it being drenched with blood and encumbered with carcases. On one occasion, an attempt was made to poison him and when the plot was detected, the taster was cut to pieces, the cook was flayed alive and the scullions trampled to death by elephants.

Elliot and Dowson point out that it is difficult to believe that the Memoirs are the work of an Asiatic and a sovereign. They are copiously and rather diffusely written. They are perfectly free from the ornamental verbosity, the eternal and puerile exaggerations of most oriental compositions. Though savouring so far of royalty as to abound in descriptions of dresses and ceremonies, they are yet occupied in the main with concerns greatly too rational and humble to be in favour with monarchs.

According to Sir E. Denison Ross, "The Memoirs of Babur must be reckoned among the most enthralling and romantic works in the literature of all time."[1]

According to Rushbrook Williams, "Babur's place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, but his place in biography and literature is determined by his delightful Memoirs".

The following is the description given by Babur of India and its fauna and flora: "Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none; of genius and capacity none; of manners none; in handicraft and work there is no form of symmetry, method or quality; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the bazars, no hot-baths, no colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks.

"In place of candle and torch they have a great dirty gang they call lamp-men (diwati), who in the left hand hold a smallish wooden tripod to one corner of which a thing like the top of a candlestick is fixed, having a wick in it about as thick as the thumb. In the right hand they hold a gourd, through a narrow slit made in which oil is let trickle in a thin thread when the wick needs it. Great people keep a hundred or two of these lamp-men. This is the Hindustan substitute for lamps and candlesticks! If their rules and begs have work at night needing candles, these dirty lamp-men bring these lamps, go close up and there stand.

"Except their large rivers and their standing-waters which flow in ravines or hollows (there are no waters), there are no running-waters in their gardens or residence (imaratlar). These residences have no charm, air (hawa), regularity or symmetry.

"Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *languta*, a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendant decency-clout, another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*lang*), one-half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head.

"Pleasant things of Hindustan are that it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver. Its air in the rains is very fine. Sometimes it rains 10, 15 or 20 times a day; torrents pour down all at once and rivers flow where no water has been. While it rains and through the rains, the air is remarkably fine, not to be surpassed for healthiness and charm. The fault is that the air becomes very soft and damp. A bow of those (Transoxanian) countries after going through the rains in Hindustan, may not be drawn even; it is ruined; not only the bow, everything is affected, armour, book, cloth, and utensils all: a house even does not last long. Not only in the rains but also in the cold and the hot seasons the airs are excellent; at these times, however, the north-west wind constantly gets up laden with dust and earth. It gets up in great strength every year in the heats, under the Bull and Twins, when the rains are near: so strong and carrying so much dust and earth that there is no seeing one another. People call this wind Darkener of the Sky (H. *andhi*). The weather is hot under the

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 20.

Bull and Twins but not intolerably so, not so hot as in Balkh and Kandhar and not for so long.

"Another good thing in Hindustan is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste (*jam'i*) for every sort of work and for everything, which has done that work or that thing from father to son till now. Mulla Sharaf, writing in the *Zafar-nama* about the building of Timur Beg's Stone Mosque, lays stress on the fact that on it 200 stone-cutters worked, from Azarbaijan, Fars, Hindustan and other countries. But 680 men worked daily on my buildings in Agra and of Agra stone-cutters only, while 1491 stone-cutters worked daily on my buildings in Agra, Sikri, Biana (Bayana), Dholpur, Gwalior and Kol. In the same way there are numberless artisans and workmen of every sort in Hindustan."[1]

Estimate of Babur. Babur is one of the most interesting figures in the history of Medieval India. He was not only a warrior but a great scholar and poet. All his life he was struggling for glory and ultimately got the same. In his case, adversity was a blessing in disguise. He was possessed of such an indomitable will that no amount of difficulties could shake his faith in himself. He was a lover of nature. He loved poetry and drinking. He was frank and jovial. He retained these qualities up to the very end of his life. He was an orthodox Sunni but not a fanatic like Mahmud of Ghazni. He wrote about Hindus with contempt and recognised *Jehad* against them as a sacred duty. He ordered the construction of a tower of the skulls of the Hindus to be prepared at Fatehpur Sikri and Chanderi.

According to Sir. E. Denison Ross, Babur was one of those men who are so active in mind and body that they are never idle and always find time for everything. As a soldier, Babur was fearless in battles. As a general, he was a great tactician with a keen eye to detect any mistake on the part of his opponents. He was one of the first military commanders in Asia to appreciate the value of artillery. As a diplomat, he seems to have shown much more cunning and skill in dealing with the Afghans than with his own people. The manner in which he played off the rebellious Amirs of Sultan Ibrahim against each other was worthy of a Machiavelli.

It has rightly been pointed out by Dr. Tripathi that Babur combined the vigour and hardihood of the Turks and Mongols with the dash and courage of the Persians. He was a fine fencer, a good archer and superb horseman. He was never discouraged by defeats and he never shirked from hard life. He loved action. In grave crisis and heat of battle, he was resourceful. In strategy and tactics, he was undoubtedly much superior to any of his opponents in India and Afghanistan. Whether he was a military genius or not, he was the best among the Indian generals of his day.[2]

To quote Dr. Tripathi, "Without depriving Akbar of his well-deserved greatness, it can be maintained that the seeds of his policy were sown by his illustrious grand-father. The conception of a new empire based on a political outlook as distinct from religious or sectarian, of the place of the crown in the State, of settling the Rajput problem by alliances and matrimonial contacts and of emphasising the

1. Memoirs, pp. 518-20.
2. Tripathi, R.P. : Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 55-56.

cultural character of the court could be traced back to Babur. Thus Babur had not only shown the way to find a new empire but had also indicated the character and policy which should govern it. He had established a dynasty and a tradition in India which have few parallels in the history of any other country."[1]

According to Prof. Rushbrook Williams, "Babur possessed eight fundamental qualities—lofty judgement, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of Government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the heart of his soldiers and love of justice." According to Havell, "His (Babur's) engaging personality, artistic temperament and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islam." According to Dr. Smith, "Babur was a most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of India."

Lane-Poole has given the following estimate of Babur: "He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and Imperial government of Asia, Chingiz and Timur, mixed in his veins, and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tartar, he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the listless Hindu; and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of Empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved. His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line, but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful memoirs in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Babur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse."

It is pointed out that what Babur had left undone was of greater importance than what he had actually accomplished. According to Erskine, although Babur's conquests gave him an extensive dominion, "there was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast empire. Hardly any law could be regarded as universal but that of the unrestrained power of the prince. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed, in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs..... There were no regular courts of law spread over the kingdom for the administration of justice.....All differences relating to land, where they were not settled by the village officers, were decided by the district authorities, the collectors, the Zamindars or Jagirdars. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but also criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form or under little restraint." Babur did not leave behind him any "remarkable public and philanthropic institutions" which would win over the goodwill of the people. No wonder, Babur "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless and inveterate."

1. Ibid, p. 61.

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CHAPTER III

HUMAYUN (1530—56)

His Early Life. Humayun, "the fortunate", was the eldest son of Babur and he had three other brothers, *viz.* Kamran, Askari and Hindal. He was born at Kabul in March 1508. The name of his mother was Mahim Begam who was probably a Shia. Young Humayun learnt Turki, Arabic and Persian. On account of his careless habits, he did not acquire the exactness of a scholar. He was interested in mathematics, philosophy, astronomy and astrology. In his early youth, he was associated by his father with the government of the country. He was appointed the Governor of Badakshan at the age of 20. On the eve of the Battle of Panipat, 1526, he was sent against Hamid Khan who was defeated near Hissar Firoza. He participated in the Battles of Panipat and Kanwah. He was given the district of Hissar Firoza in 1526. He also got the jagir of Sambhal. After 1527, he was once again sent to Badakshan. He returned to Agra in 1529 and was ordered to manage his jagir of Sambhal. He was brought to Agra on account of his illness. His father died and he recovered.

An attempt was made to place Mahdi Khwaja on the throne of Agra. The reason was that according to the Prime Minister, Khalifa Nizam-ud-Din Ali, the interests of the state would be better served if a stronger person was put on the throne. Mahdi Khwaja was the brother-in-law of Babur. He was an experienced and competent administrator. On the other hand, Humayun had not shown any signs of greatness. At the eleventh hour, the conspiracy fell through on account of the following words of Mahdi Khwaja: "God willing, my first act (as king) would be to flay you and the other traitors." Although there was some confusion for four days, Humayun successfully seated himself on the throne of Agra on 30th December 1530.

Difficulties of Humayun. The throne inherited by Humayun was not a bed of roses. Babur had practically got no time to consolidate his position and authority. Before he could put the whole country on a stable basis, he was removed from the scene. According to Erskine, Humayun "had entered the country as a stranger and a spoiler, he had defeated the armies and broken the power of the reigning dynasty; but the only hold which he, or his race yet had upon the people of India was military force." The Rajputs had not been completely crushed. They had merely submitted before the storm. The result was that the hold of Humayun over the country was not strong.

There was no law of primogeniture among the Muslims. The result was that after the death of a king, there followed a war of succession. Every prince asserted his claim to the throne. According to Erskine, "The sword was the grand arbiter of right; and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers."

The army at the disposal of Humayun was not dependable. It was a mixed body of adventurers. Some of them were Uzbegs and Mughals and others were Indians, Afghans, Persians and Chaghtais.

In addition to the claims of his three brothers, Humayun had to deal with many Khans or nobles. They were busy in intrigues against the new Emperor and many of them did not consider the kingdom of Delhi and Agra beyond the scope of their ambitions. The result was that instead of three, Humayun had innumerable rivals.

It is true that the Afghans were defeated in the Battle of Panipat (1526) and the Battle of Ghagra (1529), but they were not completely crushed. Moreover, they had not forgotten the days when they were the rulers of the country and aspired to restore their rule. "Though repeatedly defeated in the field, they were still numerous and powerful, ripe for revolt and ready on the first signal to fly to arms in what was a personal as well as a national cause." The Afghans had in Mahmood Lodi a rallying point. All the Afghan nobles supported the cause of Mahmood Lodi. Not only this, Sher Khan had already started his career of adventure and conquest in Bengal and Bihar and he was trying to organise the Afghans for governing the country.

Humayun had to meet a great rival in Bahadur Shah of Gujrat[1], Who had united the provinces of Malwa and Gujrat and was thinking in terms of conquering the whole of Rajputana. As in the case of Sher Khan, Bahadur Shah also aimed at the over-lordship of India, "using the relatives of the late Lodi Sultan of Delhi as stalking horses."

Humayun made a mistake in showing kindness to his brothers.

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1. Bahadur was the son of Muzaffar II who ascended the throne of Gujrat in 1511. He was not satisfied with his father's arrangement regarding the distribution of Jagirs. He himself was given the villages of Kenj, Koha and Nabtah as a jagir. He come under the influence of the Shaikhs of Islam. Not satisfied with his father's treatment, Bahadur went to Delhi where he was received well by Ibrahim Lodi who at that time was making preparations to fight against Babur. According to Abu Turab, Bahadur was present in the Battle of Panipat (1526), but Babur tells us that Bahadur did not take part in the battle. It is stated that Bahadur was so popular among the Afghan nobles that a plot was prepared to put him on the Delhi throne. Ibrahim became jealous and consequently Bahadur left Delhi for Jaunpur to become its head. At that time, he heard the news that his father had died and another person had been put on the throne of Gujrat; Bahadur marched towards Gujrat and after defeating the usurper, put himself on the throne of his parents. All his rivals were disposed of one by one.

After seating himself on the throne, Bahadur organised a large army which contained 10,000 foreign mercenaries. He captured Ahmednagar in 1528. He fought against Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Mandu, defeated him, imprisoned him and annexed his territory in 1531. Nizamshah and the ruler of Khandesh acknowledged him as their superior and agreed to his name being read in the Khutba.

Bahadur had a large army. He employed two Turkish Captains, Amir Mustafa who was given the title of Rumi Khan, and Khwaja Safar called Salmani. Bahadur tried to crush the power of the Portuguese but in 1534 entered into a treaty with them by which Bassein and the adjoining territory were given to them. Master of a rich kingdom and vast resources, Bahadur desired to extend his sphere of influence towards Rajputana.

It is to be observed that Bahadur Shah was a brave, warlike and generous ruler of high ambitions and winsome manners. Kind-hearted and generous, he was ferocious in dealing with his enemies and slew them ruthlessly. He was fond of displaying the trappings of royalty and loved magnificence and power.

In accordance with the wishes of his father, he gave Sambhal to Askari and Alwar to Hindal. As regards Kamran, he gave him the provinces of Kabul and Kandhar. In spite of this, Kamran was not satisfied. He gave out that he was going to see his brother to congratulate on his succession to the throne. While doing so, he took along with him a big army and with its help he was able to bring the whole of the Punjab under his control. Humayun did not think it prudent to put up a fight with Kamran and consequently agreed to give the province of the Punjab to him. He also gave him the district of Hissar Firoza. The possession of Hissar Firoza gave Kamran control over the high road between Delhi and the Punjab. The cession of the Punjab, Kabul and Kandhar to Kamran was a suicidal step. Humayun was deprived of the territory which had been longest under the control of his father and from which revenue was coming regularly. He was deprived of the source from which he could have recruited his new army. He was left only with that empire which was newly-conquered and over which his hold was not secure.

It is true that Humayun was faced with many difficulties but there is no doubt that he could have overcome them if he had possessed tact and strong will-power. Unfortunately, he did not possess such a character. According to Lane Poole, "He was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eaters' paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and sociable, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life, he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. *His name means fortune and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled.*"

Expedition of Kalinjar (1531). In 1531, Humayun besieged the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. It was believed that the Raja was "probably in the interest of the Afghans". The siege of the fort lasted for many months and Humayun was forced to make peace and accept a huge indemnity from the Raja. It is stated that the Kalinjar expedition was a folly on the part of Humayun. Humayun was not able to defeat the Raja and consequently failed in his mission. The Raja could have been won over if Humayun had handled the situation tactfully.

Battle of Dourah (1532). One of the reasons why Humayun had to give up the siege of Kalinjar was that he had to meet the danger from the Afghans. Under the leadership of Mahmood Lodi, the Afghans of Bihar were marching on to the province of Jaunpur. They had advanced as far as the Barabanki District. Humayun defeated the Afghans in the Battle of Dourah or Dadrah in August 1532.

Siege of Chunar (1532). After defeating the Afghans, Humayun besieged the fort of Chunar under Sher Khan. The siege lasted from September to December 1532. But instead of conquering it, Humayun "accepted a purely perfunctory submission". It was a mistake on the part of Humayun to do so. He ought to have crushed the power of Sher Khan who was undoubtedly the rising star. He had to pay heavily for his mistake later on.

After his return from Chunar, Humayun wasted a year and a

half in feasts and festivities in Agra and Delhi. We were told that he honoured the nobles with robes of honour and Arab horses. 1,200 persons received robes, 2,000 were given outer garments of gold, brocade and gilt buttons. Humayun also spent money on building a big citadel at Delhi called Din Panah. This Humayun did in spite of the fact that he was getting very disquieting news from Gujrat where Bahadur Shah was increasing his power every day. According to Prof. Rushbrook Williams, "There is a repetition of the old story of the financial breakdown in the time of Humayun, accompanied by revolution, intrigue and dethronement of a dynasty."

Wars with Bahadur Shah (1535-36). War with Bahadur Shah was inevitable. Bahadur Shah had annexed Malwa in 1531, captured the fort of Raisin in 1532 and defeated the Sisodia chief of Chittor in 1533. He was an ambitious man and aimed at becoming the Emperor of India himself. He had helped Tatar Khan, son of Alam Khan Lodi, in raising a strong army and capturing Bayana which was a Moghul possession. He offended Humayun by giving shelter to Mohammad Zaman Mirza who had escaped from Humayun. He also refused to hand him over to Humayun even when the latter requested him to do so. No wonder, Humayun made up his mind to proceed personally against Bahadur Shah.

At that time, Bahadur Shah was besieging the fort of Chittor, Rani Karnawati, mother of the Raja, appealed to Humayun for help. She also sent a Rakhi to him implying thereby that she considered him to be a brother and asking for Humayun's help. It is true that Humayun accepted the Rakhi and proceeded towards Chittor but later on he changed his mind on the way. Bahadur Shah was confident that true to the traditions of Islam, Humayun would not attack him when he was engaged in war with a non-Muslim, and he was right in his belief. So long as the siege of Chittor continued, Humayun did not raise his finger against Bahadur Shah. After the fall of Chittor, Humayun started his operations against Bahadur Shah. The latter was literally besieged in his camp and his supplies ran short. He was faced with the prospect of starvation and he ran away in April 1535 and took shelter in the Fort of Mandu.

Critics point out that it was not statesmanship on the part of Humayun to have kept quiet when Bahadur Shah was busy against the Raja of Chittor. He should have attacked Bahadur Shah and crushed him. Had he attacked at once, he would have succeeded in inflicting a decisive blow on Bahadur Shah. Moreover, by doing so, he would have won over the Rajputs to his own side. His chivalry towards a Muslim enemy may be praiseworthy but undoubtedly his policy was wrong.

After the flight of Bahadur Shah, Humayun besieged the fort of Mandu and captured it. Bahadur Shah ran to Champanir which was also besieged and ultimately conquered by Humayun. Ahmedabad and Cambay were also captured by Humayun. Bahadur Shah took refuge in the island of Diu and by August 1535 the conquest of Central Gujrat was completed by Humayun.

It is true that the capture of Mandu and Champanir were great achievements, but unfortunately Humayun made no arrangements to consolidate his position. He wasted a lot of time in merry-making, and squandered away the treasure that had fallen into his hands at Champanir. It was the chaotic state of administrative affairs

in Gujrat that helped Bahadur Shah to recover his position. The latter sent Imad-ul-Mulk to Ahmedabad to collect revenues and the latter succeeded in doing so and raising a powerful army. Humayun recaptured Ahmedabad and appointed his brother Askari as Governor of Gujrat. Unfortunately, Askari mismanaged the affairs of Gujrat and Bahadur Shah was again able to get back a large number of towns. The local chiefs also helped Bahadur Shah and the result was that Gujrat was completely lost in 1536. Malwa was also lost to the Mughals. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces: the next saw them as quickly lost."

War with Sher Khan (1537-39). After the loss of Gujarat in 1536, Humayun stayed in Agra for a year. Although he got information that Sher Khan was strengthening his position in Bengal and Bihar, he did nothing to move against him. Sher Khan had already made himself the master of the whole of Bihar. He had also defeated the King of Bengal in 1534 and 1536. It was only in 1537 that Humayun felt that he should do something against Sher Khan. He besieged the fort of Chunar which belonged to Sher Khan. This siege lasted for 6 months and in spite of the best efforts of Humayun, could not be captured. Ultimately, it was captured by means of a trick. The capture of the fort of Chunar was a great military achievement, but it was of no substantial use to Humayun as this fort did not command any land-route. Humayun had wasted many valuable months in Chunar for nothing.

After capturing Chunar, Humayun proceeded towards Banaras and stayed there for some time. Negotiations were opened with Sher Khan for compromise. Instead of taking action against Sher Khan at once, Humayun waivered and ultimately decided to conquer Bengal. He reached Teliagarhi in May 1538 and found the road to Gaur blocked by Jalal Khan, son of Sher Khan. There was fighting and Jalal Khan retired. In August 1538, Humayun reached Gaur. Here again Humayun wasted about 8 months in merry-making. He neglected fighting during this period. During this interval, Sher Khan strengthened his position and cut off the communications between Delhi and Bengal. He also captured Kara, Kanauj and Sambhal. By January 1539, the whole of the country between the Kosi and the Ganga was in the hands of Sher Khan. Hindal left Bihar and retired to Agra. When Humayun realised the dangerous position in which he was placed, he decided to return to Agra immediately. He started his return journey in March 1539.

Battle of Chausa, 1539. Sher Khan blocked the road to Agra and only a decisive victory over him could have helped Humayun to reach Agra. The armies of Humayun and Sher Khan faced each other for three months from April 1539 to June 1539 and neither of them started the fighting. Delay was in the interests of Sher Khan and Humayun did not appreciate this point. The result was that after three months, the rains started and the Mughal encampment was flooded. That created confusion in the armies of Humayun. Sher Khan found his opportunity and the battle of Chausa was fought on 26th June 1539. Humayun was defeated and with difficulty he saved his life with the help of a water-carrier. He even lost his wives.

Battle of Kanauj, 1540. After his defeat at Chausa, Humayun reached Agra and called all his brothers for consultation. Kamran offered to fight against Sher Khan with 20,000 troops but Humayun

rejected the offer because he did not trust his brother. He was prepared to accept the help, if Kamran would lend him his troops. The differences between the two brothers could not be composed and consequently Kamran left with his troops for Lahore. Somehow, Humayun managed to raise an army and the effective fighting strength of the Mughal soldiers was about 40,000. In May 1540 was fought the battle of Kanauj. In this battle, the Mughal artillery did not play any part as it could not be taken to the front when Sher Khan started the attack. In the case of Kanauj also, Humayun did not start the attack for full one month. The battle of Kanauj was fought and lost. Humayun became a fugitive and Sher Khan became the master of Agra and Delhi.

"Thus began a weary exile which lasted for nearly 15 years and was endured only by the greatest fortitude and perseverance, though it was constantly prolonged by Humayun's inability to command respect and faithful allegiance".[1]

Humayun's Efforts to regain Throne. After his defeat, Humayun came to Agra but left soon after. He tried to go to Kashmir but Kamran blocked his way. Ultimately, he decided to go to Sind.

Humayun was invited by Maldeo of Marwar and he accepted the invitation. On the way, he came to know that Maldeo had changed his mind and really wanted to arrest him with a view to please Sher Khan. Under the circumstances, he had to retrace his steps to Sind.

He got shelter from the Raja of Amarkot. In 1542, Akbar was born there.

Finding his position difficult and no prospects of success in the future, Humayun left India. He tried to get help from his brother Kamran but failed. The latter tried to arrest him. Ultimately, Humayun went to Persia where Shah Tahmasp welcomed him. The Shah insisted that Humayun must become a Shia and ultimately Humayun accepted the condition. The Shah agreed to give 14,000 men to Humayun on the condition that Kandhar was to be given to him. With the help of the Persian troops, Humayun captured Kandhar and handed over the same to the Persians. However, Humayun occupied the same after the death of Shah Tahmasp. He also captured Kabul in November 1544 and Kamran ran away to Sind.

Although Humayun had got Kabul and Kandhar, his difficulties were not over. He fell ill and Kamran took advantage of the situation and recaptured Kabul in 1546. The followers of Humayun deserted him. But when he himself recovered from his illness, he was able to recapture Kabul after a siege in 1547. Kamran managed to slip away. He appeared on the scene once again in 1548, but was defeated. Once again, Humayun forgave Kamran, but the latter managed to occupy Kandhar again in 1549. Humayun had to struggle very hard this time to recapture Kabul. As a matter of fact, he was himself severely wounded. Kamran ran away but was captured. Humayun ordered his eyes to be taken out. Kamran went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and he died there in 1557. Askari was also sent to Mecca and he never returned. Hindal was killed.

After securing his position, Humayun continued to follow a policy

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 37.

of waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack India and recover his previous territory.

Sher Shah, the victor of Kanauj, died in 1545. He was succeeded by his son, Islam Shah, who ruled up to 1553. He was succeeded by Muhammad Adil Shah. He was very fond of pleasures and left the affairs of his Government into the hands of Hemu, his Minister. His authority was challenged by Ibrahim Shah and Sikandar Shah. There were a large number of bloody battles among the various rivals. The net result of all this was that the Sur Empire was broken up.

Humayun made preparations for his attack on India. He reached Peshawar in December 1554. He occupied Lahore in February 1555. Dipalpur was occupied in March 1555. The battle of Machiwara[1] was fought in May 1555 between the Mughals and the Afghans and ended in the victory for the Mughals. In June 1555 was fought the *Battle of Sirhind* in which Sikandar Sur was defeated.[2] After his defeat, Sikandar Sur ran away to Mankot and from there to the hills of the north-western Punjab. Humayun entered Delhi in July 1555 after an interval of about 15 years. He deputed his son, Akbar, to pursue Sikandar Sur.

After recovering his throne, Humayun "devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching

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1. The following is a contemporary account of battle of Machiwara : "The Afghans began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghans being greatly annoyed by the fire (atashi) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindustan are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy, in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight".

2. The following is the contemporary account of Battle of Sirhind : "On hearing of this defeat, (Sultan) Sikander Afghan marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind and there he entrenched and fortified his camp, The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind, and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humayun for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached, the generals came out to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who were four times more numerous than the Mughals.

"For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Bairam Khan (Khan-Khanan) on the one side and on the other a third division under Iskandar Khan.........attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghans, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultan) Sikander fled.

"The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death ; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar and this was circulated in all directions".

the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to the different provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Agra, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Mandur, and Lahore were among the capitals fixed upon. To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general so as to render it independent of assistance from the others; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12,000 horse which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even possessed sufficient steadiness, to carry into execution".

Although Humayun had recovered his kingdom he was not destined to rule the same for long. In January 1556, he met his tragic end by slipping from the famous building known as Din Panah. It is stated that before his death Humayun used to repeat with great emotion the following mystical verses which he had heard from a supernatural voice:

"O Lord, of Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own;
Make me a partner of the knowledge of Thy attributes;
I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life;
O call to Thee Thy poor Madman (lover)
O grant me my release".

According to Lane-Poole, "Humayun tumbled through life and he tumbled out of it." What Lane-Poole wanted to convey was that first of all Humayun lost everything and later on regained what he had lost. It can be pointed out that Humayun had to meet many difficulties at the time of his succession to the throne. He could not overcome those difficulties and became a fugitive after the Battle of Kanauj in 1540. Later on, with the help of the King of Persia, he recaptured Kabul and Kandhar and ultimately was able to re-ascend the throne of Delhi and Agra after defeating Sikandar Sur.

Causes of Humayun's failure. (1) A reference may be made to some of the important causes which were responsible for the failure of Humayun. It has already been pointed out that Humayun divided his Empire among his various brothers. He should not have given Kabul, Kandhar and the Punjab to Kamran. By doing so, he weakened his own hands. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "It was a mistake on Humayun's part to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills. Kamran could henceforward, as Prof. Rushbrook Williams observes, cut the root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissar Firoza was a blunder, for it gave Kamran command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Kandhar."

(1A) Another cause of the failure of Humayun was the hostility of his brothers for whom he had shown so great kindness. They did not help him when he was in trouble. This was particularly so on the occasion of Battles of Chausa and Kanauj. However, this view is not accepted by Dr. Tripathi. He points out that the behaviour of Kamran during the first ten years of Humayun's rule was not at

all hostile. As a matter of fact, he had been absolutely loyal to him. It was only after the Battle of Kanauj that Kamran lost all faith in his brother and decided to leave him so that he may save some of the Mughal Empire from passing into the hands of Sher Shah. If after the defeat of Kanauj, Kamran had continued to identify himself with Humayun, there was every likelihood of his losing Kabul, Ghazni, Badkshan and Kandhar. So far as Askari was concerned, he never rebelled against his brother. He served his brother to the best of his ability and if that was not much, that was not his fault. He was in almost all the important battles fought by Humayun. When Kamran left Humayun after the Battle of Kanauj, Askari also left him and was put in charge of Kandhar by Kamran. However, it cannot be denied that Askari connived at the flight of Humayun to Persia. He also treated Akbar with great kindness and affection. So far as Hindal was concerned, he was only a half-hearted rival. He was a man of weak mind and was persuaded by some nobles to revolt. It is true that his inaction was partly responsible for the defeat of Humayun at Chausa but that was not due to any personal ambition of his own. He was afraid of punishment if he ran away from Bihar to Agra. It is true that he left Humayun for some time but he joined him as soon as possible. The relations between the two brothers were always cordial. The defeat at Chausa might have been avoided if Kamran and Hindal had acted with vigour. However, all that can be said against them is that their inaction was ill-devised, short-sighted and unfortunate. Humayun's exile was not due to his failure at Chausa but at Kanauj and for that none of his brothers was responsible. Hence Dr. Tripathi contends that Humayun's brothers contributed very little, if at all, to his ultimate failure.

(2) It was the height of folly on the part of Humayun not to have done anything for the welfare of his own people during the 10 years he was on the throne (1530-40). On the other hand, he spent all these years in wars. The result was that the treasury was empty and the people were discontented. There was none to fight for Humayun.

(3) Humayun failed to make a correct estimate of the growing power of Sher Khan. To begin with, he treated him with contempt. He ought to have appreciated the dangers ahead and taken a stiff action against Sher Khan from the very outset. He ought to have nipped the evil in the bud. His delay in taking action against Sher Khan resulted in his own failure.

(4) The same can be said about Humayun's treatment of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. Humayun should have attacked and finished Bahadur Shah when the latter was busy against Chittor. He foolishly gave Bahadur Shah time. Humayun should not have spent so many months in dealing with Gujrat. He should have completely crushed the power of Bahadur Shah in Gujrat once for all and thereby avoided the possibility of future trouble. He ought not to have wasted time in festivities and merry-making at Mandu. Moreover, during the Mughal occupation of Gujrat, Humayun ought to have carried out such administrative reforms in that territory as would have won over the people to his side. Unfortunately, the military occupation of Gujrat created resentment against the Mughals.

(5) After his defeat at Chausa in 1539, Humayun did nothing to recapture the territory from Kanauj to Banaras. On the other hand,

he always remained on the defensive. Such a policy was not conducive to the maintenance of his prestige.

(6) Humayun committed many mistakes in the Battle of Kanauj. He foolishly chose a low land for his encampment. For two months, he remained inactive and did not raise his finger against the enemy. As Sher Khan attacked all of a sudden, Humayun could not make use of his artillery and the result was his failure.

(7) Humayun did not behave like a statesman. He pardoned again and again those who revolted against him. This he did, not only in the case of Kamran but also in the case of Mohammad Zaman Mirza. Such a treatment could not create an atmosphere of constant loyalty towards the Emperor. Everybody knew that in spite of his faithlessness, he would be pardoned by the Emperor.

(8) Another cause of Humayun's failure was his own character. He could not stick to a job.[1] He always worked by fits and starts. The result was that before anything was done completely, his mind passed on to something else leaving the first one half-complete. Such a method is not conducive to success.

However, Dr. Tripathi differs from this view. He maintains that the character of Humayun was not responsible for his failures. According to him, Humayun was brave, cool, calm and dignified. He was capable of extraordinary activity. He was kind, generous, large-hearted, intelligent, cultured, refined and noble. He was an able and experienced general. His love for opium was not greater than that of Babur. Dr. Tripathi thinks that if Babur, instead of fighting against Ibrahim Lodi, had to fight against Sher Khan, it is doubtful if he would have been successful. He had not so good an army as Babur had and he had to fight against two great rulers like Sher Khan and Bahadur Shah. Sher Khan had more experience, organizing ability, craft and political opportunism. He had an army which was inspired by national enthusiasm to recover the Empire lost by them. By this time, the Afghans had become familiar with fire-arms. Bahadur Shah of Gujrat was served with the entire moral and material resources of Gujrat. No wonder, Humayun failed against them.

(9) The one great defect of Humayun was that he did not suspect anybody. He believed in whatever he was told by anybody. The defeat of Chausa might have been averted if he had not believed Sher Khan and had acted according to his judgment. This weakness of his was exploited on more than one occasion by Sher Khan and the Arghun ruler of Sind.

(10) According to Tripathi, Humayun was also the victim of his fate. Askari failed to persuade Tardi Beg to help him. His decision to come to the north resulted in the loss of Gujrat and Malva. If Mahmood Shah of Bengal had not surrendered earlier, there would not have been so much trouble for Humayun. If there had not been unusual rains in May 1540 which flooded his camp at Kanauj, Humayun might not have lost the battle. It appears that fate was always against him. Moreover, Humayun had not the flexibility of

1. Humayun did not follow the following advice given to him by his father : "The world is his who exerts himself. Fail not to commit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency; indolence and ease agree ill with kingship".

mind to adjust himself to changed circumstances. He is said to have possessed a one-track mind. He allowed himself to fall into difficulties without realizing the full implications. It is pointed out that there was no necessity of fighting in Gujrat and Bengal. He could have postponed action in those distant provinces till such time as he had consolidated his own position. His calculations were wrong and no wonder he lost his empire.

Estimate of Humayun. It is admitted on all hands that Humayun was a thorough gentleman. He was an ideal son, an ideal husband, an ideal father and an ideal brother. In spite of the acts of treachery on the part of his brothers and others, he forgave them again and again. But this virtue was the undoing of his career.

Humayun was a thoroughly cultured man. He was very polite in his conversation. According to Ferishta, Humayun was "of elegant stature and of a bronze complexion. The mildness and benevolence of Humayun's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities." He "possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree."

According to Lane-Poole, "The young Prince was indeed a gallant and lovable fellow, courteous, witty and accomplished like his father, warm-hearted and emotional, almost quixotic in his notions of honour and magnanimity, personally brave and capable of great energy on occasions. But he lacked character and resolution. He was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would busy himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eater's paradise, whilst his enemies were thundering on the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and social, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. *His character attracts, but never dominates.* In private life, he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend, his virtues were Christian and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortune', and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled. His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humayun was not to miss it. He tumbled through life and tumbled out of it".

Humayun was a true Muslim, but he was not a fanatic. His chief Queen, Hamida Banu Begam, was a Shia. Bairam Khan was also a Shia. He knew how to treat with people who differed from him in religion.

Undoubtedly, Humayun was a good fighter. It is true that he failed at many places but everywhere he showed that he was a great fighter. He was not afraid of the battlefield and fought very many battles. However, he lacked the quality of concentration and that proved to be his undoing.

Humayun was not a great administrator. During the period of 10 years when he was the king, he did nothing to improve the administrative system of the country. There is no exaggeration in saying that Humayun had no administrative aptitude and that is why he shirked from this work. He made absolutely no solid reforms which can stand to his credit. His over-generosity and leniency towards his relatives ruined his administration.

The indecisive temperament of Humayun was partly due to his

habit of eating opium. He took delight in merry-making and wasted the precious time which he ought to have utilized in crushing the power of such rivals as Bahadur Shah and Sher Khan.

Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed makes the following observations about the character of Humayun: "His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics, he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mirza Kamran and the Chaghatai nobles, when they were taken prisoners and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them".

According to Havell, "Like Babur his education and tastes were entirely Persian...but while Timur and Babur were strong individualists and men of action, never allowing themselves to be turned from any set purpose, either from the preaching of a *mulla* or the prognostications of a soothsayer, Humayun was but a weak dilettante who sought the advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs... In spite of these precautions the stars in their courses fought against Humayun......He was never wanting in personal courage, but the restoration of the Mughal dynasty was more due to the steadfast loyalty of his comrades and to the weakness of Sher Shah's descendants, than to his own military capacity. The contrast between Sher Shah and Humayun could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments which perpetuate their memory. Humayun's mausoleum at Delhi portrays in its polished elegance the facile *chermeur* and rather superficial dilettante of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is that he was the father of Akbar; Sher Shah's at Sahseram, the stern strong man, egoist and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies under foot, and ruled Hindustan with a rod of iron".

According to Elphinstone, "Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet he had been brought up under Babur, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretensions, though he never turned them to the best account... He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II".

According to Malleson, "Brave, genial; witty; a charming companion, highly educated, generous; and merciful; Humayun was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Allied to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and unsteady. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality; his attachments into weakness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst

for comprehensive legislation he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him".

According to Erskine, "The real character of Humayun may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians.... In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he over-ran, first the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujrat, and next those of Bihar and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but destitute of those powers of combination which are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination".

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Though not wanting in personal courage, he was not a great general like his father or strategist like Sher Shah. His military plans were defective and were never properly executed. Sometimes he withdrew from an important campaign for fantastic reasons as he did when Bahadur Shah was laying siege to Chittor. His readiness to offer to choice between the olive branch and the sword was often mistaken for weakness. A study of his battles shows clearly his incapacity for grand strategy and correct appraisement of the enemy's strength. His first successes were always turned into defeats, for he was never able to consolidate his gains. His want of firmness lent encouragement to the plans of his opponents. Malwa, Gujrat, Bengal and Bihar, the Doab, Delhi and the Punjab slipped out of his grasp one by one and he could neither crush the treachery of his seditious nobles nor could he raise a powerful army to contend against his foes. He was indolent and his love of pleasure in his early years hampered his efforts to maintain the empire. He pardoned rebels and traitors again and again and hesitated to deal drastically even with an insolent an bigoted court minion like Abul Maali. At times it seemed as if he was courting trouble for himself. After his return from Persia, he became more steady of purpose and showed greater energy and determination. He fought long and hard in the Afghan region and never wavered or despaired although he had to deal with treacherous officers at home and a powerful enemy abroad. The most prominent trait of his character was perseverance and this proved an inestimable blessing to him throughout his carrier. Without this, it would have been impossible for him to reconquer the kingdom of Hindustan."

SUGGESTED READINGS

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CHAPTER IV

SHER SHAH SUR AND HIS SUCCESSORS (1540—56)

According to Dr. Tripathi, "Sher Shah is one of those great men of history who blossomed out of dust into glory and rose to the highest pinnacle of distinction by dint of their courage, ability and resourcefulness as also by the strength of their sword. He was neither born in purple nor could he. boast of his origin from any high family of religious or military leaders."[1]

The original name of Sher Shah, the Lion King, was Farid. He was the grandson of Ibrahim Sur and the son of Hassan. His grandfather had come to India in search of employment in the time of Bahlol Lodi and joined service in the Punjab. Farid is said to have been born in the Punjab in 1472. After Farid's birth, both his grandfather and father entered the service of Jamal Khan in the Punjab. When Jamal Khan was transferred to Jaunpur in the time of Sikandar Lodi, he granted the Jagir of Sahsaram, Khawaspur and Tanda to Hassan in Bihar.

Hassan married four wives and had 8 sons. He loved his youngest wife not the eldest, whose son Farid was. Under the circumstances, Farid and his mother had a very unhappy time. Things came to such a pass that in 1494, Farid left Sahsaram and went to Jaunpur. He worked so hard that he mastered many Arabic and Persian books such as "Gulistan", "Bostan" and "Sikandar Nama". As Farid was a brilliant boy, he caught the eye of Jamal Khan, the patron of his father.

As a result of the intervention of Jamal Khan, Farid was appointed by Hassan to manage his Jagir and this he did successfully for full 21 years. During this period, Farid acquired so much of knowledge of land and its management that he was able later on to utilize all this as Emperor of India. Farid's successful management aroused the jealousy of his step-mother and consequently he was driven away once again in 1518. Farid went straight to Ibrahim Lodi and requested him to grant the Jagir of his father to him. The Sultan refused to do so. However, as Hassan died soon after, Ibrahim Lodi gave the Jagir of Sahsaram, Khawaspur and Tanda to Farid. Farid settled down at Sahsaram.

This did not end the difficulties of Farid. His step-brother challenged his right to the whole of the Jagir and sought the intervention of Mohammad Khan Sur of Chaund in Bihar. Farid refused to share the Jagir with his brother and took up service under Bahar Khan Lohani, ruler of South Bihar, with a view to strengthen his hands. He endeared himself so much to Bahar Khan that the latter gave him the title of Sher Khan. Sher Khan was appointed as tutor of Jalal Khan, the son of Bahar Khan. Later, he was made the Deputy Governor of South Bihar.

The rise of Sher Khan was not liked by the Lohani nobles and

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1. Tripathi, R.P. : Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 115.

other Afghan chiefs and consequently they all started poisoning the ears of Bahar Khan. It was given out that Sher Khan was planning to join Mahmood Lodi who was trying to revive the Afghan Empire in India. Bahar Khan asked Sher Khan to divide this Jagir and on his refusal, took forcible possession of the same and turned out Sher Khan.

When he was in this helpless condition, Sher Khan joined the Mughal service in April 1527. When Babur attacked Bihar, Sher Khan rendered him very useful service. As a reward of his services, his Jagir was restored to him. Sher Khan spent his time in Mughal service usefully. He studied the defects in Mughal administration and Mughal military organization. He also particularly noted the vanity of the Mughals. He left their service towards the end of 1528 as he found it difficult to pull on.[1]

Sher Khan once again went to South Bihar and was reappointed tutor and guardian of Jalal Khan. The ruler of South Bihar died in 1528 and Sher Khan was appointed the Deputy Governor or Vakil. In his new capacity, Sher Khan tried to overhaul the whole of the system of administration of South Bihar. He was also able to gather together a large number of followers who were prepared to risk their all for Sher Khan.

Another difficulty faced Sher Khan in 1529. Mahmood Lodi came to Bihar in 1529 on the invitation of some Afghan nobles. All the Afghans came under his banner and he took into his own hands the government of South Bihar. Sher Khan did not show enthusiasm for Mahmood Lodi. He was not willing to annoy Babur. On the insistence and persuasion of Mahmood Lodi, Sher Khan also joined after some hesitation at the beginning. To begin with, the Afghans were successful, but as the fighting became bitter, Mahmood Lodi ran away from the battle-field. South Bihar was restored to Jalal Khan, and he was to pay an annual tribute as a Mughal vassal. Sher Khan was invited once again and made the Deputy Governor of Bihar under Jalal Khan. The mother of Jalal Khan died and Jalal was still a minor at that time. The result was that all the power in South Bihar fell into Sher Khan's hands.

The relations between Bengal and South Bihar were never good on account of their conflicting interests. Nasrat Shah, ruler of Bengal, had an eye on South Bihar. Sher Khan cultivated friendly relations with the brother-in-law of Nasrat Shah and tried to use him against Nasrat Shah. Nasrat Shah had invaded South Bihar but was defeated by Sher Khan in 1529. The victory raised the prestige of Sher Khan and also aroused the jealousy of many others.

Although Sher Khan was the virtual ruler of that part of the country, he did not make any formal declaration to that effect. He took up the title of Hazrat-i-Ala. He also got the fort of Chunar by means of a marriage with a widow.

Sher Khan and Humayun. After his defeat in the battle of Ghagra in 1529, Mahmood Lodi wanted to try his luck once again in

1. Babur is stated to have observed thus: "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted by trifles; but may come up to be a great man yet......Keep an eye on Sher Khan. He is the clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead".

1530. He felt that time was opportune for a trial of strength. Humayun was seriously ill and later on when his life was saved, Babur died. Soon after his succession to the throne, the hands of Humayun were full and consequently he cound not be expected to deal effectively with the affairs of a distant place like Bihar. Mahmood Lodi got the help of all the Afghan chiefs. He had to take special pains to enlist the support of Sher Khan. Many months were spent in preparations and the Afghans occupied the territory up to Banaras. When they marched towards Jaunpur, Humayun got upset. At that time, he was busy with his siege of Kalinjar. He hastily made peace with the Raja of that place and advanced against the Afghans. In the Battle of Dourah in U.P. in August 1532 the Afghans were defeated and Mahmood Lodi ran away. Sher Khan was throughout an unwilling worker and soon after the failure of the Afghan attempt, he recovered South Bihar.

After his success against the Afghans, Humayun besieged the fort of Chunar[1] which belonged to Sher Khan. The siege lasted for 4 months and during all this period Sher Khan was able to defy the might of Humayun. However, Humayun made peace with Sher Khan as he got news of trouble in Gujrat by Bahadur Shah. Sher Khan was allowed to continue in possession of Chunar on the condition that he was to send a contingent of 500 troops for service in the Mughal army. These terms were accepted by both the parties in January 1533.

Sher Khan and Bengal. When Sher Khan had his difficulties with Humayun, the ruler of Bengal had tried to create all kinds of handicaps for him. The result was that after making peace with Humayun, Sher Khan made up his mind to deal with the ruler of Bengal. In the *Battle of Surajgarh* in 1534, the ruler of Bengal was defeated. This victory was a turning point in the life of Sher Khan. According to Dr. Qanungo, "Great as it was as a military achievement, it was greater in its far-reaching political result. But for the victory at Surajgarh, the Jagirdar at Sahsaram would never have emerged from his obscurity into the arena of Hindustan politics to reign, in spite of himself, a race for the empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun Padshah." Moreover, "the whole of the treasures, elephants and a train of artillery of the Bengal army fell into the hands of Sher Khan and he became the master of the kingdom of Bihar and other territory."

The victory of Surajgarh added to the hunger of Sher Khan and he repeated his attacks of Bengal many a time. Every time, the ruler of Bengal was defeated and he had to pay money. At one time, the

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1. "The fort of Chunar stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya Mountains which extend to the same river near Mirzapur. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westwards, by the Fort of Rohtas and Shirghari, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhagalpur, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, covered the whole of the south-west of Bihar and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chunar and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bhagalpur. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods".

ruler of Bengal got the help of the Portuguese, but even that did not help matters as Sher Khan was too clever for both of them. As a matter of fact, Sher Khan ruled Gaur and threatened the same in 1536 when the ruler of Bengal was forced to make peace.

Although peace was made in 1536, Sher Khan was determined to capture the whole of Bengal. After making adequate preparations, Sher Khan attacked Bengal once again in 1537. Finding himself absolutely unequal to the task, the ruler of Bengal appealed to Humayun for help.

Humayun too was alarmed at the activities and achievements of Sher Khan and no wonder he at once moved towards Chunar after making the necessary preparations. He reached Chunar in November 1537 and besieged it. He took 6 long months to capture it. It was a folly on the part of Humayun to have wasted so much of energy, time and money at Chunar. He should have proceeded straight to Bengal to help its ruler. The result was that when Humayun was busy with his conquest of Chunar, Sher Khan conquered the Bengal territory between Monghir and Gaur and besieged Gaur itself. Sher Khan also acquired the fort of Rohtasgarh in Bihar by cleverness. This fort was in the possession of a Hindu Raja. There are two views regarding the method by which this fort was captured. According to one view, Sher Khan requested the Hindu Raja of Rohtasgarh to give shelter to his women. Out of generosity, the Hindu Raja agreed. Sher Khan smuggled into the fort a large number of armed Afghan troops in covered litters. They were disguised as women. When the Afghan soldiers entered the fort, they captured the same and turned out the Hindu troops. Another story is that Sher Khan gave bribe to the Minister of the Hindu Raja and got from him a promise of shelter in the fort. The Raja protested but in spite of that the Minister allowed the Afghans to enter the fort. As soon as they entered it, they took possession of the fort. This happened in 1538.

While Humayun was busy in the siege of Chunar, Sher Khan was doing all that he could to capture Gaur as quickly as possible. After hard efforts, Gaur was captured and occupied. The authority of Sher Khan was established in Bengal but this was destined to be short-lived.

Mughal Occupation of Bengal. To begin with, Humayun had negotiations with Sher Khan to arrive at some amicable settlement. He asked Sher Khan to surrender all his territory and accept a small Jagir for himself. When this offer was rejected by Sher Khan, Humayun asked him to surrender Bihar and keep Bengal and pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10 lakhs for the same. Sher Khan accepted the proposal and there seemed to be an end of the matter, but later on Humayun made up his mind to conquer Bengal. Sher Khan condemned Humayun for the breach of a promise. As Humayun advanced to capture Gaur, Sher Khan hurried to transfer his treasure from Gaur to Rohtasgarh. When that was done, Sher Khan allowed Humayun to go into Bengal without any let or hindrance. Humayun occupied Gaur and busied himself for many months in merry-making.

During this interval, Sher Khan was able to establish his control over the territory between Bihar and Delhi. He was also able to cut off all the lines of communication between Delhi and Bengal. Humayun had foolishly wasted 8 months at Gaur in frivolities. He ought to

have withdrawn from Bengal as early as possible and gone back to Agra. His long stay in Bengal and the nearing of the rainy season were in the interest of Sher Khan.

In June 1539 was fought the *Battle of Chausa* in which Humayun was defeated and he managed to escape his life with difficulty. Before this battle was fought, Humayun had wasted a lot of time in futile negotiations and kept his troops idle for a pretty long time. Sher Khan won this battle by leading a surprise attack on the Mughals who were sleeping in their camps at midnight. The victory of Chausa was of very great importance. It brought a radical change in the life of Sher Khan. The scope of his "ambition was immensely widened." According to Dr. Qanungo, in 1538, Sher Khan would have contented himself with the position of a Mughal vassal. "Now he won, by this single stroke, Jaunpur in addition to Bengal and Bihar in independent sovereignty and could legitimately claim equality with the Emperor". After the Battle of Chausa, Sher Khan began to dream of sitting on the throne of Delhi. The victory of Chausa made Sher Khan the *de facto* ruler of Bengal and Bihar. Sher Khan declared himself as the king of Bengal and Bihar in 1539.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The defeat of Chausa was due to causes which can be analysed with precision. That treachery played a great part in deciding the issue of the battle cannot be denied. Even Afghan historians admit that Sher Khan had acted in violation of his plighted faith and attacked the Mughals when they were least prepared for action. So great was the confusion caused in the army by Khawas Khan's sudden appearance that the Emperor, who was having his ablutions, had scarcely time to remove his harem to a place of safety. The officer who was guilty of culpable negligence on that fateful night was Mohammad Zaman Mirza who did not keep watch as directed and went away to sleep, leaving the Camp in an unguarded position. The imperial troops were not well-organized. The malarious climate of Bengal had sapped their strength and they did not feel the same enthusiasm for fighting as their opponents. Their arrogance too did them serious harm. They held the Afghans in contempt and under-estimated the strength of Sher Khan's army. The Emperor, though a valiant soldier, was out generalled by his antagonist. The latter's superior tactics, his organization of the army, his correct estimate of Mughal strength, his ability to command the resources of the country, and, above all, his confidence in his cause secured an easy victory for him. The Afghan historian's remark that he knew well the devices and stratagems of war and that he could adapt himself to a crisis without difficulty is not wholly without justification. But to these causes of victory we must also add his utter lack of scruples. He felt no qualms of conscience in breaking his word and sanctioning arrangements which were contrary to his declared intentions. Matched against a foe of this kind. Humaqun, who was used to act even in critical situations with fairness and generosity, was thrown off his guard and easily overpowered".[1]

After his coronation, Sher Shah sent an army to Gaur with a view to turn out the Mughal garrison. This was carried out. Humayun was pursued, but allowed to escape to Delhi.

1. Ishwari Prasad : The Life and Times of Humayun, pp. 135-6.

In May 1540 was fought the *Battle of Kanauj* between Humayun and Sher Shah. Here also, Humayun repeated the same folly which was responsible for his defeat in the Battle of Chausa. For full one month, the Mughal armies did nothing. It was Sher Khan who chose his time to attack the Mughals. The Mughal artillery could not be used at all.

Mirza Haidar, Babar's cousin, has given the following account of the Battle of Kanauj: "The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shah on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had several times revolted against Humayun, but being unsucessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having colluded with Sher Shah, deserted.

"A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shah, and could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, 'Let us go and rest in our own homes". A number also of Kamran's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore.....

"As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without striking a blow. We therefore crossed the river. Both armies entrenched themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such a deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose....... .

"Between me and the river there was a force of 27 Amirs, all of whom carried the *tugh* banner...... On the day of battle, when Sher Shah, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these 27 *tugh* banners, not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance towards them. The soldiership and bravery of these Amirs may be conceived from this exhibition of courage. Sher Shah came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 40,000 all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the Amirs and officers of the army was such as I have described.

"Every Amir and Wazir in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, has his *ghulams*. An Amir of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and *ghulams* who on the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatsoever place there was conflict, the *ghulams* were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their master, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it

was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the gun-carriages, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Such was the state of the centre.

"On the right, Sher Shah advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp-followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre.

"The Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded; not a gun was fired; and the chariots were useless. The Emperor fled to Agra; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay but went to Lahore."

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The Battle of the Ganges turned out a greater disaster than the rout of Chausa and shattered for the time being, at any rate, the hopes of a Mughal revival. It appears from Mirza Haider's account of the conference among the brothers which preceded the campaign, that to discerning eyes the issue of the battle was a foregone conclusion. Abul Fazl's remarks also convey the impression that Humayun did not feel sure of victory in this campaign. Lack of unity among the brothers marred the enterprise from the very outset and Kamran's intransigence must have greatly encouraged the hopes of Sher Shah. Humayun's choice of the river line was a blunder. He ought to have remained on the western side of the stream and ought not to have crossed it, for by doing so he did not only put his troops in peril but placed himself deliberately in a position in which a defeat was bound to prove disastrous to him. Having made the mistake of crossing the river, the camping ground was not judiciously chosen, and the transfer to an elevated spot in the midst of a heavy rain drenched the baggage which became too heavy to carry and disorganised the army. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad rightly observes that the heavy rain was the chief cause of the defeat of imperial army. The Afghans chose their minute well and began their attack while the Mughals were still removing their baggage to the new camping ground.

"The contrast between the discipline and efficiency of the two armies explains the defeat of the Mughals. The Afghans had rallied under a national banner and the example and courage of their leader filled them with determination and hope. Humayun, who had bravely maintained himself in the thick of the fight at Panipat and Kanauj, had deteriorated and most of Babur's generals had either died in the natural course or left for their homes. The climate of India must have told on the health of the troops, and the soft life of Bengal must have enervated them to a considerable extent. The improvised levies that had been hastily collected in eastern country were no match to the sturdy Afghans who were well-drilled and disciplined for the arduous duties of the battle-field."

The army of Sher Khan pursued Humayun who had some rest at Lahore but was made to vacate the same. Kamran was not prepared to risk a conflict with Sher Shah. He felt that he might be able to keep his possessions by being considerate towards him.

Sher Khan received the submission of the Baloch chiefs. He also undertook an expedition for the conquest of the Gakkhar country lying between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus.

Conquest of Malwa (1542). Sher Shah attacked Malwa in 1542. Its conquest was necessary for the integrity and safety of the Kingdom. Sher Shah sent an expedition to Malwa. The Governor of the fort of Gwalior submitted.

Conquest of Raisin (1543). Raisin was in Central India. In 1542, Pooran Mal waited on Sher Shah and he was given many gifts by the king. Sher Shah wanted to have for himself the fort of Raisin. He also came to know that Pooran Mal was trying to subjugate the Muslims and enslave their women. Sher Shah wanted to teach him a lesson. He went to Raisin *via* Mandu and besieged the same. The fort was captured by a clever device. A large number of Hindu men and women were killed. Pooran Mal and his followers fought "like hogs at bay."

Sher Shah has rightly been condemned for the manner in which he behaved towards Pooran Mal and his family. The latter surrendered the fort on the express promise of safe conduct. In spite of that, he and his followers were attacked unawares. A daughter of Pooran Mal and three sons of his brother were captured alive and the rest were put to the sword. The girl was given to itinerant minstrels (*Bazigaran*) that they might make her dance in the bazars. The boys were ordered to be castrated so that the race may be destroyed. In the words of Ishwari Prasad, "Such was the inhuman barbarity of Sher Shah towards an enemy who had relied upon plighted faith...."

Conquest of Multan and Sind. Sher Shah conquered Multan and Sind and occupied the Punjab which was vacated by Kamran.

War with Jodhpur. Maldeo, the ruler of Jodhpur, invited Humayun in June 1541 to recover the throne of Delhi. Sher Shah wrote to Maldeo asking him not to give shelter to Humayun and arrest him and hand him over to him. Under the circumstances, Maldeo remained neutral for fear of offending Sher Shah or Humayun. In spite of all this, Sher Shah was not satisfied with the behaviour of Maldeo and wanted to teach him a lesson. Moreover, Sher Shah could not tolerate the existence of a powerful state like that of Maldeo. Preparations were made for an attack on Maldeo. Towards the end of 1543, Sher Shah marched against Marwar. He did not get an easy victory. He had to resort to a clever device to defeat Maldeo. Dissensions were created between Maldeo and his followers and it was then that Maldeo was defeated. The forged letters were to the following effect: "Let not the king permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle, we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you." So bitter was the fighting and so difficult was the victory that Sher Shah declared thus: "I had nearly lost the Empire of Hindustan for a handful of *Bajra* (Millet)."

Marwar was got in 1544 but soon after the death of Sher Shah, Maldeo reoccupied the lost territory in July 1555.

As regards the policy of Sher Shah towards the Rajput princes, Dr. Qanungo observes thus: "In Rajasthan, Sher Shah made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection as he had done in other parts of Hindustan. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence, but their political and geographical isolation from one another so as to make any general upheaval against the Empire impossible. In short, it was something like a British occupation in the North-Western Frontier tribal territories which is meant

less for gain than for the safety of the Indian Empire." Sher Shah established garrisons of his troops at important places and maintained strict control over the means of communication. Ajmer, Chittor, Jodhpur and Mount Abu were fortified and held by the Afghan troops.

Sher Shah led his last expedition against the Raja of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. It was felt that it was difficult to capture the fort even after a siege lasting for a year. Ultimately, Sher Shah decided to blow up the walls of the fort. Mines were dug. Sher Shah was injured by the explosion of gunpowder. The fort was taken but Sher Shah himself died in May 1545.

Sher Shah's Administration.[1] There has been a lot of controversy with regard to the real nature of the system of administration of Sher Shah Sur. To begin with, it was maintained that Sher Shah was merely a soldier who possessed an average administrative capacity. Dr. K.R. Qanungo put forward a new thesis. According to him, Sher Shah was a greater constructive genius than Akbar himself. According to Dr. Tripathi and Dr. Saran, Sher Shah was merely a reformer and not an innovator. According to them, too much importance has been given to his achievements than is really due to them. It is pointed out that in many ways, he merely revived the system of Ala-ud-Din Khilji. Otherwise, there was nothing original in what he did.

Sher Shah's administration was not only autocratic but also enlightened and vigorous. He did not listen to the advice of the Ulema. He aimed at the betterment of administration and looked into the smallest details of administration.

Sher Shah was a benevolent despot. He had both civil and military powers in his hands and he exercised them in the interests of the people rather than for himself.

Sher Shah was helped by four Ministers and those were the Diwan-i-Wizarat, Diwan-i-Ariz, Diwan-i-Rasalat and Diwan-i-Insha. The wazir was the head of the Diwan-i-Wizarat. He was in charge of both the income and expenditure of the country. He also exercised a general supervision over other ministers. The Diwan-i-Ariz was under Arizi-i-Mamalik. The latter was incharge of the recruitment, organization and discipline of the army. He was responsible for the payment of salaries of the army. On account of his personal interest in the military affairs, Sher Shah interfered a lot in this department. The Diwan-i-Rasalat was under a foreign minister. His duty was to keep himself in touch with the ambassadors and envoys. He also dealt with diplomatic correspondence. The work of charity and endowment was also in his hands. The Minister-in-charge of Diwan-i-Insha had to draft royal proclamation and dispatches. He was in charge of Government records. His duty was also to correspond with the Governors and other local officers.

In addition to the four Departments or Ministries, there were also the Diwan-i-Qaza and Diwan-i-Barid. The first was under the Chief

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1. According to Sher Shah, "The essence of royal protection consists in protecting the life and property of the subjects. They should use the principles of justice and equality in all their dealings with all classes of people, and instruct powerful officers so that they may try their best to refrain from cruelty and oppression in their jurisdiction".

Qazi. The duty of the Chief Qazi was to supervise the administration of justice. Diwan-i-Barid was the Intelligence Department of the Government. It had a large number of newswriters and spies who were scattered all over the country. There was also a high official in charge of the royal household. He enjoyed a lot of prestige on account of his nearness to the royal family. He may be called the Lord High Steward.

There are two theories with regard to provincial administration under Sher Shah. According to Dr. Qanungo, the highest division of the country was Sarkar and the provinces were the creation of Akbar, the Great. According to Dr. Saran, provinces existed even before Akbar and it is wrong to say that Sarkar was the highest division for purposes of administration. However, both the views do not seem to be quite correct. It cannot be denied that there were administrative divisions which corresponded to provinces. There was no uniformity with regard to their income and size. They were known as Iqtas and were assigned to chiefs. Sher Shah established a new type of provincial administration in Bengal. The latter was divided into a number of Sarkars. A civilian was to be at the head of the entire province and he was given a small army for his help. His duty was to keep supervision over the various officials of the Sarkar and also settle the disputes. The details of provincial administration are not clear and it is not possible to say as to how its officers were appointed and what their names were.

Sarkar. In the time of Sher Shah, provinces were divided into Sarkars. The two important officials of a Sarkar were Munsif-i-Munsifan or Munsif-in-Chief and Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran or Shiqdar-in-Chief. The Munsif-i-Munsifan was primarily a judge and tried civil cases. He also supervised the work of Amins. As regards the Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran. his duty was to maintain law and order within the Sarkar or district and also to put down those who dared to revolt. He was also to supervise the work of the Shiqdars of the Parganas.

Parganas. If there were many Sarkars in a province, there were many Parganas in a Sarkar. The important officials in a Pargana were a Shiqdar, an Amin, a treasure, a Munsif, a Hindi writer and a Persian writer for accounts. In addition to these, there were the Patwari, Chaudhari and the Muqaddam who acted as intermediaries between the people and the Government. It is to be noted that the Shiqdar was a soldier. The Amin was a civilian whose duty was the assessment and collection of land revenue. The Amin was given military help by the Shiqdar. Sher Shah did not interfere with the work of the Pargana officials. He merely tried to maintain contact with them through the Patwari and the Chowkidar. Villages were allowed to work with the help of their Panchayats.

Sher Shah's Army. The importance of the army to Sher Shah cannot be over-emphasized. It was only with the help of the army that he was able to drive out Humayun and subdue practically the whole of Northern India. He invited Afghan soldiers from every part of the country and gave them highest posts in the army. He took great personal interest in the recruitment of the troops. In many cases, he himself fixed the emoluments of the soldiers. Troops were permitted on the basis of merit and no wonder Sher Shah's armies became very strong.

Sher Shah re-introduced the system of *Dagh* or branding of horses and *Chera* or the preparation of the descriptive rolls of the soldiers. In this way, fraudulent musters were checked.

Sher Shah put a lot of emphasis on the cavalry. His infantry was armed with muskets and the troops were very skilful in their use.

Sher Shah also divided his army into many divisions and each division was to be under a commander. Strict supervision was maintained on the discipline of the soldiers. Transport and commissariat arrangements were to be made by the soldiers themselves. Provisions were supplied to the soldiers by the Banjaras who moved about along with the army.

Finance. Sher Shah did all that he could to add to his resources. Some of the money came from the Central revenues and the other from the local revenues. Heirless property came to the Government. *Jizya* also brought a lot of money. Commerce, mint, presents, salt, customs, Khams and land revenues were other sources of income. All nobles were required to make presents to the king. However, the main source of income was the land revenue.

Revenue Administration. Before the time of Sher Shah, land was not measured and the share of the Government was a rough estimate. It goes to the credit of Sher Shah that he ordered an accurate survey of all the land in the empire. The share of the Government was fixed at one-third of the expected produce. The payment could be made to the Government either in cash or in kind. The money was realised with the help of Muqaddams and they got a percentage for their services. In certain cases, the peasants were allowed to make the payment directly to the treasury. It is possible that three systems of assessment prevailed in the time of Sher Shah. Those were (1) Ghalla-Bakshi or Batai, (2) Nasq or Muktai or Kankut, (3) Naqdi or Zabti or Jamai. Batai was of three kinds, *viz.*, Khet-Batai, Lank-Batai and Rasi-Batai.

Sher Shah gave instructions that leniency was to be shown at the time of assessment, but not at the time of collection of revenue. The obvious object of this order was to check corruption among the officials. Sher Shah had also passed orders that while the army was on the move, it was not to destroy the crops of the peasants. If any damage was done to the crops, the Government was to pay compensation.

Reference may be made to some of the defects of the revenue system. The share of the Government was fixed at one-third of the average produce of the three kinds of land *viz.*, good, middling and bad. The result was that the bad land was over-charged and the good land was under-charged. It is possible that this inequality might have adjusted itself "by variations in the crops grown." Moreover, the share of the Government was rather high. As the settlement was made for one year only, a lot of inconvenience must have been caused to the cultivators. The corruption among the officials of the Revenue Department must have added to the troubles of the people. The Jagirdari system was also another defect in the system.

According to Dr. Tripathi, Sher Shah's system of revenue assessment suffered from two defects. In the *first place*, the cultivators of the middling and bad lands had to pay a greater share of their actual produce, while those of good lands had to pay proportionately

less. *Secondly*, the settlement of the cash value of the share of the Government depended on correct information, proper enquiry and prompt report to and instructions from the Central Government. Such a procedure was dilatory and not quite dependable. It was likely to hold up the work of collection and thereby cause great inconvenience, annoyance and disadvantage to the revenue collectors and cultivators.

According to Moreland, "The historical importance of Sher Shah's methods lies in the fact that they formed the starting-point of the series of experiments in administration which marked the first half of Akbar's reign."[1]

Justice. Sher Shah is very famous for giving justice to all concerned. No person could escape punishment on account of his status. The courts presided over by the Qazi and Mir Adl tried civil cases. The Hindus settled their disputes in their Panchayats. However, in criminal cases, everybody was subject to the law of the state. The criminal law of that time was very hard and punishments were severe. The object of punishment was not to reform the criminal but to set an example so that the others may not do the same. Sher Shah gave severe punishments in the case of Government officials and other persons of high status. There is a story regarding the high standard of justice given by Sher Shah. One of his nephews threw a betel leaf at the wife of a goldsmith who was taking her bath at the enclosure of her house. The matter was brought to the notice of Sher Shah and he ordered that the wife of his nephew should be asked to start her bath in the same way and the goldsmith be allowed to throw a betel leaf at her. In another case, the Governor of Malwa, Shujaat Khan, withheld a part of the Jagirs of 2,000 soldiers. Although Shujaat Khan restored the Jagirs, he was punished by the Emperor. So great was the reputation of Sher Shah as a just ruler that a merchant could travel and sleep in the desert without fear of being robbed.

Police. The functions of the police were performed by the soldiers in the time of Sher Shah. It was the duty of the Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran to maintain peace and order in the Sarkar. A similar position was occupied by the Shiqdar in a Pargana. It was the duty of these officials to keep a strict watch over the thieves and robbers. Sher Shah also introduced the system of local responsibility. The result was that it was the duty of the officials in-charge of the various areas to find out the culprit in every case. If there was a murder and the murderers could not be traced, the official concerned was to be hanged. The work may not have been very difficult because the officials were fully acquainted with the bad characters of the locality. The police system of Sher Shah has been praised by many historians. According to Abbas Sarwani, "Travellers and way-farers during the time of Sher Shah's reign, were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch, nor did they fear to be robbed in the midst of a desert. They encamped at night at every place, desert, or inhabited without any fear; they placed their goods and property on the plain and turned out their mules to graze and they slept with minds at ease and free from care as if in their own houses, and the Zamindars for fear any mischief should occur to the travellers and that they should suffer to be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 458.

of Sher Shah's rule a decrepit old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of punishment which Sher Shah inflicted."

Currency. The currency system at the time of his accession to the throne was in a hopeless condition. Debasing of the coins was common. There was no fixed ratio between the coins of various metals. Coins of various Governments were allowed to circulate at the same time and they created a lot of confusion. Sher Shah introduced a new coin called Dam. He also abolished the old and mixed metal currency. The names on the coins were given in Devanagari script. Gold coins were also introduced. The ratio of exchange between the Dam and rupee was fixed at 64 to 1.

Trade. Sher Shah abolished the various duties which were levied at the frontiers of every province. The object was to facilitate trade in the country. Only two duties were allowed. The *first* duty was levied when the goods were brought into the country and the *second* was levied when they were sold. All internal customs were abolished.

Means of Communication. Sher Shah Sur was a great road-maker. He built four big roads. The first road was from Sonargaon in Bengal to the Indus. This road was known as the Sarak-i-Azam and was 1,500 *Kos* in length. It can be identified with the present Grand Trunk Road. The second road ran from Agra to Burhanpur. The third road ran from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor. The fourth road was from Lahore to Multan. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads. Sarais were built at a distance of every Kroh. Separate provision was made for Hindus and Muslims in these Sarais. There was also a well, a mosque and officials such as an Imam, a Muazzin, etc. According to Dr. Qanungo, the Sarais became "the veritable arteries of the Empire, diffusing a new life among its hitherto benumbed limbs." Market-towns developed near these Sarais and trade improved.

Charity. Sher Shah was very liberal in the matter of making grants. He gave grants to Imams and holy men. He also patronized art and letters. Under the orders of Sher Shah, the old grants were scrutinized. He ordered Munshies to prepare the Firmans. He examined them and sealed them himself and sent them to the Shiqdars for distribution. Every effort was made to give grants to those who deserved it. Special grants were given to Madarsas and mosques. Stipends were given to teachers and students. Free kitchens were established by the Government. It is to be noted that in the matter of making grants, Sher Shah was very liberal towards the Afghans.

Intelligence Department. The Sarais were also used as Dak Chaukis. A Daroga-i-Dak Chauki was appointed by Sher Shah. A large number of news-writers and news-carriers were employed and the king got daily reports regarding what was happening in various parts of the country. The system worked so efficiently that Sher Shah was able to get information from all parts of his dominion.

Religious Policy. There is a difference of opinion regarding the religious policy followed by Sher Shah. According to Dr. Qanungo, Sher Shah followed a policy of religious toleration towards the Hindus. His attitude was "not contemptuous sufferance but respectful defe-

rence." Principal Sri Ram Sharma differs from Qanungo. Sher Shah was very much devoted to his own faith. He did his prayers five times a day. On more than one occasion, Sher Shah resorted to *Jehad* or holy war against the Rajputs. War against Pooranmal of Raisin was officially called a *Jehad*. His treatment of Maldeo of Jodhpur is a symbol of his intolerance. The same could be said about the siege of Kalinjar. Generally, Sher Shah was tolerant in matters of religious belief. He separated politics from ethics. He did not carry on any organized propaganda against the Hindus. On the whole, he was tolerant towards the Hindus.

According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, "The net result of Sher Shah's policy was that his Muslim subjects never felt angry with him on account of his liberal and lenient policy towards the Hindus. On the other hand, Akbar, in his anxiety to please his Hindu Subjects, ignored the sentiments of his Muslim subjects. Its result was that he (Akbar) no doubt was successful in pleasing the Hindus, but he lost the sympathy of his Muslim subjects and, as such, became an obstacle in uniting the two communities into one. Sher Shah's policy was that Islam should be given its due dignity and supremacy in this land, but, at the same time Hinduism also should not be held inferior nor should it be degraded. In those days, therefore, this attitude and policy was more useful and appropriate, according to which he (Sher Shah) could openly favour the Hindus without displeasing the Muslims as well. If Akbar and his successors had pursued this policy of 'religious neutrality' in the country, this complicated communal problem of India would have found a correct solution very long ago."

Buildings. As regards the buildings of Sher Shah, he was responsible for the construction of Rohtasgarh on the Jhelum. The Purana Qila of New Delhi is said to have been constructed by him. According to Fergusson, the Purana Qila is the most perfect of Sher Shah's buildings. According to Smith, "The short-lived and unstable Sur dynasty of which Sher Shah was the most distinguished member, had such a hard fight for existence that it could not have been expected to pay much attention to architecture. Nevertheless, several meritorious buildings are due to the Sur dynasty and the Mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sahsram built on a lofty plinth in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India, unequalled among the early buildings in the Northern Provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it to even the Taj—the style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughlaq buildings and the feminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece."

The Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi has given the following account of daily routine of Sher Shah: "Sher Shah was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. Four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing and were issued and acted upon, there was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he

received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace."

Estimate of Sher Shah. Sher Shah was a great empire-builder. By sheer dint of hard work, he rose to the position of the Emperor of Northern India. He possessed an iron determination. He was shrewd and diplomatic in his actions. He could at once grasp the situation and take full advantage of the same. He was pious in his life and was responsible for restoring the wives of Humayun after their capture at Chausa. He was not a very cultured man but he possessed enough knowledge of Arabic and Persian. He was not a soldier by profession but certainly he understood how to plan campaigns to a successful conclusion. He took full advantage of the follies of Humayun and drove him out of the country. He is stated to have observed thus: "If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindustan; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I had been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline; while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officials whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every case.......they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend".

He was a successful statesman. He kept the good of the people in his heart and tried to do all that he could for the welfare of the people. He tried to give peace and justice to the people. He laid down the foundations of an administrative system which was developed by Akbar later on. He has been rightly called a *fore-runner of Akbar*. He anticipated him in many ways. His revenue reforms were on the same lines as those of Akbar later on. He tried to improve the military system. However, Akbar's Mansabdari system was something new.

Sher Shah was a striking personality in the history of mediaeval. His military character was marked by a "rare combination of caution and enterprise." According to Erskine, Sher Shah had "more of the spirit of a legislator and a guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar." According to Mr. Keene, "No Government—not even the British—has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan." According to Dr. Smith, "If Sher Shah had been spared, the Great Mughals would not have appeared on the stage of history."

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "From a petty Jagirdar's son in Bihar, he had risen to the position of Emperor and had brought large and extensive territories under his sway. He had driven the Mughals out of India and humbled the pride of the noblest Mughals. He had built up an immense army which was the terror of his contemporaries. The institutions which he devised for the better governance of the country and the unremitting industry with which he looked after the business of the state had won him the admiration and esteem of

friends and foes alike. By sheer force of genius, he had organized the Afghans into a nation and curbed their separatist tendencies. But he did not seem to be satisfied with his achievements and the Afghan historians mention four dying regrets: (1) to depopulate the country of Roh and to transfer the inhabitants to the tract between the Nilab and Lahore so as to avert the danger from the Mughals; (2) to destroy Lahore which was on the road of the invader where he could easily collect supplies and organize his resources; (3) to build two fleets of fifty large vessels each as commodious as Serais for the convenience of pilgrims going to and coming from Mecca; and (4) to raise a tomb to Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat on the condition that there should be a sepulchre of the Chaghatais whom he may have dispatched to martyrdom".[1]

According to Havell, "Sher Shah showed brilliant capacity as an organiser, both in military and civil affairs. By dint of indefatigable industry and personal attention to the smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindustan in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding rayat was grateful to the iron-handed Afghan for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Sudras were Aryan free-men, and the laws of the Village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Five Indies".

According to William Erskine, "He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, whoever ruled in India..... Sher Shah had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar".

According to Keene, "His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great need of his country. Though a devout Muslim, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progresses were the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the occasions of devastation.... It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shah are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever".

According to Smith, "Sher Shah was something more than the capable leader of a horde of fierce Afghans. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sasseram (Sahsaram) in Bihar which he prepared for himself.... He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Alauddin Khalji and were developed by Akbar..... He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Mughals' would not have appeared on the stage of history".

1. Ishwari Prasad: Life and Times of Humayun, pp. 179-80.

According to S.R. Sharma, "Although, like Babur, Sher Shah sat on the throne of Delhi only for five years, he left behind him more than a mere territorial legacy. In the *first place*, he tried to unify and integrate the scattered provinces by creating a machinery of government in which all power would be vested in himself at the centre. Thereby a paramountcy was superimposed upon the loose federation of Afghan Tribal policy and the ground was prepared for greater centralisation under Akbar. *Secondly*, he attempted to standardise the entire administration of the country and to impart to it a political unity by the establishment, all over Hindustan, of a network of roads and Serais, the routine transfer of officials from one province to another, the construction of new fortress at strategic points equipped in a manner prescribed by the central authority, and the regular collection of revenue according to rules based on principles more rational than those that obtained under the arbitrary Government of the earlier Sultans. More than anything else, Sher Shah tried to bridge the gulf between his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects by providing equal amenities for all travellers at the Serais, by the employment of Hindus in the administration to a large extent than ever before, by fostering the peasantry which formed the backbone of the country and by his high sense of justice. Nevertheless, he failed to reach the height to which Zain-ul-Abidin and Akbar rose, because he did not abolish the *Jizya* which was the canonical mark of discrimination in a Muslim state. Sher Shah's polity, therefore, just fell short of attempting complete national unity, the retention of that mediaeval criterion showed that Sher Shah was the last, though also the best of the mediaeval Sultans, rather than the first of the modern Emperors of India. This latter distinction belongs to Akbar alone."

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Sher Shah has received scant justice at the hands of some historians of India, who have relied largely on the records left by the court annalists of the Mughal Empire, to whom he was no more than Sher Khan, the Afghan rebel. *He was, in truth, one of the greatest rulers whoever sat upon the throne of Delhi.* No other, from Aibak to Aurangzib, possessed such intimate knowledge of the details of administration, or was able to examine and control public business so minutely and effectively as he. He restrained the turbulence and quelled the tribal jealousies of the Afghan chiefs, he reformed the land revenue administration, he introduced a system of great trunk roads, furnished with caravan-serais, wells and every convenience for the comfort and safety of the travellers, and he maintained throughout his dominions such order that 'none dared to turn the eye of dishonesty upon another's goods. An old woman with a pot of gold might securely lay herself down to rest besides her burden, even in the desert, and a cripple was not afraid of a Rustam.' Himself a pious Muslim, he suffered none to be persecuted in the name of religion, and, far wiser than Akbar, made no attempt to assume spiritual power but left each to seek God after his own fashion. Budauni, the orthodox Muslim historian, thanks God that he was born in the reign of so just a king. Of his wise and judicious measures of administration many were adopted or imitated by Akbar without acknowledgement and he was far more successful than any who followed him in checking corruption, speculation, and frauds on the public treasury. 'It behoves the great', he said, 'to be always active', and throughout his life he allowed himself no more rest than was necessary for his health and the preservation of his bodily and mental powers. 'All this', says Mr. Keene, 'has an importance beyond

the immediate time. After the Mughal restoration, Sher Shah's officials passed into Akbar's service; the faults imputed by the shah to what he called Mughal administration—but which are common to all Turks—were prevented; and this far-sighted man, even after his death and the subversion of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by mediaeval Indian rulers for the good of the people'."[1]

According to Dr. Tripathi, if Sher Shah had lived longer, he might have taken the wind out of Akbar's sails. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen among the Sultans of Delhi. He paved the way for the highly enlightened policy of Akbar. He was the true precursor of Akbar. Dr. Tripathi quotes with approval the view of Crookes that........ he (Sher Shah) introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability." Dr. Tripathi rightly says that Sher Shah was undoubtedly the builder of the second Afghan Empire. At least during the life-time, he united the Afghan tribes into a nation and recovered for them their lost empire. However, he did nothing positive which could create enthusiasm among or inspire his non-Muslim subjects to honour him as their ruler or consider him the symbol of national unity in the wider sense of the term.[2]

Sometimes, an effort has been made to give too much of praise to Sher Shah. It is stated that "Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation by reconciling the followers of the rival creeds." Unfortunately, there is nothing to substantiate such a view. As a matter of fact, Sher Shah had no clear concept of a nation. He never dreamt of founding an Indian nation. There was no such thing as national patriotism which guided his actions. His reforms were guided by expediency. Sir Wolseley Haig was not right when he said that Sher Shah was the greatest of the Muslim rulers of India. As a matter of fact, that place is occupied by Akbar and none else. Even Dr. Qanungo admits that Akbar "is justly entitled to a higher place in history than Sher Shah."

Successors of Sher Shah. When Sher Shah died in 1545, he left two sons, Adil and Jalal. The former was the elder of the two. Both the sons were away at the time of Sher Shah's death but Jalal was the first to reach and consequently was made king by the nobles. Adil was superseded. Jalal took up the title of Islam Shah or Salim Shah and ruled up to 1553.

Islam Shah (1545-53). The first act of the new king was to distribute among the army two months' pay in cash. All the Jagirs were resumed by the king and their holders were given cash. The Raja of Kalinjar was put to death. Islam Shah built a Serai at every half *Kos* between the Serais of his father. He stationed in each of those Serais two horses and some footmen to bring news every day from Bengal. Poor travellers were given all kinds of comforts. Provision was made for giving of alms in those Serais. No distinction was made between Hindus and Muslims. Regulations were issued for the guidance of civil and military officials and they were required to follow them strictly. He maintained strict discipline in the army which was thoroughly reorganized and made efficient. Lands were

1. The Cambridge Shorter History of India, pp. 261-62.
2. Tripathi, R.P.: Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 140-41.

granted for the maintenance of troops. He gave promotions to his six hundred horsemen who had served him when he was a prince. He set up an elaborate system of espionage throughout the length and breadth of the country. The result was that he received detailed reports regarding the happenings in various parts of the country. He took prompt action against the guilty and his orders were carried out in the same spirit. He set up permanent camps in the country and stationed troops in them. The camps were the centres from which royal influence radiated. On Fridays, justice was given to all the petitioners.

It is true that Islam Shah had ability and energy but he was suspicious by nature. He could not win over the affection of the nobles who virtually worshipped his father. The result was that one by one, many Afghan nobles who were responsible for the success of Sher Shah, were disposed of and thus a beginning was made in that process which ultimately led to the downfall of the second Afghan Empire.

Adil Khan, Islam's brother, paid a visit to the royal court and no harm was done to him as nobles like Khawas Khan, one of the lieutenants of Sher Shah, had given Adil a guarantee that no harm would be done to him. Adil was given a Jagir but he was hardly in possession of that Jagir for two months when orders were issued for Adil's arrest. Khawas Khan protested but all was of no avail. Adil was arrested. This was one of the causes of the revolt of Khawas Khan and other nobles.

A conspiracy was hatched against Islam Shah and preparations were made in secret. There was a revolt in which Adil and many other Afghan nobles took part. The revolt was a failure as some of the details were miscarried. Khawas Khan was defeated. He ran away and spent the rest of his life as a rebel. Adil also disappeared for ever. Islam Shah punished all those who were suspected to have any hand in the conspiracy. According to Budaun, "Setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to Adil Shah, he girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world, like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess." Qutab Khan, Jalal Khan Sur, Zain Khan Niazi and many others were thrown into prison where they met their death in one form or the other.

Islam Shah systematically destroyed all the Afghan nobles who occupied positions of authority and prestige. Shujaat Khan had been put in charge of Malwa by Sher Shah in recognition of his services. The grievance of Islam Shah against him was that he was rich and powerful and successful in maintaining law and order. However, Shujaat Khan was a shrewd man and was able to ward off the danger by humble representations of loyalty and devotion to the king.

Haibat Khan Niazi Azim Humayun, the Governor of the Punjab, was also not trusted by Islam Shah. He did not take pains to remove the suspicion from the mind of the king and the result was that he had to revolt. He was joined by Khawas Khan and the opposition seemed to be pretty formidable. As ill luck would have it, differences arose between Niazi and Khawas Khan and consequently both of them were defeated and they had to run for their lives. They suffered innumerable hardships and as Islam Shah was always on the watch,

they could not do him any harm. After many ups and downs, they disappeared from the scene.

There was some misunderstanding between the king and Shujaat Khan and consequently the latter revolted. When the king went in pursuit of him, the latter refused to fight on the plea that he would not draw his sword against the son of his master. This fact so much influenced Islam Shah that he restored Shujaat Khan to all his previous Jagirs and dignity.

Friendly relations were established with Mirza Haider, the ruler of Kashmir, and the latter sent his envoys to the Delhi Court with presents of shawls and saffron as tokens of good-will.

There is no unanimity among historians regarding the treatment meted out by Islam Shah to Kamran, the brother of Humayun, when the latter visited him. There are some who say that Kamran was treated generously. There are others who maintain that the treatment was so bad that Kamran fled in the disguise of a woman.

The rule of Islam Shah was personal lik ethat of his father, but he lacked all those qualities which made his father the idol of the nobles who were prepared to make all kinds of sacrifices for him. Islam Shah tried to crush the nobles one by one. He was thoroughly unpopular but he managed to rule by sheer force of character. He struck terror into the hearts of his opponents by his ruthlessness and energy. His policy was responsible for breaking the national unity among the Afghans. "The result was that on his death, the empire which he had held together in iron bonds, broke to pieces almost at once, to the great relief of most of its constituents."

Muhammad Adil (1553-57). Islam Shah was succeeded by his son Firuz, who was put to death by Mubariz Khan, the son of Sher Shah's brother Nizam and the brother of Firuz's mother. Islam Shah had suspected Mubariz Khan in his life-time but no action was taken against him. Mubariz Khan was ignorant and dissolute. He did not possess those qualities which ought to be in a ruler. He took up the title of Muhammad Adil but he was called by his old nickname of Andhali (blind). He was hopelessly debauched and indifferent to public affairs. He was childishly extravagant. He was popular with the vulgar and unpopular with the higher strata of society. He was not competent to save the Afghan Empire from ruin. The people were not prepared to forget his murder of his nephew. According to Elphinstone, "His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices."

Reference may be made to the rise of Hemu who was appointed his Chief Minister by Muhammad Adil. He belonged to the Dhusar caste of Rewari. He rose by sheer dint of merit. He won the goodwill of his master and took up the title of Bikramajit by "masterpieces of feline trickery". He possessed business capacity and became famous for courage and valour by his deeds.

There was a lot of discontentment in the country and it showed itself in open sedition. When the king in open Darbar passed orders for the transfer of the Jagir of Muhammad Farmali to Sarmast Khan Sarwani, the son of the former killed the latter there and then. He might have killed the king as well if he had not escaped. It is true

that both the father and son were killed in the Darbar itself but this incident gave a set-back to the authority of the king.

Taj Khan Karsani who was at Gwalior took the road to Bengal with the object of creating trouble in that province. He was joined by many others. However, all of them were pursued and defeated by Hemu.

There were fresh rebellions everywhere and it became difficult to suppress them. Sikandar Khan Sur, the cousin of the king, captured Delhi and Agra. Malwa, Punjab and Bengal declared their independence. The control of the king was effective only in the provinces east of the Ganges.

There were five Afghan kings struggling for power. Muhammad Shah Adali had Bihar, Jaunpur and the neighbouring districts under his control. Ibrahim Sur held Delhi and the whole of the Doab. Ahmed Khan Sur declared himself independent in the Punjab and took up the title of Sikandar Shah. Muhammad Khan became independent in Bengal and took up the title of Sultan Muhammed. Daulat Khan, son of Shujaat Khan, declared himself independent in Malwa.

The ruler of the Punjab was first to move. He defeated Ibrahim and occupied Delhi and Agra. He became the master of the whole of the territory between the Indus and the Ganges. The condition in 1555 was that Ibrahim was planning to get back his dominion from Sikandar. Adali was preparing to turn out Ibrahim. Muhammad Shah was on the point of crossing his border and attacking Adali in Bihar. It was under these circumstances that Humayun defeated Sikandar Sur and occupied Delhi and Agra in the same year. Thus, the second Afghan Empire fell.

Causes of Downfall of Sur Empire. The Sur Empire founded by Sher Shah fell due to many causes. His successors were thoroughly incompetent and unfit to carry on his work of reconstruction. Instead of trying to secure the support of all the sections of society, they created discussions and group-rivalries. Islam Shah was responsible for the destruction of many of those nobles who had a lot under Sher Shah. The success of Sher Shah was due to a large extent to their wholehearted devotion and bravery. Islam Shah did not appreciate their contribution and as a matter of fact destroyed completely the very pillars of the Empire. Without such trusted officers as Khawas Khan, it was impossible to maintain the empire. Muhammad Adil was worse than his predecessor. Instead of setting the house in order, he added to the discontentment prevailing among the Afghan chiefs. The rise of Hemu made them bitter and jealous.

It has already been pointed out that in the time of Muhammad Adil, there were five Afghan rulers struggling for power. There was no national solidarity among the Afghans. They were quarrelling among themselves unmindful of the fact that there was every possibility of the Mughals coming back under the leadership of Humayun and that is exactly what actually happened.

According to Dr. Tripathi, "The noble sentiment of patriotism with which Sher Shah had been able to inspire and unite the Afghan nobles received such a shock at the hands of Islam Shah that it was practically destroyed. As soon as his commanding personality was

removed, the pent-up feelings and ambitions of the Afghan nobles were let loose."[1]

Sher Shah worked with the ideal of bringing, about regeneration among the Afghans and did all that he could, to bring them on a common platform. There was no such feeling among the Afghan chiefs and his successors. They all struggled for personal gain. Rivalries and jealousies ruined the Afghans altogether.

The character of the Afghans deteriorated. They lost all sense of self-respect. It is stated that when Hemu charged them with cowardice, they "swallowed his insults like sweetmeats." The Afghans did not honour their word. They did not attach importance to the sanctity of their plighted word. Such a character cannot create or maintain empire. Only those nations rise which have regard for moral principles.

The successors of Sher Shah ignored the lot of the peasantry. Nothing was done to protect them. The result was that they became indifferent towards the fate of Sur dynasty. The nobles became tyrants and crushed the people. An empire which does not bother about the condition of the people cannot last long.

The example of Sher Shah was forgotten. The forts which he built in various parts of the country for purposes of defence, became centres of mischief and sedition. A lot of money was wasted on punitive expeditions and bootless skirmishes. There was no proper collection of revenues. The officers kept the same to themselves. There was no audit of accounts and consequently a lot of money was embezzled. Poor finance weakens the foundations of the State.

The Afghans did not bother to give justice to the people. The latter were ruled in an arbitrary manner. All kinds of punishments were inflicted on them. There was no regard for life or property. There was no bureaucracy devoted to the task of the State and no military class proud to die for its defence. There was absolutely no discipline anywhere. No wonder, the second Afghan empire fell.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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1. Tripathi, R.P.: Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 157.

CHAPTER V

AKBAR, THE GREAT (1556—1605)

Akbar, the Great, was one of the greatest rulers of Indian history. He has become a hero whose memory is immortalized as a great king in the hearts of the people of India. The lapse of three hundred years has not diminished it in any way. It has been rightly stated that "he possessed that broad-minded sympathy, that capacity to trust and to evoke trust, that generous confidence in a loyal people, which enabled him to weld together a great and durable empire out of the poor fragments of military conquests left to him by his father."

Condition of India in 1556. Akbar came to the throne in 1556 after the death of his father, Humayun. At that time, he was a child of hardly 14. The throne he inherited was not a bed of roses. As a matter of fact, there was no throne at all. When Akbar got the news of the death of his father, he was at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab. It was at that place that Akbar was enthroned. An ordinary brick platform was prepared and the ceremony was performed. However, the ceremony did not strengthen the hands of Akbar. According to Dr. Smith, "It merely registered the claim of Humayun's son to succeed to the throne of Hindustan". It is well-known that Humayun had recovered Delhi in June 1555 but he had not found enough time to consolidate his position in India. Everything was still unsettled. The position of Akbar was so very shaky that he was advised by all except Bairam Khan to leave India and retire to Kabul.

It is true that Sikandar Sur had been defeated by Humayun, but it is also true that his power had not been crushed. He was still at large in the Punjab. He retained his pretensions to be the king of Delhi and the Punjab. In the Eastern Provinces, the Afghans were strong under their King Mohammad Shah Adali. Adali's minister, Hemu, possessed a large army and was determined to prevent Akbar from taking possession of the dominion of his father.

The Rajput princes also possessed considerable strength and sitting in their forts, they were formidable enemies of Akbar. The important Rajput princes were those of Mewar, Jaisalmer, Bundi and Jodhpur. These Rajput princes had increased their strength in the time of Humayun. They had increased their military strength to such an extent that they were thinking in terms of fighting against Mughal Empire.

The States of Gujrat and Malwa had become independent. Their rulers acted in an independent manner and entered into diplomatic relations with other countries. Kabul at that time was under the control of Mirza Hakim, the brother of Akbar. He was acting as an independent ruler and was ambitious enough to entertain dreams of acquiring the empire of India. Both Sindh and Multan were independent and did not owe any allegiance to the ruler of Delhi. Likewise, Kashmir was being ruled by an independent Muslim ruler. Gondwana at that time was being ruled by Rani Durgawati, in the name of her minor son. The States of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Gol-

conda, Bidar, Berar and Khandesh were absolutely independent and their rulers did not owe any allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi. However, they were involved in continuous wars with the empire of Vijayanagar. At that time, the Portuguese were powerful both in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. They had established their hold on the Western Coast of India and possessed such important places as Goa, Daman and Diu.

The King was absolute and there was practically no check on his authority. He was assisted by a Wazir or Prime Minister whose position varied with the personal equation. In some cases he was an uncontrollable viceregent and in others, only the Chief among the Ministers. The various provinces were ruled by the nobles and the King or the Sultan was simply their overlord. They were absolute within their jurisdiction and exercised all executive powers of the State. The King did not interfere in the internal affairs of the provinces. Each province had an army of its own under its own governor. The King depended partly on the soldiers of his nobles and partly on the troops recruited by himself.

As regards the social life of the people, the Hindus were looked down upon. They had to pay such discriminatory taxes as *Jizya* and pilgrimage tax. The people in general were steeped in superstitions and attached great importance to witchcraft, omens and dreams.

The economic condition of the people was simply deplorable. A famine was raging in full fury and was bringing havoc to the people. This was particularly so in the case of Delhi and Agra where thousands died of starvation. "The capital was devasted and nothing remained but a few houses. An epidemic plague ensued and spread through most of the cities of Hindustan. Multitudes died and men were driven to feed on human flesh, parties being formed to seize and eat solitary victims."

Second Battle of Panipat (1556). The immediate problem facing Akbar was to deal with the rising power of Hemu, the Prime Minister of Mohammad Shah Adali of Bengal. On hearing the news of the death of Humayun, Hemu marched towards Agra and captured the same. Then he moved on to Delhi. Tardi Beg, the Mughal Governor, retired from that place and the city fell into the hands of Hemu who entered it as King Vikramajit. Hemu was a man of extraordinary personality. He was a *Baniya* by birth and he started his career as a shopkeeper. By sheer dint of hard work and honesty of purpose, he became a *chaudhry* in his own circle. This brought him into contact with the Government officials who introduced him into the Court of the Sultan. Within a short period, Hemu won the confidence of his master who employed him in different capacities. He proved himself to be a great administrator and general. No wonder, he became the right hand man of Muhammad Shah Adali. He won for him battles and conquered territories. Akbar had to deal with such a shrewd and ambitious man.

Undoubtedly, Akbar was in a desperate position. The expulsion of Tardi Beg added to the fears of his followers. In spite of that, he accepted the advice of Bairam Khan and decided to give battle to Hemu. In order to create an impression on his followers, Tardi Beg

was executed.[1] The armies of Hemu and Akbar met on the historic battlefield of Panipat in November 1556. At that time, a severe famine was going on at Delhi and in the neighbouring territory. To begin with, Hemu seemed to carry the day. However, he was struck in the eye by an arrow and he became unconscious. This was a turning point in the battle. The leaderless Afghan army fled away and 1500 war elephants and other booty fell into the hands of Akbar and Bairam Khan. Hemu was captured and brought before Akbar and Bairam Khan. According to Smith, Akbar "smote the prisoner on the neck". Arif Kandhari, a contemporary writer, supports this view. However, according to Dr. Srivastava, "Abul Fazl's statement that Akbar refused to kill an already dying man, is obviously wrong."

The second Battle of Panipat was of far-reaching importance. The Mughals got a decisive victory over the Afghans. The Afghan pretensions to the sovereignty of India were gone once for all. Delhi and Agra were occupied.

Submission of Sikandar Sur (1557). Sikandar Sur had retired to the Siwalik Hills and Bairam Khan sent his forces there. The former shut himself in the hill-fortress of Mankot. The fort was besieged and the siege continued for six months. Sikandar Sur sued for peace. He surrendered the fort. He was given a Jagir and his son was otherwise provided.

In 1557, Muhammad Shah Adali died as a result of his conflict with the ruler of Bengal. Thus, another antagonist of Akbar was disposed of without any effort on his part.

Bairam Khan. Bairam Khan was a native of Badakshan and professed the Shia faith. He served faithfully both Humayun and Akbar. He fought in the Battle of Kanauj in 1540 and was taken a prisoner. However, he managed to escape and joined Humayun in

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1. Tardi Beg was a Turkish nobleman. In the time of Humayun, he occupied a respectable position in the state. When Humayun died all of a sudden, Tardi Beg took over the reins of administration into his hands and kept the news concealed from the public for full seventeen days. He was partly responsible for the bloodless succession of Akbar. Kamran was present at that time in Delhi and if Tardi Beg so desired, he could have put forward his claims and thereby created trouble for Akbar. However, it was on account of his tact and loyalty that Akbar became the undisputed successor of his father. No wonder, the execution of Tardi Beg is a matter of controversy among the different historians. According to Smith, "The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without any trial, was necessary and subsequently just. It may be reasonably affirmed that the failure to punish the dereliction of Tardi Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and life." According to Ferishta, if Tardi Beg had not been executed, the Chaghtai officers who considered themselves on equal footing with Bairam Khan, would not have submitted to the authority of Akbar.

However, Malleson and Ishwari Parsad do not approve of the execution of Tardi Beg. According to them, it was an act of high-handedness on the part of Bairam Khan. Malleson admits the fact that Tardi Beg evacuated Delhi in haste and left the city defenceless, but his contention is that "an error in tactics is not a crime, he had at least brought forward a powerful reinforcement to Akbar in Sirhind." According to Ishwar Parsad, "The manner in which Bairam brought about the murder admits of no palliation even on the ground that the interest of state demanded the crime." Jahangir

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his wanderings. He accompanied him to Persia and there exercised his own influence to get for Humayun the support of the ruler of that country. He was with Humayun when the latter conquered Kabul, Kandhar and later on the Punjab, Delhi and Agra.[1] He was affectionately called Khani-baba (Lord Father).

It has already been pointed out that when Humayun died, Bairam Khan and Akbar were in the Punjab pursuing Sikandar Sur who was still not crushed. Akbar, a young man of 14 was in a very difficult situation. His followers advised him to retire to Kabul and from there attempt once again the conquest of India. However, it was Bairam Khan who opposed the idea and insisted upon giving battle to Hemu who had already occupied Agra and Delhi. The credit of winning the Second Battle of Panipat goes in a large measure to Bairam Khan. He may be accused of the execution of Tardi Beg but expediency required such an action to strike terror into the hearts of the traitors and cowards amongst the Mughal officials.[2] He was also responsible for the execution of Hemu and his father.

After the Battle of Panipat, Bairam Khan, by virtue of his wisdom, age and experience, was able to acquire considerable influence over Akbar and became virtually the ruler of the country (1556-60). In this position, he continued the work of conquest. He conquered Gwalior and Jaunpur but failed in the case af Ranthambore. He also did not succeed in his designs on Malwa.

However, Bairam Khan did not remain in power for long. He fell in 1560 and his fall was due to many causes. He appointed Sheikh Gadai as Sadr-i-Sadur. As the Sheikh was a Shia, his appointment was resented by the Sunni Muslims who were in a majority in India. The Sheikh was exempted from the ceremony of homage. He was given precedence over the Ulama and the Sayyids. He was given the authority to endorse the decrees with his seal. All this created a lot of heart-burning. Sheikh Gadai became the target of attack.

Bairam Khan showered favours on his friends and followers. The titles of Sultan and Khan were given by him to his own servants and this was resented by the Muslim nobility. The title of Panch-hazari was given by him to his own favourites and the claims of others were not considered. He adopted a discriminatory attitude in the punishment of the offenders. He severely dealt with the servants of the royal household but let off the servants of his own household. He ordered the execution of the elephant-driver of Akbar without any cause.

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tells us that there was a personal rivalry between Tardi Beg and Bairam Khan and consequently the latter brought about the downfall of his rival at the earliest opportunity. Moreover, Bairam Khan was Shia and Tardi Beg was a Sunni. Although Akbar did not approve of the action of Bairam Khan, he kept quiet as the circumstances demanded silence. The execution of Tardi Beg was probably one of the causes of the downfall of Bairam Khan in the long run.

1. Humayun is stated to have remarked thus about Bairam : "There is no lamp like thee in our family."

2. According to Dr. V. A. Smith, "The punishment although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial, was necessary and substantially just. It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the dereliction of Tardi Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life."

There was also a suspicion that Bairam Khan was plotting to place on the throne Abdul Qasim, a son of Kamran. This was considered to be the height of disloyalty which could not be ignored.

Bairam Khan was a Shia and his authority was resented by the Mughal nobles who were all Sunnis. They would like to pull him down from his high position. The execution of Tardi Beg created the feeling that Bairam Khan would not mind disposing of any noble, howsoever high he may be. This created a feeling of awe and terror in their minds and their personal safety demanded the removal of Bairam Khan.

Bairam Khan did not try to win over the nobles of the court. On the other hand, he was thoroughly unpopular. "His disposition was arbitrary, haughty and jealous and he could not easily tolerate the presence of possible rivals near his young master."

As Akbar began to grow in years, he made up his mind to take over the administration into his own hands. Bairam Khan did not seem to like the idea and did not behave in a proper way. This made Akbar impatient. There were also palace intrigues. Hamida Banu, the mother of Akbar, Maham Anaga, Adham Khan and Shahab-ud-Din, Governor of Delhi, hated Bairam Khan and plotted to remove him. A conspiracy was hatched. Akbar went to Delhi to see his mother who was reported to be ill. It was at Delhi that Akbar wrote to Bairam Khan that he had decided to take into his own hands the reigns of the government and, therefore, the latter should retire to Mecca. He also offered him a Jagir for his maintenance. Although Bairam Khan was advised by his followers to revolt, he refused to do so and submitted. Unfortunately, Pir Muhammad, a person whom Bairam Khan detested, was sent to hasten the departure of Bairam Khan from India to Mecca. This was not liked by Bairam Khan and he revolted. However, he was defeated and he begged forgiveness. That was generously given by Akbar who received him "with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour." Bairam Khan was allowed to proceed to Mecca with dignity. Unfortunately, he was murdered by an Afghan in Gujrat. His camp was plundered but his young son, Abdur Rahim, was saved. Later on, he rose to the position of Khan-i-Khanan and married a daughter of Prince Daniyal.

Dr. V.A. Smith has made the following observations on Bairam Khan: "The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan leaves an unpleasant taste. It seems to be clear that the intriguers who surrounded and controlled the young Padshah were resolved to get rid of the Protector at any cost, and that they deliberately forced him into rebellion in order to ensure his destruction. For a long time he steadily resisted the advice of Shaikh Gadai and others who counselled open opposition, and if his enemies had abstained from the outrage of deputing Pir Muhammad to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca, he would apparently have submitted to his Sovereign's will, as his modern representative, Bismarck, submitted to William II, that is to say reluctantly, but as a matter of both necessity and duty. Bairam Khan obviously was only a half-hearted rebel, and was glad to be captured. Even Abul Fazl, who made the most of the Protector's faults, and could hardly find language emphatic enough to express his sense of the alleged merits of Maham Anaga and Pir Muhammad, was constrained to admit that 'Bairam Khan was in reality a good man, and of excellent

qualities.' The court chronicler ascribes his deviations from the narrow path of rectitude to his association with evil advisers and his inordinate appetite for flattery. As a matter of fact, Bairam Khan, although misled sometimes by his partiality for Shia co-religionists, chose his instruments far better than Maham Anaga chose hers during her brief tenure of power. He had the never needed to punish the traitor Tardi Beg, and so to save his master's cause. It is true that he made a mistake in giving his confidence at first to Pir Muhammad, but when he discovered the man's ingratitude and baseness, he had no hesitation in dismissing him.

"Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generositv of his reception after the failure of his rebellion may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had little to do with the previous transactions for which Maham Anaga was responsible, as her penegyrist Abul Fazl expressly affirms."[1]

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "It was chiefly due to Bairam that Akbar owed his throne. It was inevitable that a youngman of Akbar's force of character should emerge from a state of tutelage, but he would have done well to wait, for he was not yet fit to assume the sole charge of his empire and remained for four years more under the pernicious influence of the harem party. The means by which he escaped from Bairam's influence were probably the best which he could have adopted, but the insults and ungenerous treatment which drove the protector into rebellion would be a blot upon his memory were it not certain that they originated with Bairam's bitterest enemy in the harem party."

Petticoat Government (1561-64). After the fall of Bairam Khan in 1560, Akbar came under the influence of Maham Anaga, his foster-mother. According to Dr. Smith, Akbar threw off the yoke of Bairam Khan only to be brought under the "monstrous regime of unscrupulous women." Maham Anaga proved to be unworthy of the trust reposed in her. She did not care for the interests of the country but merely favoured worthless persons. This point of view is not accepted by Indian historians. It is pointed out that if Maham Anaga had been all powerful, she would certainly have helped her own son, Adham Khan, who had distinguished himself as a great general. Not only Adham Khan was not favoured, even the great influence of his mother could not save his life.

Adham Khan. In 1561, Adham Khan was sent to subdue Baz Bahadur, an Afghan, who had captured Malwa. Adham Khan was assisted by Pir Mohammad. He was able to defeat Baz Bahadur near Sarangpur.[1] Unfortunately, he did not send the spoils of the

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1. Smith, V.A. Akbar, the Great Moghul, pp. 47-48.

2. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Pir Muhammad Khan and Adham Khan sullied their victory by the most revolting cruelty. The historian Badauni, who was an eye-witness of their atrocities, describes them as follows : 'On the day of the victory the two commanders were in the camp, and the prisoners were brought before them and were put to death by troops, so that their blood flowed in rivers.

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conquest to the Emperor. Adham Khan tried to take possession of Baz Bahadur's Hindu mistress Rupmati. She killed herself by taking poison. Akbar did not approve of the attitude of Adham Khan in retaining the spoils. He left Agra and reached Malwa by forced marches. He took Adham Khan by surprise. He seized the spoils and removed Adham Khan from his office. Pir Mohammad was appointed in his place. However, Baz Bahadur took advantage of the weak Government of Pir Mohammad and reconquered Malwa. Abdullah Khan Uzbeg defeated him and Baz Bahadur entered the Mughal service.

Adham Khan was the victim of a miscalculation. He wrongly counted upon the influence of his mother over Akbar. Adham Khan stabbed Shams-ud-Din, the Minister of Akbar, in the royal palace. This was too much for Akbar. It is stated that he rushed to the spot and gave a blow to Adham Khan with his fist and knocked him down to the ground. Adham Khan was seized and thrown headlong from the terrace of the palace where the murder had taken place. This happened in May 1562.

Uzbeg Rebellion (1564-67). Abdullah Khan Uzbeg was one of the trusted officers of Akbar. It was he who was responsible for the conquest of Malwa from Baz Bahadur. However, he revolted against Akbar in July 1564. He was joined by other Uzbeg nobles. The rebellion became formidable. Akbar marched against him and he was forced to retire to Gujrat. Ultimately, he went to Jaunpur where he joined hands with another Uzbeg chief named Khan Zaman. According to Dr. Smith, "Akbar was considered to favour the Persian officers between whom and the Uzbeg chiefs intense jealousy existed." The Uzbegs suspected that Akbar hated their entire race and was bent upon reducing them to a subordinate position. The result was that many of them joined the movement against Akbar. Khan Zaman or Ali Quli Khan who had rendered meritorious service in the Second Battle of Panipat also revolted in 1565. Asaf Khan who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against Bundelkhand and Gondwana, also threw in his lot with the rebels. The trouble continued for a long time. The Mughal forces sent against Khan Zaman were defeated in 1565. Thereupon, Akbar himself took the field in person. Although the rebels made a show of submission, the matter did not end there. Akbar had to suspend his operations against the Uzbegs on account of the activities of Hakim Mirza, his brother. After dealing with his brother, Akbar crossed the swollen Ganges in May 1567 at night and attacked the rebels early in the morning. There was bitter fighting. Khan Zaman was killed. Bahadur Khan, his brother, was taken prisoner and executed. It is evident that the rebellion was crushed through the bravery and promptitude of Akbar.

Wars and Conquests of Akbar. Akbar was a great general and

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"Pir Muhammad Khan cracked brutal jests on the wretched victims, and when Mihr 'Ali Beg Silduz, at Budauni's instance, represented that whatever might be done with rebels taken in arms it was not lawful to put their wives and children to death, Pir Muhammad replied, 'if we keep them for the night what will happen to them ?' "

"In that night the plundering marauders stowed away their Muslim captives, the wives of holy and learned men, Sayyids, and nobles, in boxes and saddlebags, and carried them off to Ujjain and in other directions. Sayyids and holy men came forth, bearing copies of the Koran, to welcome the conquerors, and Pir Muhammad Khan slew and burnt them all." (Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 78-80.)

conqueror. No wonder, he spent practically the whole of his life in making wars and adding to his territories. It has already been pointed out that he defeated Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat in 1556. In 1561, Adham Khan was sent to Malwa to subdue Baz Bahadur, an Afghan who had taken possession of that territory. After defeating Baz Bahadur, Adham Khan adopted a defiant attitude. The result was that Akbar himself went to Malwa and took Adham Khan by surprise. Adham Khan was removed from his office and Pir Mohammad was appointed in his place as the Governor of Malwa. Baz Bahadur took advantage of the weak Government of Pir Mohammad and reconquered Malwa. Akbar sent Abdullah Khan Uzbeg who recovered Malwa from Baz Bahadur.

Conquest of Gondwana. Gondwana was conquered in 1564. Gondwana was being ruled by Rani Durgawati who was a highly spirited lady. According to Abul Fazl, Durgawati ruled her country with wisdom and ability. She delighted in hunting and bringing down wild animals with her own gun. She was acting as regent for her minor son. Without any cause or justification, Asaf Khan, Governor of Kara, marched against Durgawati. She defended her territory bravely. She was outnumbered and defeated in a battle between Garh and Mandal in the modern Jubbulpore District. She died fighting in the battlefield. Her country was devastated and a lot of booty fell into the hands of the Mughals. Bir Narayan, the young son of Durgawati, also died fighting in the defence of his country. According to V.A. Smith: "Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for conquest and plunder".

Wars against Rajputs. Akbar followed a policy of reconciliation with the Rajputs. Some of the Rajput princes entered into matrimonial alliances with him. Akbar married in 1562 the eldest daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur. In 1570, he married princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer. In 1584, Prince Salim was married to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. However, Mewar defied the might of Akbar. Consequently, Akbar made up his mind to march against Chittor, and this he did in October 1567. As regards the causes of war between Akbar and Mewar, Abul Fazl says that Akbar's object was to punish Rana's audacious and arrogant pride due to his possession of big castles and mountains. According to Nizam-ud-Din and Budauni, the cause of the invasion was that Rana had extended his hospitality to Baz Bahadur of Malwa in 1762 and Akbar would like to punish him for that. According to V.A. Smith, the causes of the invasion were the political expediencies and economic necessities implied in Akbar's aspiring for the domination of the whole of India. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, all the Rajput chiefs had submitted to Akbar and it was Mewar alone that had stood aloof and disclaimed entering into an alliance with the Mughal Emperor. Akbar did not like one solitary state in Rajasthan to refuse to do with the paramount power like his and he was forced to take up arms against Mewar. However, according to Dr. Sharma, "The thesis is disproved by the sober facts of history. Before Akbar had launched an expedition against Chittor in October, 1567, the only Rajput family of note that had entered into an alliance with him was the Kachhwaha family of Amber (1562). In Rajasthan proper Akbar had acquired one important fortress before his siege of Chittor that was Merta (1562). Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer, the major states had not yet shown any

sign of entering into any friendly alliance with Akbar. The truth, therefore, was that Akbar must have felt that if he could bring about the reduction of Chittor and converted the Rana into his vassal other Rajput states in Rajasthan, like Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer would submit without fighting. And Akbar was right. His policy was based on a correct understanding of the politics of Rajasthan and the psychology of the Rajput chieftains of the time. Within two or three years of the fall of Chittor the rulers of Ranthambhor (1569), Jodhpur (1570), Bikaner (1570), and Jaisalmer (1570) submitted to Delhi and entered into matrimonial alliances with Akbar. Secondly, apart from the above psychological reason the security of Akbar's newly conquered dominion lay in establishing his supremacy over Rajasthan, particularly Mewar, whose ruler had given shelter, as we have seen, to Baz Bahadur of Malwa in 1562 A.D. A little before this time the Rana had welcomed at his court Jaimal of Merta who was defeated by Sharaf-ud-Din Husain (1562 A.D.) and driven out of that powerful fortress. Thirdly, without bringing Mewar or at least Chittor and a portion of its territory Akbar's expansion in the direction of Gujrat, which he coveted, was an impossibility. And finally, it became necessary for Akbar to move against Udai Singh, as Abul Fazl says, because Sakti Singh, the second son of the Rana, then in attendance at Akbar's court had fled to Chittor from Dholpur in Sep. 1567 A.D. without leave on a jestful remark of Akbar and reported to his father that Akbar was making preparations for the invasion of his country. In that age of chivalry it was necessary that Akbar should show that he was not merely joking specially when several weighty reasons existed in favour of an expedition to Chittor. It should not be forgotten that the Rana and Akbar were hereditary adversaries and the father of the reigning Sisodia chief and the grandfather of the Mughal emperor had engaged in deadly conflict for the supremacy in the country only about forty years before. Akbar was more ambitious than Babur and his interest lay in India. Hence it was inevitable for him to come into clash with the first Rajput chief in the country."[1]

Rana Udai Singh was the head of the Mewar state at that time. He was the posthumous child of Rana Sanga. He was an unworthy descendant of the house of Bapa Rawal. According to Todd, "He had not one quality of a sovereign and wanting martial valour, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. Well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intentions; and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes."

Udai Singh had not the guts to face Akbar and he retired from Chittor to the mountains leaving the defence of the country into the hands of Jaimal. The siege of Chittor was a long one. The Rajputs put up a stiff resistance. All the attacks of the Mughals were repulsed. Consequently, Akbar decided to proceed by a regular sap and mine method. Two Sabats or covered approaches to the wall were built. The intention was to blow up a part of the fort by means of gunpowder. However, one of the mines exploded earlier and was responsible for great destruction. A new work was started under the joint supervision of Kasim Khan and Todar Mal. A breach was made in the walls of the fort. In February 1568, Jaimal was super-

1. Sharma : Mewar and the Mughal Empire, pp. 66-68.

vising the repair of one of those breaches. Akbar saw and shot him dead with his own gun. "As usual in India, the fall of the commander decided the fate of the garrison." The Rajputs performed the *Jauhar* ceremony and after killing their women and children, they fell upon the enemy. About 8,000 Rajput warriors perished. Chittor fell into the hands of the Mughals in February 1568.

After Chittor came the turn of Ranthambhor which was the stronghold of the Hara section of Chauhans. It was considered to be impregnable in Rajasthan. Akbar started against Ranthambhor in December 1568 and reached the scene of action in February 1569. The Mughals were able to fix their guns at the top of another hill near the fort of Ranthambhor. The fire of the Mughal guns was too much for the fort of Ranthambhor. Surjana Hara, ruler of Ranthambhor, felt that it was impossible to hold the fort any longer. Through the good offices of Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, Surjana Hara sent his two sons, Duda and Bhoja to Akbar. The latter accepted the surrender and treated the young princes with great courtesy. Surjana Hara waited upon Akbar and handed over the keys of the fort of Ranthambhor to Akbar. He also entered the Mughal service and was appointed a Qiladar of Garhkantak. Later on, he was appointed the Governor of Banaras.

In 1569, Kalinjar was captured. Akbar sent Manjanu Khan to capture the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. When the ruler of Kalinjar got the news of the surrender of Ranthambhor and Chittor, he himself surrendered in August 1569. The capture of Kalinjar was of great military importance to Akbar on account of its position in Northern India.

Chandra Sen, the son of Raja Maldeo of Jodhpur, waited upon Akbar at Nagor. However, this friendship did not last long. Chandra Sen afterwards defied the authority of Akbar and retired to the hill fort of Siwana. Jodhpur was attacked and given over to Rai Singh of Bikaner. Kalyan Mal, the father of Rai Singh, also paid homage to Akbar. Akbar married Kalyan Mal's daughter.

Udai Singh died in 1572 and was succeeded by Maharana Pratap. Soon after his accession to the throne, Pratap made up his mind to get back Chittor from the Mughals and vindicate the honour of the Rajputs. Many a time, he remarked in sorrow that if Udai Singh had not intervened between him and Rana Sanga, no Turk would have given laws to Rajputana. He followed the traditions of his family that "the son of Bapa Rawal should bow the head to no mortal man." No wonder, he set aside all the offers on the part of Akbar and his associates. This bravest of the brave among the Rajputs carried on an unequal struggle for a quarter of a century. It is true that there was no comparison between his resources and those of the Mughals.

According to Abul Fazl, Maharana Pratap was arrogant, presumptuous, deceitful, and disobedient. Evidently, Abul Fazl could not be expected to speak highly of a man who carried on war against his master all his life. However, according to Dr. Smith, Maharana Pratap's "patriotism was his offence." Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure the independent attitude assumed by the Rana who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."

There is a story given in Rajput chronicles regarding the quarrel between Man Singh and Maharana Pratap. It is stated that once

upon a time Raja Man Singh desired to have an interview with Maharana Pratap on the banks of the Udai Sagar Lake. A feast was arranged in his honour but Maharana Pratap did not attend it. Understanding the cause of Pratap's absence, Man Singh remarked thus: "If the Rana refuses to put a plate before me, who will?" Maharana Pratap expressed his inability to do so on the ground that he was not prepared to eat with a person who had married his sister to a Muslim. This was too much for Raja Man Singh and he left the table with the following remark: "It was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own and gave our sisters and daughters to the Turk; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you." When Raja Man Singh was leaving, Maharana Pratap appeared on the scene, and Raja Man Singh addressed the following words to him: "If I do not humble your pride, my name is not Man." The only reply of Maharana Pratap was that he would be happy to meet him on all occasions.

Regarding the causes of war between Akbar and Pratap, Dr. Sharma observes thus: "Akbar was throughout his political career a consisent imperialist. Pratap, on the other hand, stood, for the independence of Mewar. A united empire under his (Akbar's) rule was his (Akbar) aim and this necessarily meant the end of independence of individual Rajput states. Against this designed policy Pratap stood for the preservation of individual identity based on deep local attachments and racial memories. By joining the Mughals his state would cease to exist as a sovereign state and he would be a Mughal Jagirdar and his state a sarkar or pargana of the Mughal dominions. This would certainly do greater harm than good to his position. He valued his states more in a small, compact, racially and culturally linked unit preserving the sovereign authority as against humbling himself by sending a representative to the Mughal court, receiving instruction from Delhi and getting confirmation of hereditary rights from the emperor.

"Equally revolting was the idea in Pratap's mind to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughal ruling family and send a 'dola' to Akbar's harem. Should it be right on his part to give his daughter and sister to the Mughal house like his fellow Rajputs? Or, should he resent it? The answer to these questions he could seek from the traditional glory of his house which had even stood for the purity of blood and sanctity of racial greatness. He would never be the first man in his house to bring a blot on it. This is why he was prepared to stake his all for maintaining the traditional purity by not offering hands of the Rajput princess of his dynasty to an alien."[1]

Akbar could not put up with the attitude of Maharana Pratap and decided to crush him. The first battle between Pratap and the Mughals was fought near the Pass of Haldi Ghati in 1576 and Maharana Pratap was defeated. The Mughal troops were commanded by Raja Man Singh and he was assisted by Asaf Khan. The Maharana guarded the Pass of Haldi Ghati with his 3,000 horsemen. The *Battle of Haldighati* was a ferocious one. It was a hand-to-hand fight from morning till mid-day. Maharana Pratap was at his best. However, he got a serious wound and retired into the hills. The victors were too exhausted to pursue him. Next day, the Mughals reached Gogunda. Thus the Mughals got a complete victory.

1. Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, pp. 87-88.

The battle was remembered long after in every part of India. According to R.C. Dutt, "For many years afterwards in Delhi, in South India, in Bengal, hoary-headed Mughal warriors would pass the night regaling youthful soldiers with tales of Haldighat and the amazing deeds of Pratap Singh."

As regards the causes of Rana's defeat, Dr. Sharma observes thus: "The time honoured practice of war which the Rana followed brought ruin to him. At such a pass it was not necessary to arrange his men in battle array as he did. The best course would have been to post his various divisions at various points in such a manner as to encircle the enemy inside the pass and not to allow him to escape without suffering death or destruction. In the second place, immediately after the retreat of the Mughal van-guard it was not right on the part of Rana to rush to the plain below with full force, which tired out the Rajputs at the first out-set. Thirdly, the accounts of the battle as given in the Rajput and Muslim sources show that the Rana could not maintain order among his troops after his second attack on the Mughals who on the other hand, succeeded in rallying their men and maintaining order. The superior number of the enemy and his bold stand could not but lead to the retreat of the Rana and his followers."[1]

According to Budauni, Akbar was not pleased with Man Singh on the ground that the latter did not pursue the Rana and also did not allow the troops to plunder the territory of Maharana Pratap. Akbar recalled Man Singh, Asaf Khan and Qazi Khan and excluded them from the court for some time. According to Abul Fazl, "Tricksters and time-servers suggested to the Royal ear that there had been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were ready incurring the king's displeasure. But his Majesty understood the truth and attached little value to what the back-biters told him." According to Nizam-ud-Din, Akbar was displeased on account of the fact that Pratap's territory was not allowed to be plundered by the troops.

In spite of his defeat in the Battle of Haldighati Maharana Pratap persevered in his determination to win back his territory from the Mughals. In spite of the heavy odds, he was able to recover all Mewar except Chittor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. He had to suffer innumerable difficulties but he did not give up heart. The whole of Rajasthan resounded with his fame. Even Akbar himself talked highly of Pratap.

However, this great Rajput general died in 1597. He was worn out both in body and mind. It is stated that he was unhappy at the time of his death. When he was asked the cause of his sorrow at that time, he remarked thus: "It (my soul) lingered for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk." Maharana Pratap feared that his sheds will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease. Luxury with all its concomitants will ensure and the independence of Mewar will be sacrificed. It is stated that Amar Singh and his nobles gave a promise to Pratap that they will carry on his mission after his death. It was then that Pratap got satisfaction and died in peace.

In the words of Tod, "Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory is even now idolised by every Sisodia and will continue to

1. Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 105.

do so till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never come. Yet if such be her destiny may it at least not be hastened by the arms of Britain. There is not a pass in the Alpine Aravali that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap—some brilliant victory or oftener more glorious defeat. Haldighat is the Thermophylae of Mewar; the field of Demeis and her Marathon." Again, "Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the Wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the 'Ten Thousand' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that sincerity which keeps honour bright, perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast of, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind."

According to Dr. Sharma, "As a general and a leader of men in war, Pratap was a person suited to the need of his own time. It is true he committed a sad mistake by engaging himself and his army in a frontal attack on the Mughals at the Battle of Haldi-Ghati where four hours of action brought disaster and ruin; but equally true is the fact that he made amends by following subseqently the policy of abandoning a post and retreating to a safe place whenever necessary and rallying his strength in his hilly shelters. Cutting the enemy's communications, surprise attacks and retreat, the new tactics applied scientifically to his advantage against heavy odds, were legacies which he gave to the generations following him. His defensive mountain warfare became a technique in itself. The application of Bhil infantry for dash and sudden attacks added a novelty to his system of warfare which no one can ignore.

"Great as he was, one might speculate whether the struggle tended to contribute to the welfare of the country as a whole or produced adverse effect on the future of the land. It is to be admitted as Akbar was a great and benevolent sovereign who pursued the grand policy of unifying the country both politically and culturally, Pratap's remaining aloof from the union was a great impediment in that noble task. To that extent it was injurious to the interest of his country. If at this stage Pratap would have joined the Mughal order he could have saved his country from disaster and ruin. Even his long resistance could not avert the days when during his own son's time Mewar became a subordinate state of the Mughal empire. Had this opportunity been given to Mewar earlier much of its backwardness could have been mended. But Pratap's name is immortal in the history of our land as a great soldier of liberty who concentrated his attention on this moral aspect of the struggle he had to wage without caring for material advantage or loss involved. He upheld the pride of the Hindus and as long as this race lives, it will cherish with pride the memory of one who had staked his all in a fight against an alien. As a great warrior of liberty, a devoted lover of noble cause and a hero of moral character, his name is to millions of men even today, a cloud of hope by day and a pillar of fire by night."[1]

According to Dr. Tripathi, "Rana Pratap's heroism, sturdy inde-

1. **Mewar and the Mughal Emperors**, pp. 120-21.

pendence love for freedom, readiness to suffer and sacrifice have inspired a large number of modern writers to read in his struggle facts not quite justified by sober history. Some Persian writers including Abul Fazl have spoken lightly of the gallant Rana, while others condemned Akbar and Man Singh. It was not a Hindu and Muhammadan question, nor a conflict between Hinduism and Islam. It was simply a conflict between the Mughal empire and the state of Mewar. Had it been otherwise, Rana Pratap would not have placed one of his divisions under Hakim Khan Sur, nor Akbar his whole army under Man Singh. The same spirit which had led Akbar to vanquish Baz Bahadur of Malwa, Muzaffar of Gujrat, Daud of Bengal, Mirza Jani Beg of Sind and Yusaf of Kashmir had brought him into conflict with Rana of Mewar. If Mewar were ruled over by a Muhammadan prince Akbar would have dealt with him in the same manner. There is not a shred of evidence to suggest that in his war with Mewar, Akbar was actuated by any other but purely political motives. Imperialism may be good or bad, but it cannot be denied that both the Hindus and Mohammadans subscribed to it as freely as the Europeans.

"However one may admire the courage, determination and indomitable will of Rana Pratap, it will have to be admitted that he stood for a principle quite different to that which inspired his contemporary princes of Rajputana. While he fought for the independence of Mewar and the supremacy of the Sisodias, the other princes could not feel enthusiastic about it, for, their past experiences of the policy of the great rulers of Mewar was not very happy. It would be absurd to maintain that the rest of the Rajputs had become cowards and were so thoroughly demoralized as to sell their freedom for a mess of pottage. Their record in history totally belies such a gratuitous presumption. As before, they would have fought against Akbar shoulder to shoulder with Rana had they felt that their heart, home, religion and freedom were in danger. By his dealings with other Rajput princes Akbar had clearly shown that he did not wish either to annex their states, or interfere with their social, economic and religious life."[1]

After the death of his father in 1597, Amar Singh carried on the war against the Mughals. The latter took the offensive once again in 1599 and Raja Man Singh and Prince Salim were sent to invade Mewar. Amar Singh was defeated and his country was devastated by the Mughal troops. The war had to be stopped because Man Singh had to leave for Bengal where Usman Khan had revolted. The bad health of Akbar did not allow him to invade Mewar once again.

Conquest of Gujrat. According to Smith, "The conquest of Gujrat marks an important epoch in Akbar's history." There were many reasons which actuated Akbar to conquer Gujrat. Humayun had occupied it in 1536 and Akbar could claim Gujrat as a lost province of the Mughal Empire. However, the wealth and maritime commerce of Gujrat were enough temptation for Akbar to annex that province. Muzzaffar Shah III, the ruler of Gujrat, had practically no authority over his powerful vassals. One of his nobles called Itimad Khan invited Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujrat. Akbar reached Ahmedabad in November 1572. Muzzaffar Shah did not offer any

1. Tripathi, R.P.: Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 222-23.

resistance and submitted before Akbar. After making the necessary arrangements for administrative purposes, Akbar retired to Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar had hardly reached his destination when he heard of the trouble in Gujrat once again. He rushed back to Gujrat and it is stated that he completed a journey of 600 miles in 9 days. It was a marvellous feat of endurance. He won a decisive victory in September, 1573. A few more expeditions had to be undertaken before Gujrat was completely subdued and annexed in 1584.

The annexation of Gujrat was of great advantage. The Mughals got free access to the sea. The conquest of Gujrat brought the Mughals into touch with the Portuguese. Raja Todar Mal made his first revenue settlement in Gujrat. According to Kennedy, "Gujrat was used as a jumping off point for invasions of the Deccan."

Conquest of Bengal. Daud Khan was the Afghan ruler of Bengal. He was the son of Sulaiman who had founded a new dynasty in Bengal in 1564. Sulaiman recognised the supremacy of Akbar and continued to live on terms of friendship. Daud succeeded his father in 1572. He was a rash and headstrong youth who had great confidence in the military resources of Bengal. Daud annoyed Akbar by capturing the fort of Zaanania. Akbar sent orders to the Governor of Jaunpur to teach him a lesson. As the Governor was not successful against him, Akbar deputed Todar Mal to do the needful in the matter. It was due to the ceaseless efforts of Raja Todar Mal that Bengal was added to the Mughal Empire between 1576 and 1580. When the Afghans revolted once again in favour of Hakim Mirza, brother of Akbar, Man Singh reconquered the country in 1592.

Annexation of Kabul (1585). So long as Hakim Mirza lived, Kabul remained in his possession. Akbar did nothing to deprive him of that territory. In 1579-80, he tried to capture the Punjab. Akbar himself rushed from Bengal to meet the danger. However, Hakim Mirza ran away to Kabul at the approach of the Mughal troops. Hakim Mirza was pursued by Prince Murad but all the same he was allowed to retain Kabul for the rest of his life. When he died in 1585, the province of Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire and Man Singh was appointed as its Governor. It was a difficult task to control the Afghans. In 1586, Raja Birbal was killed. The Mughal troops suffered heavy losses and retreated with great difficulty.

Conquest of Kashmir (1586-87). Yusuf Shah was the ruler of Kashmir. He committed great cruelties on his Hindu subjects. This gave Akbar an excuse for interfering in the affairs of Kashmir. Raja Bhagwan Das was sent with 5,000 men to conquer Kashmir. In spite of the difficulties on the way, Raja Bhagwan Das persevered in his task and forced the ruler of Kashmir to surrender. The son of Yusuf Shah escaped and he continued the struggle for some time. However, he too was defeated and forced to surrender. Kashmir was annexed and made a part of the province of Kabul. Akbar visited Kashmir in 1589. Yusuf Shah and his son got Jagirs and were made Mansabdars.

Conquest of Sind (1591). Akbar subdued Bhakkar in 1574 but a large part of Southern Sind was still to be conquered. Akbar attached great importance to the conquest of Sind because its possession was expected to help him in the conquest of Qandhar. In 1590, Mirza Abdur Rahim was appointed the Governor of Multan and was instructed to take over the work of the conquest of Sind. Mirza Jani Beg was its ruler. After two battles, he surrendered. On account of the

recommendation of Abdur Rahim, Jani Beg was given a very good treatment.

Conquest of Qandhar (1595). Akbar was desirous of capturing Qandhar. At this time, the Shah of Persia was in a great difficulty on occount of the activities of the Turks and Uzbegs. Akbar took advantage of the other pre-occupations of the Shah of Persia and sent an expedition to conquer Qandhar. The work started in 1590 but it was accomplished in 1595 when Qandhar was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Undoubtedly, the conquest of Qandhar was a master-stroke of diplomacy on the part of Akbar. Without spoiling his relations with the Shah of Persia, Akbar was able to acquire Qandhar.

The turbulent tribes of the Uzbegs and the Yusufzais were "very dangerous in their native hills, being democratic to a degree and fanatically attached to their liberty. Fighting in the fastnesses of their country which afford the best of natural defences, they ever resisted any attempts to bring them into subjugation to any of the adjoining monarchies." Their attitude towards Akbar was unfriendly. Akbar suppressed the Uzbegs completely. A large Mughal army under Raja Todar Mal and Prince Murad were sent against the Yusufzais and they were crushed. According to Abul Fazl, "A large number of them were killed and many were sold in Turan and Persia. The countries of Sawad (Swat), Bajaur and Buner, which have few equals for climate, fruits and cheapness of food, were cleansed of the evil-doers."

The Roshniyas were the followers of Bayazid who "had been preaching a special form of Mohammedanism in which communism on the one hand and the destruction of the enemies of Islam on the other, seem to have been two of the leading features. Add to this his suggestion that he was the Mehdi to come and we have all the elements of religious explosion" (Kennedy). The Roshniyas were defeated and completely crushed. Thus, there was no trouble from the North-West Frontier.

Conquest of Ahmednagar. After completing the conquest of Northern India, Akbar diverted his attention towards the Deccan. To begin with, he sent political missions to induce the rulers of the Deccan States to accept his suzerainty. However, he was unsuccessful in that mission. This forced Akbar to follow the path of war. Ahmednagar was the first to be attacked. Abdur Rahim and Prince Murad were sent in 1595. At that time, Chand Sultana was acting as the regent on behalf of her nephew. She boldly defended the city of Ahmednagar and behaved like a great general. It is stated that she appeared in the ramparts of the city in full armour and with drawn sword to encourage her troops.

"Chand Bibi appeared with a veil on her head. She got guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet, before daylight, with wood, stones and carcasses." Moreover, Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim did not see eye to eye with each other and consequently their campaign was not a success. The Mughals made peace and contented themselves with the acquisition of Berar alone. Thus, the first campaign against Ahmednagar ended in 1596. However, peace did not last long. There arose internal dissensions in Ahmednagar and the result was that Chand

Sultana was murdered. Moreover, the Government of Ahmednagar did not keep its word with the Mughal Government and tried to recover Berar. A battle was fought in February 1596 at Ashthi and both the parties claimed victory for themselves. Occasional fights continued. Akbar decided to take the command in person. In 1600, he occupied Burhanpur and sent Prince Daniyal with Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, to conquer Ahmednagar. The Mughal troops did not find much difficulty in their way. About 15,000 of the garrison were put to the sword and Ahmednagar was annexed to Mughal Empire.

Asirgarh. Akbar decided to capture the fort of Asirgarh which was well defended. It was considered to be "one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in the world at that time." The siege of Asirgarh continued for about 6 months and the Mughals did not make much headway. At that time, the news of Salim's rebellion came. Thus, Akbar was forced to have recourse to treachery. Bahadur was persuaded to come to the camp of Akbar for the purpose of negotiations, and was detained there. The siege was pushed up with great vigour but in spite of that the garrison held out. It was in January 1601 that "the gates were opened by golden keys or in other words Akbar corrupted the Khandesh officers by heavy payments." Thus it was that the fort of Asirgarh fell into the hands of the Mughals in 1601.

The result of Akbar's Deccan policy was that the Mughal frontier was pushed from the Narbada to the upper course of the river Krishna. The newly conquered territories were converted into three Subas of Ahmednagar, Berar and Khandesh. However, the annexation of the three Subas was merely in name. The new territory was not completely subdued. The local officers who were connected with the former ruling dynasties created difficulties and no successful government could be set up. The distance from the North also added to the difficulties of the Mughals.

Regarding the conquests of Akbar, Dr. A.L. Srivastava observes thus: "Akbar invariably followed the policy of giving an organised administration to his conquests. As soon as a principality or a province was reduced to submission, he took steps to establish therein complete order and peace, and to appoint civil officers to carry out a revenue settlement which was based on the principles of measurement and classification of land. Religious toleration was extended to the newly-conquered areas. Social, religious, as well as administrative reforms were introduced and the interests of the people, social, moral and material, were consulted. As will be shown hereafter, Akbar, unlike his predecessors, including Sher Shah, gave a uniform system of administration to all the provinces of his empire and paved the way for establishment of a common nationality in the land".

The Portuguese. In his dealings with the Portuguese, it was found by Akbar that it was not an easy job to drive them out from India. Akbar was very much upset on account of the Portuguese behaviour on the Arabian Sea, their interference with Indian shipping and their policy of religious persecution, particularly against the Muslims. The Deccan States had tried to subjugate the Portuguese but had failed. In 1569-70, the rulers of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and the Zamorin made a united effort to defeat the Portuguese but they failed. In 1580, the Sultan of Bijapur lost Goa to the Portuguese

and all the Muslim men, women and children were butchered. In 1509, the Portuguese won a decisive victory over the combined fleets of the Gujratis and Egyptians. In 1530, they sacked and burnt the towns of Rander and Surat. In 1531, they starved Diu and killed everyone on that island. The eastern fleet of Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman was defeated by Portuguese during the period 1551-54. In 1558, they got the port of Daman.

When Gujrat was conquered by Akbar, he found the Portuguese well established all along the Western coast of India. In 1575, the Portuguese interfered with the Royal aunt and ladies who were on a pilgrimage to Mecca. An attempt was made to recover Daman in 1582 but the same failed. The Portuguese tried to plunder Surat but the same was saved by the timely arrival of Mughal army. Akbar could deal with the Portuguese only if he could build up a strong navy and as he could not do so, the Portuguese power could not be destroyed.

Akbar as Founder of Mughal Empire[1]. A question has sometimes been raised as to who was the real founder of the Mughal Empire in India. It goes without saying that Babur laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire in India by defeating Ibrahim Lodi in 1526 at the first Battle of Panipat. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The Battle of Panipat placed the Empire of Delhi in Babur's hands. The powers of the Lodi dynasty were shattered to pieces and the sovereignty of Hindustan passed to the Chugtai Turks." Babur may be called the founder of the Mughal Empire because he destroyed the Lodi dynasty and laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire on its ruins. In 1527, he defeated the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga in the Battle of Kanwah. According to Prof. Rushbrooke Williams, the Battle of Kanwah put the Mughal Empire of India on a firm footing. In 1528, Babur subdued Medini Rao and captured the fort of Chanderi. In 1529, Babur defeated Mahmood Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, in the Battle of Ghagra. If Babur had lived longer, he would certainly have consolidated his Empire and there would have been no scope for the revival of the Afghans. The early death of Babur left the work incomplete and consequently the spadework done by him came to nothing.

Humayun succeeded to the throne in 1530 but he was defeated in the Battle of Kanauj in 1540 by Sher Shah Suri and driven from Agra and Delhi. Thus, the Empire founded by Babur was destroyed. However, Humayun won back Kandhar, Kabul, the Punjab, Delhi and Agra before his death in 1556. In this case also, the sudden death of Humayun left the Mughal position in Indian insecure. No wonder, Akbar succeeded to a shaky throne. Soon after his succession to the throne in 1556, he heard the news that Tardi Beg, the Mughal Governor of Agra and Delhi, was turned out by Hemu. Akbar's position in the Punjab, where he was at the time of his father's death, was very insecure. Sikandar Sur was still at large in the Punjab. He was a potential foe. Thus it is evident that Akbar inherited nothing of the Mughal Empire founded by Babur. It has already been pointed

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1. According to V. A. Smith, "At the time of his accession, Akbar could not be said to possess any kingdom but it was Akbar's genius and Bairam's loyalty that achieved a great kingdom". According to Beveridge, "Akbar was a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie looked pale."

out at the beginning of this Chapter that in 1556, India was a congeries of independent states and there was no paramount power in the country. Akbar had to begin from a scratch. He won back Delhi and Agra after the second Battle of Panipat. Sikandar Sur was pursued and he ultimately surrendered and Akbar's control was thereby established in the Punjab, Gwalior and Jaunpur were conquered in 1557. Malwa was conquered in 1560. Gondwana was conquered in 1564. Chittor was captured in 1568. Maharana Pratap was defeated in the Battle of Haldighati in 1576. Gujrat was finally annexed in 1584. Bengal gave trouble for some time but was finally conquered in 1592. Kabul was annexed in 1585. Kashmir was conquered in 1586. Sind was conquered in 1591. Qandhar was annexed in 1595. Ahmednagar was conquered in 1600 and Asirgarh in 1601. It was this Empire created by the valour and statesmanship of Akbar that is the envy of the historians. No wonder, Akbar is called the real founder of the Mughal Empire in India.

According to Hunter, "On his (Akbar's) accession in 1556, he found India split up into petty Hindu and Mohammadan kingdoms, and seething with discordant elements. On his death in 1605, he bequeathed it an almost united empire". According to Tod, "Akbar was the real founder of the empire of the Mughals, the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence, to this end his virtues were powerful alliance as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulation to action. He was able to gird the chord with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity or even in ministering to the more ignoble passions. But generation of the martial races were cut off by his sword and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed to permit him to exercise the beneficence of his nature and obtain by the universal acclaim of the conquered the proud epithet of 'Jagat Guru' or Guardian of Mankind. He was long ranked with Shahab-ud-Din, Alam Din and other instruments of instruction and every just claim; and like these he constructed a number of (Seil) Pulpit or reading desks for the Koran from the altars of the Eklinga. Yet he finally succeeded in healing the wounds which his ambition had inflicted and received from millions that meed of praise which no other of his race ever obtained."

Rajput Policy of Akbar. Akbar is famous for his Rajput policy. He opened a new chapter in this direction. The Rajputs were the leaders of the Hindus in the military field and they were well-known for their bravery. No wonder, Akbar, who wanted to found his Empire on the willing co-operation of the Hindus, decided to win over the Rajputs. Many Rajputs were taken into the Mughal service. Many were created Mansabdars. The *Jizya* was abolished. Pilgrimage tax was also abolished. Everything was done to remove the feeling among the Rajputs that they were being discriminated against. It was this policy of reconciliation towards the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular which enabled Akbar to conquer the whole of Northern India and a part of the Deccan.

In 1562, Akbar married the eldest daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur. As a result of this marriage, Akbar took Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh into the Mughal service. Both of them occupied offices of trust and responsibility. They helped Akbar in many wars.

They were entrusted with the most difficult jobs by him. In 1584, Akbar married Prince Salim to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. In 1570, he married Rajput princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

In this way, Akbar was able to win over most of the Rajput states in Rajputana. However, the state of Mewar defied the might of Akbar. Consequently Akbar had to march against Chittor. Rana Udai Singh left the defence of Chittor into the hands of Jaimal. There was a lengthy siege and in 1568, Chittor was captured. After the death of Udai Singh in 1572 Maharana Pratap became the ruler of Mewar. He continued an unequal struggle for a quarter of a century. In 1576, he was defeated in the Battle of Haldighati. In spite of this defeat he continued the struggle and was ultimately successful in recovering the whole of Mewar except Chittor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. Maharana Pratap died in 1597. He was succeeded by Amar Singh, who continued the struggle against the Mughals even in the reign of Jahangir. It is to be noted that in his fight against Mewar, Akbar was helped by Man Singh and other Rajput princes and generals. Thus, by a policy of conciliation, Akbar was able to win over the affection of the Rajputs and thereby solidify the foundations of the Mughal Empire in the country. It was the reversal of this policy in the time of Aurangzeb that proved to be undoing of his Empire.

Akbar's Policy towards the Hindus. Akbar must be given credit for initiating a new policy towards the Hindus.[1] It is true that there were certain factors which could have influenced his views but the fact remains that Akbar had already embarked upon a policy of reconciliating the Hindus before he came in contact with those influences. The remarkable fact about his policy towards the Hindus was that he initiated the policy at a time when there was too much of intolerance all around. The Muslim tradition in India was one of persecuting the Hindus and this had happened for centuries.

As regards the factors that could have influenced Akbar in his policy towards the Hindus, his Hindu wives must have played an important part. These Hindu wives were allowed to worship openly in their palaces and consequently similar toleration could be shown to the Hindus all over the country. Akbar himself listened to the teachings of the Hindu saints and philosophers. It is true that on previous occasions also Muslim rulers had married Hindu wives, but in those cases marriages had resulted in intolerance and fanaticism. However, in the case of Akbar, these marriages revolutionized the whole atmosphere.

Sheikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl and Faizi played an important part in the life of Akbar. They were Sufis and they encouraged Akbar to follow a liberal policy in matters of religion.

Akbar possessed an unusual amount of imagination and initiative. He possessed an adventurous mind and was prepared to make

1. According to G. B. Malleson, "Penetrated with the necessity of finding a system and recognising very gradually that such a system must be based on mutual respect and mutual toleration regarding the differences of race or religious traditions, on the union of interests, on making it absolutely clear that the fall of the keystone to the arch meant the fall of each stone which went to build up the arch, he sought during the first 20 years of his reign, discussion with his courtiers and the learned regarding the system which would best appeal to those sentiments in the conquered race which would convey to them confidence and conviction."

experiments in every field. It was his inquisitive mind that was responsible for the religious discussions in the Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri. As the discussions progressed, he was struck by the spirit of intolerance shown by the leaders of the various faiths. "They, the Mullas, would call one another fool and heretic." Again, "One pronounced a thing lawful, another would pronounce the very same thing unlawful." It was this intolerance that was responsible for Akbar's desire to find out the truth.

It is sometimes pointed out that Akbar followed a policy of reconciliation towards the Hindus on account of political reasons. Even if this fact is conceded, that does not take away from the greatness of Akbar. His great achievement was that he was able to liberate the Mughal state from the domination of the Mullas. It can be substantiated by chapter and verse that Akbar's policy towards the Hindus was intimately connected with his own religious views.

In 1564, Akbar abolished *Jizya* which was levied from the Hindus. This was hated by the Hindus because it was a symbol of their inferiority and involved a lot of humiliation. When *Jizya* was levied, the Muslims alone were the true citizens of the state, but after its abolition, both Hindus and Muslims became equal citizens of the state.

In 1563, Akbar abolished the pilgrimage tax. He was opposed to the policy of taxing people while they were performing their religious duties. All restrictions on the building of places of worship were removed. The result was that a large number of temples were built all over the country. Akbar set up a Translation Department for translating the religious books of the Hindus into Persian. Its object was to set up cultural contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims. The knowledge of Hinduism was expected to bring about a better understanding between the two religions. In 1603, a *Firman* was issued by which the Christians were allowed to make converts in India. Even before this, Akbar had stopped the practice of forcible conversion of the people to Islam. As early as 1562, Akbar had stopped the practice of converting the prisoners of war to Islam.

Up to the time of Akbar, the non-Muslims were excluded from all jobs of responsibility and prestige. The Muslims alone formed the governing classes and all high officials were drawn from the Muslim community. Akbar threw open doors of offices to Hindus and Muslims alike. Merit alone was made the test. Todar Mal was appointed Finance Minister and for some time he worked as Prime Minister also. Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Todar Mal and Rai Singh were appointed the Governors of various provinces. They were also put in charge of many military expeditions. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions 137 Mansabdars of 1,000 and above and out of them 14 were Hindus. A large number of Hindus were employed in the Mughal army. Out of the 12 provincial Diwans or Finance Ministers appointed in 1594-95, 8 were Hindus. Formerly, cases among the Hindus were decided by the Muslim Qazis. Akbar appointed Brahman judges to decide the cases of the Hindus. A very large number of Hindus were employed in the Revenue Department of the Mughal Government.

Akbar showed great respect for Hindu sentiments. As the Hindus had great sanctity for cows, the use of beef was forbidden. However, it is wrong to say that the killers of cows were given capital punishment. In 1583, Akbar forbade the killing of animals on certain days. It is stated that in 1590-91, Akbar prohibited the eating of the flesh

of oxen, buffaloes, goats or sheep, horses and camels. In 1592, fishing was prohibited for some time. According to Budauni, Akbar avoided garlic, onion, beef, and association with people with beards. Akbar took part in the festivals of the Hindus. Some of those festivals were the Rakhi, Dipawali and Shivaratri. Their object was merely to conciliate the Hindus without offending the Muslims.

Akbar discouraged child marriage and encouraged widow re-marriages among the Hindus. He prohibited the custom of *Sati* or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. It is clear from above that Akbar deliberately followed a policy of conciliating the Hindus and thereby winning over their allegiance to his state. It is a matter of history that the reversal of this policy by Aurangzeb was one of the important causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Development of Akbar's Religious Views. Akbar was not an orthodox Muslim of the rigid type. His religious views changed with the lapse of time. His Hindu wives and their relatives exercised a tremendous influence on him. His association with Hindu sages acted in a similar manner. In 1567, Shaikh Mubarak presented his son Faizi to Akbar. In 1574, he presented his younger son, Abul Fazl, to him. The father and the sons who were Sufis exercised great influence on Akbar in liberalizing his religious views. With their help, Akbar collected a big library of books on history, religion, philosophy and sciences. These books were read out and explained to him by Faizi who acted as the librarian. The result of these studies was that Akbar became a sceptic in religious matters. He began to find some good in every religion. In 1575, a building known as the Ibadat Khana or the House of Worship was specially constructed for discussions on religious matters. Akbar took great interest in those discussions. Not only the exponents of Islam were invited, but those of Brahmanism, Jainism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism were also invited. Akbar addressed the following words to those assembled at the debates at the Ibadat-Khana: "My sole object, Oh Wise Mullahs! is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to the divine origin: Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions you are not induced to conceal the truth: and say nothing contrary to the Almighty decrees. If you do, you are responsible before God for the consequences of your impiety."

Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdunnabi were the leaders of the orthodox party and Shaikh Mubarak, Faizi and Abul Fazl represented the party of the free-thinkers. In spite of the best efforts of Akbar, the Mullas quarrelled among themselves and used abusive language against one another. Budauni refers to this fact in these words: "The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battlefield of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools or heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunni and Shia, of Hanafi and Shafi, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very basis of belief."

Reference may be made to the exponents of other religions invited by Akbar. The important Brahmans invited by him were Purshottam and Debi. Hira Vijaya Suri, Vijayasen Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya and Jinachandra expounded the Jain faith to Akbar. Dastur Meherjee Rana expounded the Zoroastrian faith. Christian Fathers

were invited from Goa to explain Christianity. Akbar also showed great regard for the Sikh Gurus.

Akbar was in favour of weakening the position of the Ulama. He would like to combine in himself both political and spiritual powers. He read the Khutba from the pulpit of a Fatehpur Mosque. The Khutba was prepared by Faizi and runs thus:—

"In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity:
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts
Exalted be His Majesty—Allah-u-Akbar!"

Infallibility Decree (1579). At the suggestion of Shaikh Mubarak, Akbar decided to become Mujtahid. He was to act as the supreme arbiter in religious matters. In September, 1579, Shaikh Mubarak produced a document in his own handwriting which was drafted in such a way that Akbar became the supreme arbiter in civil and ecclesiastical matters. Akbar was to act as the Imam-i-Adil or the final interpreter of Muslim Law. This document was signed by Makudum-ul-Mulk, Shaikh Abdunnabi, Shaikh Mubarak and other. Dr. Smith calls it the "infallibility decree". The following is the translation of the document which is preserved in the text of Budauni and Nizam-ud-Din:—

"Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home.

"Now we, the principal Ulama, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Koran:—

"Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you, and secondly, of the genuine tradition.

"Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the Imam-i-Adil; whosoever obeys the Amir obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee.

"And thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony: and we have agreed that the rank of Sultan-i-Adil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid.

"Further, we declare that the King of the Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Abul-Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Padshah Ghazi (whose kingdom God perpetuate), is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king.

"Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahid are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and should issue a decree to that effect.

"We do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it; provided always, that *such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Koran, but also of real benefit to the nation*; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propagation of the Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulama and lawyers, in the month of Rajab in the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987)."

According to Dr. Smith, the above document "assured to Akbar, so far as any written instrument could have such effect, the utmost power that any man could claim to exercise within the limits of Islam." The decree had no concern with any other religion. Although it purported to have been devised for the propagation of the Muslim faith, and to recognize the authority not only of the Koran, but of the genuine traditions of the Prophet, yet, as Budauni truly observes, "the superiority of the intellect of the Imam was established and opposition was rendered impossible."

According to Lane-Poole, "Akbar found the rigid Muslims of the court were always casting in his teeth some absolute authority, a book, a tradition, a decision of canonical order and like Henry the VIII, he resolved to cut *ground under ground*; he would himself be the head of church and there would be no Pope in India under Akbar."

According to Dr. Tripathi, "The need for such a declaration of policy was obvious so far as the Mussalmans of India were concerned. The Shias, Sunnis and Mahdavis had been frequently indulging in bloody conflicts, among themselves and the non-Muslims. The situation in Kashmir and Ahmednagar was particularly serious. Religious outbreaks resulting in considerable loss of life and property were not infrequent. Persecution of the followers of one creed by the other was the order of the day. There was no other appeal except that of the sword. The international situation of the Muslim world also called forth a clarification of the policy of the Mughal empire. The Shia kingdom of Persia and the Sunni States were at war more for religious than political reasons. The Shah of Persia claimed to be the leader of the Shias while the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey claimed Khilafat over the Muslim states particularly of the Sunnis. These warring states were anxious to know what policy the Mughal empire proposed to follow. The declaration of Akbar signed by some of the leading divines announced his policy in unambiguous terms to all concerned both in India and outside. The Mughal Emperor refused to identify himself with any creed and declared his determination to follow an independent policy of enlightened toleration within the ambit of the Qoran, Hadis, and common agreements between the accredited divines. The spirit of Akbar's policy, in essence, is not different from that of Chengiz Khan, the idol of the Mughals, though the former was a Muslim and the latter a non-Muslim. The declaration was meant for the Muslims in particular and its application to the Hindus could be only incidental and indirect. It is entirely baseless to suggest that by this decree Akbar sought to free himself from the domination, legal or moral, of the Shah of Persia, as it

simply did not exist."[1]

According to Principal Sri Ram Sharma, the nature of the document has been misunderstood. "It gave Akbar no power until and unless the divines failed to agree. Even then he had the power to interpret the Muslim law and not to make it. It is necessary to remember that Akbar only gathered into his own hands powers and functions which had been so far exercised by a subordinate functionary, the Sadr. He did not create a new office, he brought an older one under imperial control. Even here Akbar differed from Aurangzeb. He assumed the right to be his own judge rather than dismiss a Sadr who criticized him—as Aurangzeb did—and appoint a successor who would give a convenient opinion. Akbar claimed to be infallible no more than the Privy Council or the House of Lords does. His interpretation of the laws was final, just as a ruling of the Privy Council is. Thus Akbar made no attempt to infallibility in any metaphysical sense. Still further his decision could not, and in fact did not, silence opposition to his views. As an instrument for suppressing opposition it was valueless. Decision given under its authority would not convince those who did not recognize it as valid. It could be used effectively only by Akbar himself for justifying his own personal practices. The main planks of his policy of toleration had already been laid. The *Jizya* had been abolished, the pilgrimage tax remitted, the Hindus admitted to public services, and public religious worship by other faiths tolerated long before the issue of this so-called 'Infallibility Decree'. These departures from the accepted orthodox policy had not necessitated any artificial support. The decree was only a manifestation of Akbar's anxiety to be considered a good Muslim. Budauni's statement that after the *Fatwa* the distinction as hitherto understood between the lawful and the unlawful was obliterated, can have reference to Akbar's personal actions alone. No orders of his could force his people to adopt as lawful modes of action which they considered unlawful. It was thus not a decree, much less an infallibility decree. All that it really effected was to take away from the theologians the right to persecute others for their opinions. Akbar did not claim to define the religious beliefs of his subjects and force his definition on them as the Tudor 'Governor of the Church' was claiming to do, at this time in England. Not one was persecuted for belief in his own faith. Akbar issued no 'Thirty-nine' Articles, nor did he enforce an 'Act of Uniformity'."

As was to be expected, the orthodox Muslims detested the issuing of the so-called infallibility decree. Akbar was misunderstood and it was believed that he had rejected Islam, Prophet, Qoran, tradition and all. Abul Fazl explains the situation in these words: "An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God knowers with beings of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the ranks of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. First, the sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion had some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not wave a veil over its merits. Second, the reason of 'Peace with all' (Sulh Kul)

1. Tripathi, R.P.: Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 252-53.

was honoured at the court of the Caliphate and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success. Third, the evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of a age."

Din-i-Ilahi (1581). The next stage in the development of the religious views of Akbar came in 1581 when he promulgated the Din-i-Ilahi, or Tauhid-i-Ilahi. The object of the Din-i-Ilahi was to establish a national religion which would be acceptable to the Muslims and the Hindus. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar became the spiritual guide of the nation and saw in the performance of that duty, a means of pleasing God. He tried to satisfy the thirst of the people for truth. A ceremony for initiation into the new faith was prescribed. That ceremony is described by Abul Fazl in these words: "When a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily inquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousand men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing."

"At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical, and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and assistance of his good star, has cast from his head conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions who from seeming existence has not entered into life. His Majesty then gives the novice the Shast, upon which is engraved "the Great Name" and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "Allahu Akbar". This teaches the novice the truth that the Shast and the pure sight never err."

Some of the ceremonials of the Din-i-Ilahi are mentioned by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. To quote Abul Fazl, "The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, 'Allahu Akbar', and the other responds, 'Jalla Jalaluhu'. The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

"It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

"Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

"His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain, nor eat of it. Neither

shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers.

"Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty". Again, "If any of the Darsaniyyah disciples died, whether man or woman, they should have some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river. and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was.

"But this order is based upon a fundamental rule which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.

"People should be buried with their heads towards the east, and their feet towards the west. His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position."

There were four grades of the followers of the Din-i-Ilahi. Those four grades entailed in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor, property, life, honour and religion. Whoever sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees and whoever sacrificed one of the four possessed only one degree.

The number of the followers of the Din-i-Ilahi was not large. That was partly due to the fact that Akbar was not a missionary. He was not prepared to use force or pressure to convert people to the new faith. Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh refused to join and Akbar did not press them. Birbal was the only Hindu who joined the new faith. The number of the followers of the Din-i-Ilahi was not large even in the time of Akbar and after his death the new faith disappeared completely.

Budauni tells us that after the promulgation of the Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar issued many ordinances against Islam. He forbade Islamic prayers. He disallowed the call to prayer or *Azan*. He stopped Muslim fasts. *Sijdah* was to be offered to kings. The use of beef was prohibited. The wearing of beards was discouraged. The use of the flesh of the tiger and wild boar was allowed. Boys were not to be married before the age of 16 and the girls before the age of 14. Circumcision before the age of 12 was disallowed. The wearing of silk dresses and ornaments was made compulsory at the time of prayers. Pilgrimages to Mecca were disallowed. Muslim festivals were discontinued. The names containing the name of the Prophet were disallowed. Mosques and prayer rooms were converted into stables and given to Hindu Chowkidars. Akbar plundered mosques when he was in need of money. Shaving of beards was allowed. Akbar razed to the ground towers built for Muslim call to prayer. The mosques were not required and thus allowed to fall. Mullahs and Shaikhs were exiled. The study of Arabic was discouraged.

Much reliance cannot be placed on the views of Budauni. Most of his information was based on hearsay. He wrote against Akbar because he himself was dissatisfied with his promotion. He was jealous of the rise of Abul Fazl and wrote all that he could against Akbar. It was the sense of frustration that made him the bitter enemy of Akbar and his friends. He was that type of an orthodox Muslim who believed that all non-Muslims were condemned to eternal hell. When he mentioned the name of a Hindu, he boiled with anger. He called Birbal a bastard and the Shias as

heretics, fools, worshippers of the devils, fit only to be cast out. No value can be attached to the testimony of such a person.

According to Dr. Smith, the organization of the adherents of the Din-i-Ilahi was that of an Order rather than of a church. The creed, so far as there was one, inculcated monotheism with a tinge of pantheism ; the practical deification of the emperor as the vicere-gent of God, filled with special grace; and the adoration of the sun, with subsidiary veneration of fire and artificial lights. "The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy. Its ignominious failure illustrated the wisdom of the protest addressed by the Kotwal to the Sultan of Delhi some three centuries earlier, and the folly of kings who seek to assume the role of prophets.

"The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. His actions throughout his reign exhibited many illustra-tions of both qualities."

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the Din-i-Ilahi "was an ecclectic pantheism containing the good points of all religions—a combination of mysticism, philosophy and nature-worship. Its basis was rational; it upheld no dogma, recognised no gods or prophets, and emperor was its chief exponent."

According to Principal Sri Ram Sharma, it is a gross exaggeration to give the Din-i-Ilahi "the rank of a religion. It had no book, no priests, no ceremonies, and practically no religious beliefs. It was an order rather than a religion and more akin to free masonry than any religious movement."

According to Von Noer, "Budauni certainly takes every opportu-nity to raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He, however, was never an intimate relation to the Din-i-Ilahi; he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace marred and alloyed by popular modes of preception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a God of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his crea-tions will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief."

According to S.R. Sharma, the Din-i-Ilahi was "the crowning expression of the emperor's national idealism." He condemns the Anglo-Indian historians in these words: "Being keenly disappointed in their expectation of converting the emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements dis-crediting Akbar. To cite Budauni in confirmation of the Jesuits is only to call in two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure especially before coming to the consideration that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion." According to the same writer, "The Din-i-Ilahi was nothing more than a tentative experiment in the process of fundamental synthesis; it was never forced upon any man......Like the Krori system in the fiscal adminis-tration, this 'Esperanto of Religion' was simply allowed to lapse, when the essentially practical Akbar realised its futility."

According to Havell, "Akbar has shared the fate of all great re-

formers in having his personal character assailed, his motives impugned, his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination. He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type, but few of the great rulers of the earth can show better record for deeds of righteousness or more honourably and consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to service of the humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious, but for his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of Islam into a higher plane than they had ever reached before.

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fall short of his ideals, that the Din-i-Ilahi did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wiped off the State all the records of the previous centuries of misgovernment and that his schemes did not embrace the full recognition of the Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other empire in the world."

According to Lawrence Binyon, "Those who have seen in it merely self-aggrandisement and astuteness surely misread Akbar's character. The religion which was to have united all, pleased none. Moreover, such is the weakness of human nature. Akbar who had revolted so often from the intolerance of his ancestors now imposed his own toleration by invidious ordnances against Muhammedan practices. Just as the champions of international goodwill are often found to exempt their own country from a universal benevolence and look on it alone with a malignant eye to this descendant of the conqueror who had treated all alien creeds with fierce contempt was unraked into oppressing all the faiths, the faith in which he was bred." Binyon goes on to say that Akbar was lacking in the genius of religious leadership but failure should not make us forget his sublime and ultimate aim of the unification of the empire. He is right when he says that the new faith was a failure and was destined to be a failure, because he observes that "in religious societies toleration is no virtue, it is the despised offspring of lukewarmness or difference. A creed so simple was obvious to the approach of vagueness and emptiness."

According to Lane-Poole, "Of course an ecclectic religion never takes hold of the people and Akbar's curiously interesting hotch-potch of philosophy, mysticism and nature worship practically died with him. But the broad-minded sympathy which inspired such a vision of catholicity left a lasting impression upon a land of warring creeds and tribes and for a brief while created a nation where there had only been factions." He further says that Akbar was very keen on making experiments. He has given one very curious instance when Akbar separated young children from their parents and locked them in a room cut off from all outside influence. After a lapse of five years to his surprise he found all of them dumb, and his experiment an utter failure. Dr. Holden supports Lane-Poole when he says "Akbar experimented in all departments from religion to metallurgy."

According to Malleson, Akbar's one foremost aim was the union of Hindustan under one head which was difficult to achieve had he

persecuted all non-Islamic religions. In ordér to bring about a unity, Akbar was fully convinced that "the dominant religion should not be, as long as he was its interpreter, the religion of the sword. It should carry, on the contrary, a healing influence throughout India, should wipe away reminiscence, should practise the most perfect toleration. To accomplish such a union it was necessary, first, to conquer, secondly, to respect all consciences and all methods of worshipping the Almighty. To carry out this plan he availed himself to a modified extent only of a Muhammedan ritual."

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "With the aid of his advisers he had concocted an ecclectic creed likely as his vanity persuaded him to command an assent from all men which neither Christianity nor Islam had been able to ensure."

According to Dr. Tripathi, the Din-i-Ilahi was not a religion and Akbar never intended the establishment of a church. The Din-i-Ilahi came into existence on account of the desire of Akbar to bring together men who were willing to submit to his spiritual guidance and infuse into them his own catholic spirit and principles of action. Akbar had no intention to perpetuate an order by nominating his spiritual successor or requiring others to initiate men on his behalf and propagate it. The Din-i-Ilahi was entirely a personal matter, not between the Emperor and the subjects but between Akbar and those who regarded him as their Pir or Guru. With the death of Akbar, the personal tie disappeared. The political significance of Din-i-Ilahi is not great as the number of his followers was only a few thousand in a population of many millions. However, the Din-i-Ilahi brought into existence a group of men who vowed allegiance to Akbar and were bound to him by personal ties. The Din-i-Ilahi set an example that in spite of social, political and religious differences, people could meet on a common platform and unite for God and the King. The Din-i-Ilahi must have strengthened the hands of Akbar by adding a spiritual halo around his throne. It is wrong to say that the Din-i-Ilahi was used by Akbar to train officers of a school of thought and then send them to the various provinces to propagate the Din-i-Ilahi. The ideas of Akbar in this field inspired two generations of his descendants. Prince Khusro and Prince Dara belonged to his school of thought.

Akbar's Religion. According to Dr. Smith and Blichmann, Akbar totally gave up Islam. This view is also accepted by Sir Wolseley Haig. According to Beveridge, "He never divested himself of his early religious beliefs", but he was a sceptic. According to Noer, the religion of Akbar was a sort of "Parsi-Sufi-Hinduism" and Akbar wanted to overthrow the supremacy of Islam. According to Muhammed Husain Azad, whatever Akbar did was due to political considerations and although some of his innovations contravened the principles of Islam, he was not a heretic. Shibli Namain does not consider Akbar as a hater of Islam or a heretic. According to him, the conduct of Akbar was always in harmony with that of the pious Khalifas. It is true that the Jesuit Fathers state that Akbar gave up Islam and they also refer to the rumours current among the people, it cannot be denied that Akbar lived and died as a Muslim. This view is also confirmed by his son Jahangir. It is true that Akbar did not identify himself with any particular school of law and thought among the Muslims, but that does not mean that he gave up Islam.

In his days, an average Muslim thought of Islam in terms of Shia, Sunni, Hanafi, Hambali, Maliki, etc. It is only a few persons among the Muslims who could rise above the narrow view and could follow their own bent of mind. Akbar may not have been a good Muslim in the eyes of the orthodox Muslims but that does not mean that he had given up his belief in Islam. There is no substance in the accusations of those who say that he persecuted the pious Muslims on account of their religious views. The truth is that he had to punish a few Muslims who were responsible for creating trouble in the Eastern provinces and the Punjab. Out of malice, Budauni has exaggerated the matter and described it as if it was a religious persecution. The accounts of the Jesuit Fathers are biased as they wanted to claim credit for themselves for having won over Akbar to their point of view. It is rightly stated that the charge of giving up Islam by Akbar cannot stand a critical examination.

As regards the religious views of Akbar, he believed in the indivisibility of life. The religious and secular aspects of life could not be separated. Whatever was done by man, he was responsible to God for that. Man could not escape from the ever-vigilant and all-penetrating eye of God. Akbar was always trying to know the will of God and he always tried to follow the same. He believed that whatever he did was an act of dedication to God.

Akbar also believed that absolute truth was not a monopoly of any religion. This view was expressed in the following paragraph by Abul Fazl on a temple in Kashmir:

"O, God in every temple I see people that
seek Thee, and in every language I hear
spoken, people praise Thee.
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee
Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal'
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayers
and if it be a Christian church, people ring
the bell from love to Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister,
and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.
Thy elect have no dealings with Kufr and
orthodoxy for neither of them stands behind
the curtain of Thy Islam (truth).
Heresy to the heretic, and religion (Din) to
the orthodox,
But the dust of rose petal belongs to the
heart of the perfume-seller."

The same thing was put down in these words by Lord Tennyson in "Akbar's Dream":

"I can but lift the torch
Of Reason in the dusky cave of Life,
And gaze on this great miracle, the World,
Adoring That who made, and makes, and is,
And is not, what I gaze on—all else, Form,
Ritual, varying with the tribes of men."

Akbar's Land Revenue System. It goes without saying that Sher Shah Sur was the fore-runner of Akbar in the field of land revenue

system. Sher Shah laid down the main principles which were followed later on in the time of Akbar. Sher Shah had fixed the state demand at one-third of the produce and made regulations for the equitable collection of land revenue. Sher Shah's system was adopted by Akbar with the necessary alterations. Sher Shah's regime was too short to stabilize the system. Akbar's long reign gave him ample opportunity to plan out, develop and perfect his system.

Early efforts were made under Khwaja Abdul Majid Khan and Mazaffar Turbati to reform the revenue system. Turbati appointed 10 Qanungoes to collect the data about land revenue matters. The Qanungoes made certain recommendations. However, those could not be adopted on account of the Uzbeg rebellion. In 1575, the Jagirs were abolished. The whole of the Empire at that time was divided into 182 Parganas and each Pargana was put under a Karori whose function was to collect revenue. These Karories turned out to be greedy and corrupt officers.

In 1582, Raja Todar Mal[1] became the Diwan-i-Ashraf or Diwan-in-Chief. The whole of the land revenue system was thoroughly overhauled. The prevailing system at that time was to fix assessments every year on the basis of the yield and prices. The result was that the demand of the state varied from year to year. The collectors could not proceed with their work of collection of revenue until the officers fixed the rates to be charged. Todar Mal made a change in the existing system. He got an aggregate of the rates of collection for 10 years from 1570 to 1580 and one-third of them was taken as the basis of assessment. The survey or Paimaish of the whole land was undertaken. Formerly, hempen-ropes were used to measure land. The difficulty with them was that they were liable to contract and expand and that resulted in faulty measurement. Todar Mal used a Jarib of bamboos which was joined together with iron-rings.

Land was divided into 4 classes. *Polaj* land was that land which was regularly cultivated and yielded revenue from year to year. *Parauti* land was that land which was occasionally left uncultivated so that it may regain its productive capacity during the interval. *Chachhar* land was that land which was left uncultivated for 3 or 4 years. *Banjar* land was that land which was left uncultivated for 5 or more years.

The *Polaj* and *Parauti* lands were divided into three grades, *viz.*, good, middling and bad. The average of three was taken as the basis of the assessment. One-third of it was fixed as the share of the state. The system can be illustrated in this way. Suppose, the yield from land is as follows:

1. Good land	..	..	50 mds. per Bigha
2. Middling land	..	..	40 " " "
3. Bad land	..	..	30 " " "
Total	..	..	120 " " "
Average	..	..	40 " " "

The share of the state was 13-1/3 mds.

1. According to Lane Poole, "There is no name in medieval history more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms touched the welfare of the people than the great financial reconstruction of the revenue system."

It is to be noted that a different system was followed in the case of Banjar and Chachhar lands. The share of the state was not fixed at one-third. The share increased by progressive stages.

Todar Mal fixed rates of converting revenue in kind into revenue in cash by taking an average of the actual prices for 10 years. The share of the state was fixed at one-third. It was not to fluctuate from year to year. The farmer was given the choice to pay either in cash or in kind. Cash rates were fixed by the state officers and they were different in the case of different crops. Rates of sugar-cane and indigo were different from the rates for barley and wheat.

When the harvest season arrived, a staff of officers toured the villages to ascertain the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to preparing the crop-statement. The area of each crop in each holding was measured and the Bitikchi applied the prescribed rates and calculated the revenue from the cultivators.

The chief characteristics of Todar Mal's *Bandobast* were that the state was to advance loans to the cultivators which could be paid in easy annual instalments. Remissions of revenue were granted in bad seasons. The revenue collectors were required to write officially annual reports about the work, character and integrity of their subordinates. They were to see that cultivators were given a receipt for every payment made by them. A record of all the holding and liabilities of every cultivator was to be maintained. The collectors were to send reports of monthly returns to the royal treasury. Voluntary payments by cultivators were encouraged and the state force was employed only as a last resort. All the Parganas, whether cultivated or not, were required to be measured. Accounts were to be kept in Persian and not Hindi.

The system described above was known as the Zabti system. It was prevalent in Bihar, Allahabad, Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Malwa and parts of Gujrat. Although the ideal administrative system was to be found in the Zabti system, there were other systems of assessment prevalent in various parts of the Mughal Empire. The Ghalla Baksha system was the old Indian system of assessment by the division of crops. It prevailed in Thatta and in parts of Kabul and Kashmir. In the case of the Nasaq system, there was no intermediary between the farmer and the state.

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "The collection of revenue was always the result of a struggle between the Ryot and the Sarkar and the arrears were seldom, if ever cleared." There were conflicts between the farmers and the collectors of revenue. That was partly due to the fact that the Indian peasants were required to pay to a remote urban state from which they derived practically no benefit and about whose continuity they were sceptical. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, the collectors of revenue got from the peasants under the name of never-to-be-extinguished arrears everything except their bare subsistence.

Revenue Staff. Reference may be made to the revenue-officers of the Government. The Mughal Government did not give the right of collecting land-revenue to the highest bidders. It employed agencies for revenue collection. The Amil was assisted by Bitikchi, Potdar, Qanungo, Muqaddam and Patwari. The Amil had to perform many kinds of duties. He severely dealt with those who were rebellious

even if that involved the land remaining uncultivated. He was required to ascertain the quality of the land actually under cultivation and reclaim the waste lands. He was to take security from the surveyors of land, assessors and other officials. He was to see that in measuring land, not even a Bigha was concealed or over-looked. The revenue was to be collected in such a way that peasants were least troubled. The treasurer was required not to demand an extra coin from the peasant. The Amil was required to examine the registers maintained by the Patwaris, Muqaddams and Karkoons. He was required to report if anything exceptional affecting agriculture happened within his jurisdiction.

The **Bitikchi** occupied a status similar to that of the Amil. His duty was to supervise the work of the Qanungoes. He was required to be an efficient accountant and a good writer. He was to be well-acquainted with the customary laws of the areas within his jurisdiction. He was to maintain a register of all the engagements entered into by the peasants with the Government. He prepared detailed statements of arable and waste land and also of income and expenditure. He had to prepare every season abstracts of land revenue and also submit an annual report to the Central Government.

The **Potdar** or **Khizandar** received money from cultivators and issued receipts for all payments. The **Qunungo** was a Pargana officer. He was acquainted with all rural customs and rites of the peasantry.[1] His salary varied from Rs. 20 to 25. According to Moreland, one rupee of the Mughal period brought as much as seven rupees today.

Each Pargana was divided into many villages and each village had a Muqaddam or headman and a Patwari. The function of the Muqaddam was to help in the collection of revenue.

The revenue system of Akbar worked successfully and was responsible for improving the lot of the peasants. As the share of the state was fixed, the chances of fraud on the part of the Government servants were lessened. As the demand of the state was fixed, the Government became sure of a fixed revenue. Peasants got the security of tenure and were saved from all types of exactions. Agriculture improved and the necessities of life became cheap. Akbar's system with minor alterations continued to exist in the time of his successors.

According to Dr. Tripathi, although the assessments of Akbar were not severe, those were not light also. In spite of that, Akbar has been regarded as the father of the people for centuries. That is due to the fact that he gave the people of India a revenue system which was not only permanent but was also understood by the people. As the demand of the State was fixed, there was no occasion for any suspense or doubt. He also relieved peasants of a large number of petty and vexatious taxes and cesses. Akbar not only abolished *Jizya*, *Zakat*, and pilgrim taxes but also abolished taxes on sale of

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1. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, the Qanungo was "a walking dictionary of the prevailing rules and practices and a store-house of information as to procedure and precedents in the land history of the past." He was to keep a record of the landed property of every villager and the amount of tax paid by him. He was to report to the authorities the names of heirs succeeding a villager.

cattle, oxen, salt, markets, turbans, lodgings, hides, oils, blankets, weighing, purchase and sale of houses, permission to reap harvest etc. He also stopped the charging of fees by Tahsildars Daroghas, Treasurers and money-testers. All these remissions must have brought relief to the people. Whenever there was famine or other natural calamity, the Government came to the rescue of the people. The peasants must have welcomed the policy of saving the cows, buffaloes, camels and oxen and the maintaining of pastures. The peasants were saved from the caprices and whims of the Zamindars and Jagirdars.

Reference may be made to the reforms made by Akbar in the field of Sayurghals. It was considered to be the duty of the State to help the learned scholars, persons engaged in spiritual pursuits, the indigents, widows, decrepits and other respectable men who had no employment. Large areas of land had been given by the earlier rulers to such persons in the form of *Madadi-maash*. These persons prayed for the prosperity of the rulers and sometimes also actively worked for them. Mahmud Khilji of Malwa used to say that it was not possible to conquer Gujrat as it had one army for day and another for night. The Mughals also made similar grants of land. A separate Department of the State was entrusted with this work and it was presided over by the Sadr. In the beginning of the reign of Akbar, the department of the Sadr enjoyed a lot of discretion and the Sadr did whatever he pleased. When Sheikh Gadai was the Sadr, he took away jagirs from the Afghans and gave the same to his own favourites. When Sheikh Abdunnabi became the Sadr in 1565, he was asked to examine the question of Sayurghals and redistribute the same with the help of the Finance Minister. To begin with, he confiscated many jagirs which were given to the Afghans and transferred them to the Crown lands. Later on, he gave large areas of lands in the form of *waqfs, inams* and *idrarat.*

In 1575, the Karoris were asked to make enquiries into the Sayurghals and not to recognize any grant unless the same was countersigned by the Sadr. The result was that all the grantees of land had to come to Agra for that purpose. There was a rush of work on the Department of Sadr and Abdunnabi did not do the work properly. He left the work of checking in the hands of his subordinates who were corrupt. The result was that many honest persons suffered. An enquiry was made into the matter and it was found that the distribution of land had been made in a very haphazard manner. While many persons had large tracts of land, there were other deserving persons who had got nothing. Moreover, as a result of the mixing up of the Crown, jagirs and Sayurghal lands, there were constant quarrels between the officials and the holders of Sayurghals. Some persons held lands at different places by means of fraud.

Under the circumstances, Akbar ordered that lands for Sayurghal purposes should be set apart in every Pargana and no person should be allowed to have lands at different places. Abdunnabi was removed from his office. To reduce pressure at the centre, one Sadr was appointed for the Punjab and another for Gujrat. Akbar himself examined the cases of the holders of Sayurghals. He personally fixed up the areas of land to be given to each grantee on the basis of the impression created by him when he met him. However, he was generous to old men. In 1580, when the empire was divided

into many provinces, a Sadr was appointed for each province. At the centre, one Sadr-i-Sadur was appointed.

Akbar has been criticized for his Sayurghal policy. It is pointed out that the object of Akbar was to destroy the power of the Sadr who had become very powerful. However, such a view seems to be baseless. The Sadr was appointed by the King and could be dismissed by him at any time. Hence, there is no substance in the view that the object of Akbar's policy was merely to weaken the power of Sadr. Moreover, Akbar gained nothing by his Sayurghal policy. His object was merely to see that lands were distributed in such a way among the pious people that all the deserving people got something. Moreover, he also wanted to remove the quarrels between the holders of Sayurghals and the officials of the State.

The Munsabdari System. The Manasabdari system of the Mughals was the basis of civil and military administration of the country. The system was introduced by Akbar who borrowed it from Persia. It differed fundamentally from the feudal system of Europe in the sense that it had nothing to do with land and was also not hereditary. The Mansabdari system provided the Mughals with a civil service.

The literal meaning of the word Mansab or Manseb is office, rank or dignity. According to Irvine, the object of the Mansabdari system was to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay. Mansabdars belonged both to the civil and military departments. As a matter of fact, there was no distinction between the two departments in the Mughal period. Officials were transferred from the civil side to the military department and *vice versa*. The word Mansabdar was generally restricted to those who were high officials and the title of Rouzindar was given to the inferior Government servants.

There were many grades of the Mansabdars, but their main division was into two parts. The one part was known as the Omrahs and the other ordinary Mansabdars. Those Mansabdars who held the rank of one Hazari or two Hazari or any higher rank up to 12,000 were known as the Omrahs. Those who held a rank lower than that of 1,000 but not below 20, were called Mansabdars. That is why Bernier stated that Mansabdars were inferior Omrahs.

There is a difference of opinion among the various writers with regard to the distinction between Omrahs and Mansabdars. According to Bernier, there was distinction between Omrahs and Mansabdars and no Omrah was less than one Hazari. Sir Thomas Roe does not refer to any distinction between the two. Manucci seems to make a distinction between the two. The reason is that when he discusses the smaller Mansabdars up to 900 horses, he simply uses the words "Do Bisti", "Ce Bisti", "Chahar Bisti" etc. However, when he refers to Mansabdars of 1,000 or more, he also uses the word "Omrahs" along with them. Thus, the holder of 1,000 horses is called by him by the name of "Yak Hazari Omrah." Manucci also tells us that offices up to 900 were given to Mansabdars, but it was difficult to get the rank of a Hazari. The king granted that rank very sparingly and that also to those who worked hard for it. However, those who got the rank of a Hazari, also got the title of "Omrah".

According to Hawkins, the rank of the captain varied from 12,000 to 20,000 horses. The rank of 12,000 was given to the king,

his mother, eldest son and one more member of the royal blood. Other Mansabdars were known as Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen and Yeomen. According to Tavernier, the least of these Omrahs commanded 2,000 horses. There is every possibility of Tavernier being confused as he wrote his account much later.

The number of the Mansabdars was greater than that of the Omrahs. Although their pay was less, they belonged to the same class as Omrahs, and performed duties similar to those of the Omrahs. The Mansabdars were to be found not only at the court but also in the army and in the provinces.

According to Bernier, the number of the Mansabdars was not fixed, but according to Hawkins, those who held the rank from 2,000 to 20,000 horses, numbered 2,950. At the time of the writing of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, there were 148 Umrahs of 500 and above. Their number rose to 439 under Jahangir. The number was 405 in 1637 and 446 in 1647. The total number of Mansabdars was, 1,658 in 1590, 2,069 under Jahangir, 8,000 in 1637 and 11,456 in 1690.

Zat and Sawar. A distinction has to be made between Zat and Sawar ranks of the Mansabdars. However, scholars are not unanimous on this point. The view of Blochman was that the word Zat indicated the number of troops which a Mansabdar was expected to maintain, while Sawar indicated the actual number of horses under the command of a Mansabdar. If a Mansabdar held the rank of 1,000, Zat and 500 Sawar, then he had a rank of 1,000, while he actually commanded 500 horses. The view of Irvine was that the Sawar rank had nothing to do with the actual number normally commanded by an officer. It was an honour and it merely pointed out the actual number of horses over and above those of the Zat.

The view of Dr. Tripathi is that the Sawar rank implied an additional honour but there was no obligation on the part of a Mansabdar to maintain the number of horse-men indicated by it. However, he was paid an extra allowance for that. The view of S.K. Rao is that the Zat rank of a Mansabdar indicated the number of infantry while the Sawar rank indicated the number of cavalry under him. The view of Abdul Aziz and S.R. Sharma is that the Zat rank imposed an obligation on a Mansabdar to maintain a fixed number of elephants, horses, beasts of burden and carts, but no horsemen or cavalry. However, the Sawar rank represented the actual number of cavalry under a Mansabdar.

According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, "Blochman's interpretation seems to approximate to the actual state of affairs as it existed after the institution of the Sawar rank. It appears that for several years after the establishment of the Mansabdari System, Mansabdars of various ranks failed to maintain and bring to muster the number of cavalry fixed for their several ranks. Moreover, the bringing together of horses, horsemen (cavalry), elephants, camels, oxen, etc. in each rank caused confusion. It was probably to put an end to this confusion and to secure an absolute compliance of the number of horsemen fixed for each rank that Akbar instituted the Sawar rank, as distinct from Zat rank. Thereafter, the Zat rank indicated the number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts required to be maintained by a Mansabdar, but not horsemen or cavalry. The

Zat rank was not a personal rank as has been wrongly supposed by modern scholars. The Sawar rank, on the other hand, indicated the actual number of horsemen to be maintained by a Mansabdar in Akbar's reign. Under his successors, this regulation became a little lax and the number of horsemen fell below the Sawar rank".

There were three classes of the Mansabdars. A Mansabdar belonged to the first class if his Zat and Sawar ranks were equal. He belonged to the second class if the Sawar rank was the half of his Zat rank. He belonged to the third class if his Sawar rank was less than half the Zat rank or there was no Sawar rank at all.

The institution of Do-Aspa and Si-Aspa was introduced in the reign of Jahangir. This was different from the Sawar rank. It is difficult to say as to what exactly was the meaning of the rank of two horses and three horses. According to Abdul Aziz, "It was a very rare rank which was granted to a rare Mansabdar. The holders of these ranks were required to maintain some additional horsemen under them and they were paid a special allowance for that".

According to Bernier, the Omrahs were "the pillars of the Empire". They enjoyed the highest honours and occupied the most prominent position in the army, provinces and at the court. Their salary was proportionate to the number of horses assigned to each. They maintained a lot of outward pomp and show. They were never out of doors but in the most superb dresses. Sometimes, they mounted an elephant, sometimes on horseback and very often in their palanquins. They were usually attended by many horsemen and servants on foot who went in front of them. They presented themselves before the king thrice a day. When the king went on an excursion in a planquin, they were bound to accompany him on horseback. They were forced to make presents to the king on the occasion of certain annual festivals.

According to Pelsaert, "Their (Mansabdars) Mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity; superfluous pomp, inflated pride and an ornamental daintiness.

"I shall speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper storey except a flat roof on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn or sometimes raised by a wheel in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime which is mixed with milk, gum and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste rubbing it with well-designed towels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard and shines like alabaster or can even be used as a looking glass.

"They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stocks, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc., but their cots or sleeping places and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and

silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the Mahal, and is seen scarcely by anybody except women. Outside the Mahal, there is only the Diwan Khana or sitting place which is spread with handsome carpets and kept very clean and neat. Here the Lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatsoever it is and here all his subordinates come to *Salam* him."

According to Mandelslo, "There is no king in Europe that has so noble a court as the Governor of Gujrat nor any that appears in public with greater magnificence." According to Manucci, Daud Khan spent Rs. 25,000 a year on his pet birds alone. Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal in the time of Jahangir, spent Rs. one lakh on dancing girls alone.

It is pointed out that the Mughal Mansabdars were paid very high salaries if we take into account the fact that living was very cheap in those days. Thus, Mansabdars spent their money on their own luxuries and patronising all sorts of studies and arts. Some of the nobles received a pension on retirement. It is stated that Mohammad Yar Khan, Governor of Delhi, resigned in 1702 and was given a pension of Rs. 3,000 a year. Arz Khan, the Faujdar, was given a pension of Rs. 4,000 a year.

According to Bernier, the Omrahs were not expected to maintain the number of horses which was fixed by their titles. It was the duty of the king to fix the effective number of horsemen which any Omrah was to maintain. It did not matter much whether a Mansabdar was one of 2,000 or 7,000. Bernier's master Danishmand Khan, was an Omrah of 5,000 horses, but as a matter of fact he maintained only 500 horses. According to Manucci, the king allowed the Omrahs to keep not more than one quarter of the number indicated by their title. Thus, if the title was that of 1,000 and the Mansabdar got pay for 1,000, he was to maintain only 250 horses. According to Irvine, Lutfullah Khan held the rank of 7,000 but he did not maintain even 7 asses, much less horses or riders on horses. If the king wanted to show favour to a Mansabdar, he could give him a high title and allow him to maintain a smaller number of horsemen. If he wanted to punish him, he would give him a smaller title and ask him to maintain a large number of horsemen. This was done by Aurangzeb in the case of nobles of Bijapur and Golconda whom he wanted to punish.

Sir Thomas Roe also agrees with the view that the number of horses kept by Omrahs was less than what their title indicated. Mir Jamal-ud-Din Hussain, Governor of Patna, was a Pancha-Hazari Mansabdar but he maintained only 1,500 horses.

There were two methods of making payments to the nobles. One was of giving them Jagirs wherefrom they got their salaries. The second method was that of cash payment. In this case the Mansabdar got his salary from the royal treasury. The jagir from which the Mansabdar was to get his salary may be in the neighbourhood of the place where a Mansabdar was posted. It was never to be at the place where he was employed. The object of this regulation was to lessen the chances of corruption and extortion.

Nobles were paid at the rate of Rs. 25 for every horse per month. Sir Thomas Roe fixes the amount at £25 annually. According to Hawkins, the Mansabdars were allowed Rs. 20 for every horse every

month They were paid Rs. 2 per horse for the maintenance of their stable.

There was no hereditary nobility among the Mughals. Every thing depended upon the will of the king who had absolute control over the whole Mansabdari system. The appoinment and advancement of a Mansabdar depended entirely on the will of the Emperor. To quote Bernier, "The Mughal raises them to dignities or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice." It was not necessary for a Mansabdar to pass through all the stages in order to become a high Mansabdar. A person could be appointed directly a Mansabdar of 5,000 if the king so wished. He could be given a lift of 2,000 at once if the Emperor so pleased. The same person could have been appointed a Mansabdar of 200 and allowed to progress by slow degrees.

All the Mansabdars did not necessarily come from the nobility as such. Such a class could not come into existence. Most of the Omrahs were adventurers from different countries and were generally persons of low descent. If any one wanted to rise, he was to go up by degrees and that also as a result of hard efforts. No person could claim a particular Mansab on account of his birth. The son of a Mansabdar of 5,000 did not succeed to his father as a Mansabdar of 5,000.

A reference may be made to what is known as the *law of escheat*. According to this law, when a Mansabdar died, all his property was confiscated by the King.[1] Sir Thomas Roe puts this in the form of a metaphor. According to him, all the property of a Mansabdar came "to the king like rivers to the sea."

It is difficult to say as to what exactly was left by the king for the dependents of the deceased Mansabdars. According to Manucci, the king "seized everything left by his generals, officers and other officials at their death." Only a trifle was given to their widows for their maintenance. According to Bernier, the king usually gave a small pension to the widow and also some allowance to the family. According to Tavernier, the king inherited the property of the Mansabdar and his wife got jewels. According to Hawkins, the king got possession of the property of the Mansabdars after their death and gave to their children whatever he pleased. "Commonly, he dealeth well with them." The children were given certain favours, especially the eldest son. However, this remark does not tally with the statement of Bernier that after the death of an Omrah, his sons and grandsons were generally reduced to beggary and were compelled to enlist themselves as mere troopers in the cavalry of some Omrah. According to Sir Thomas Roe, the king left to the sons of the Mansabdars their "horses, stuff and some stock". He gave them a small lift for advancement. It was upto the children of a Mansabdar to secure their advancement by any means they could.

It cannot be denied that the working of the law of escheat must

1. According to J. N. Sarkar, "Thus the military accounts could never be cleansed and no officer's exact duties and liabilities to the state could be ascertained in life-time and even after his death. Under the circumstances, the safest course for the emperor was to escheat the dead man's property immediately after his death and then think of settling his account with the Government treasury."

have enriched the king because he came to have a lot of money from this source. The law of escheat must have created a good effect on the conduct of the Mansabdars while in office. Since they knew that whatever money was extorted from the innocent people, will not pass to their children and thereby make their lives comfortable, they desisted from temptations of bribery and other acts of high-handedness. However, there is every reason to believe that this law must have resulted in extravagance on the part of Mansabdars. As the Mansabdars knew that they could not leave anything to their children and whatever was left behind them, would be confiscated by the king, there was a tendency to become reckless in expenditure. The result was that in certain cases, nothing was found after the death of a Mansabdar. According to Manucci, when a Mansabdar died and his belongings were collected, nothing was found but boxes full of horns and old shoes. This gives an inkling into the working of the minds of the Mansabdars.

According to J.N. Sarkar, "It (the law of escheat) made the Mughal nobility a selfish band, prompt in deserting to the winning side in every war of succession or foreign invasion because they knew that their lands and even personal property were not legally assured to them but depended solely on the pleasure of the king *de facto*." Again, "Thus generation after generation, an Islamic country witnessed the same process of building up fortunes from the smallest beginning and undoing of life's work at death by the confiscation of the private property of the deceased man to the state and reduction of his son in the rank of poor commoners."

The Mansabdari system worked with great efficiency in the time of Akbar. Every effort was made to make the system as efficient as possible. The number of the Mansabdars was small. However, as time passed on, the number of Mansabdars rose and great care was not taken at the time of their appointment. A large number of Mansabdars were created in the time of Jahangir when he was busy in his war in the Deccan. The system completely deteriorated during the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb which lasted for a quarter of a century. The system collapsed after the death of Aurangzeb.

Reforms of Akbar. Reference may be made to some of the reforms of Akbar. (1) He abolished the Pilgrim Tax in 1563 with a view to winning over the good-will of the Hindus. The Muslim opposed this act of the Emperor on the ground that it involved a huge loss to the royal treasury. Another argument was that as the Hindus had been paying the tax for a long time, the same was not inequitable. "An old tax is no tax". Moreover, it was a tax on the "superstitions of the people". Akbar preferred to lose annually a sum of Rupees one crore in order to win over the good-will of the Hindus.

(2) The next reform was the abolition of *Jizya* which was a tax on the "conscientious faith of any man". This measure went a long way in removing the deep-rooted bitterness in the minds of the Hindus against the Muslim rulers.

(3) Akbar tried to remove the custom of *Sati* from the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular. Special inspectors were appointed to keep a watch on the voluntary or forced *Sati*. No woman was to be burnt against her will (1590-91).

(4) Akbar discouraged child-marriages and the system of female infanticide. A law was made that no boy below the age of 16 and no girl below the age of 14 was to be married. Consent of the bride and bridegroom was made necessary for the performance of a marriage. By another law, it was provided that no son or daughter of a nobleman could be married without the ascertainment of their age by an official of the police. Two officers called Turbegs were appointed in big towns to inquire into the circumstances of the bride and bridegroom. The Emperor took a tax from both the parties according to their status. He disapproved the system of high dowries. He also condemned polygamy on the ground that it ruined the health, happiness and tranquillity of mind of a person. Voluntary inter-communal marriages were encouraged. If a Hindu was converted to Islam in his childhood, he was given the option to become a Hindu again if he so desired.

(5) Akbar abolished the system of the enslavement of the wives and children of the conquered people. All persons in India were to be free.

(6) Certain regulations were made for the branding of horses. Horses belonging to the state were branded with the royal mark or number. Thus, the Chera and Dagh system of Ala-ud-Din Khilji was reintroduced. The horses belonging to different stables were distinguished by their price in numerals. A new mark was stamped if the horses were enlisted into higher grades. These reforms created resentment among the nobles as they could not resort to the practice of fraudulent musters.

(7) The Jagir system was abolished and all Jagirs were converted into Crownlands. The state became the owner of those lands and collected the revenues directly. The officers were to be paid salaries.

(8) Mir Arz was appointed to receive petitions from the public and submit them to the Emperor.

(9) Trial by ordeal was abolished.

(10) A record office was set up and the proceedings of the court were to be recorded.

(11) Important changes were made in the organisation of the royal mint. Abdul Samad was appointed the mint master. Different officials were put in charge of the provincial mints of Bengal, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat and Patna. Pure gold was used for coins and those were of a standard weight. Dr. Smith praised the coinage of Akbar in these words: "Akbar deserves high credit for the excellence of his extremely barred coinage as regards purity of metal and fullness of weight and artistic execution. The Mughal coinage, compared with that of Queen Elizabeth or other contemporary sovereigns in Europe, must be pronounced far superior on the whole. Akbar and his successors seem never to have yielded to the temptation of debasing the coinage in either weight or purity."

Akbar and the Jesuits. It has rightly been stated that "To the Jesuits, Akbar was at first an encouragement, then an enigma and ultimately a bitter disappointment."

The Portuguese were the first European Power when Akbar came into contact in 1572 at Cambay. They were given certain trade con-

cessions on the condition that they did not molest the Muslim pilgrims to Mecca.

When Akbar was searching for truth, he decided to ask the Christians to teach him the fundamentals of their religion. For that, he called first of all Father Julian Pereria, the Vicar General at Satgaon and Pietro Tavares, the commandant of the port of Hooghly, but he did not get any satisfaction.

In 1579, Akbar requested the Archbishop of Goa to send two learned priests to acquaint him with the principles of Christianity. At first, the sincerity of the request was doubted but ultimately it was decided to send a mission. The members of the mission were cordially welcomed and everything was done to make their stay happy and comfortable. They were invited to take part in the discussions going on at the Ibadat Khana. The Jesuit Fathers were happy at the prospect of converting Akbar. One of them sent the following report to Goa: "The Emperor is not a Muhammedan, but is doubtful as to all forms of faith and hold firmly that there is no divinely accredited form of faith, because he finds in all something to offend his reason and intelligence. Nevertheless, he admits at times that no faith commends itself so much to him as that of the Gospel and that when a man goes so far as to believe this to be true, he is near to adopting it. At the court, some say he is a heathen and adores the Sun, others that he is Christian, others that he intends to form new sect. Among the people also, there are various opinions regarding the emperor, some holding him to be a Christian, others a heathen, others a Muhammedan. *The more intelligent consider him to be neither a Christian, nor a heathen, nor a Muhammedan and hold this to be truest or they think him to be a Muhammedan who outwardly conforms to all religions to obtain popularity.*"

Father Monserrate puts the following statement into the mouth of Akbar: "These things are in the hands of God, Who grants to those who ask plain paths from which they cannot stray. I myself have no desire. I reckon wives, children, empire of no account. If there is no other way of becoming a Christian without raising a tumult, I will pretend that I wish to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and will go to Goa to be baptized." Again, "You have proved your case entirely to my satisfaction and I am well-pleased with the religion contained in your law, but I should advise you to be cautious in speed and action for your opponents are unscrupulous villains." The reply of the Fathers was in these words: "We will be cautious as regards the Muslim religious leaders as you advise, not because we are afraid of them for ourselves, but because we wish to obey you."

The Jesuit Fathers were very hopeful to convert Akbar to Christianity and they concentrated all their attention on that objective. However, they failed in their mission and were recalled in 1583. The Muslims resented the condemnation of Islam by the Jesuit Fathers. Akbar found them as fanatical as the Muslim Mullas. Akbar's numerous wives took up the cudgels against Christianity. They were joined by his mother Hamida Banu and his aunt, Gulbadan Begum.

The second Jesuit Mission was sent to the Court of Akbar in 1590. Although its members were welcomed and a school was started to teach Murad and Daniyal, sons of Akbar, the Portuguese language and the principles of Christianity, it was felt that there were no prospects

of converting the Emperor. Thus, the second mission was also a failure. According to Smith, "No printed record explains how, why or when exactly the mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and they returned to Goa some time in 1592. The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects suited for the task entrusted to them and that they might have been somewhat faint-hearted."

In 1594, Akbar asked for another mission to be sent. To begin with, there was a lot of hesitation and opposition on account of the previous attitude of the Mughal Emperor, but ultimately, the Viceroy decided to send the mission in the hope of obtaining "good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character." The members of the mission were received well as is attested by one of them in these words: "Both Emperor and Prince (Salim) favoured us and treated us with much kindness, and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit in turn upon the cushion which he and the prince alone are wont to sit."

The missionaries were given all kinds of facilities to propagate their faith. But this third mission was a failure in the sense that Akbar was not converted to Christianity. There was a lot of opposition from various quarters and ultimately the mission had to leave.

All the three missions of the Jesuits were failures. They did not realise that the object of Akbar was merely to understand the fundamentals of Christianity in the same way as he was trying to know about other religions. He had no intention to adopt one religion or the other. The Jesuits should not have been upset if they failed to convert the Emperor to Christianity. They ought to have remembered the kindness and courtesy shown to them and not condemned Akbar in every possible way simply because he did not become a Christian. They ought to have desisted from spreading all kinds of foolish stories about the Emperor in which there was absolutely no substance of truth. The following is merely a sample of the falsehoods propagated by these missionaries: "The Emperor turned all the mosques of the city into stables for elephants or horses on the pretence of preparation for war. The sub-deacon also said that the name of Mahomed was as hated at the Mughal Court as in Christendom and that the Emperor had restricted himself to one wife, turning out the rest and distributing them among his courtiers." Obviously, no reliance can be placed on the writings of the Jesuit Fathers for purposes of writing history. Dr. Smith did great disservice to the memory and fame of Akbar by relying upon their testimony for his biography of the real founder of the Mughal empire in India.

The Parsees. Dr. Smith is of the view that Akbar probably found more satisfaction in the religion of the Parsees than in any other. Dastur Meherjee Rana of Nausari initiated Akbar into the mysteries of the Parsi religion in 1578-79. After his death in 1591, Dastur Meherjee Rana was succeeded by his son at the royal court. He was given a Jagir of 200 Bighas of land which was later on increased by one-half. From 1580, Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire. It became the practice of the whole court to rise respectfully when the lamps were lighted in the evening. Budauni tells us that Akbar gave an order that the dead bodies should be buried with their heads

towards the East from where the sun rises. Akbar even began to sleep in that position.

The Jains. Dr. Hirananda Shastri is of the view that "The evidence available would show that Akbar learnt the *Surya-sahasra-nama* from a Jaina teacher of his.... The list given by Abu-l-Fazl names three Jaina *gurus* for whom the Great Mughal had a very high regard. The Hiravijaya Kavyam shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hiravijaya Suri on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagad-guru* or the Preceptor of the World. The Adisvara temple on the holy hill of Satrunjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions resembling those of Asoka restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jaina teachers'. The colophon of the commentary on the Kadambari would show that Akbar read the Surya-sahasra-nama with Bhanuchandra whom Hiravijaya Suri had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Siddhichandra, the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bhanuchandra, was another teacher of the Great Mughal".

Character and achievements of Akbar. A study of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl and *Tuzk-i Jahangiri* of Jahangir and the accounts of the foreigners gives us an idea of the personality of Akbar. According to Jahangir, "In his august personal appearance, he (Akbar) was of middle height but inclining to be tall; he was of the hue of the wheat; his eyes and eyebrows were black and his complexion rather dark than fair; he was lion-bodied with a broad chest and hands and arms long. On the left side of his nose, he had a fleshy mole, very agreeable in appearance, of the size of half a pea. Those skilled in the science of physiognomy considered the mole a sign of great prosperity and exceedingly good fortune. His august voice was very loud and in speaking and explaining had a peculiar richness. In his actions and movements, he was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him.

"The good qualities of my revered father are beyond limit of approval and the bounds of praise. If books were composed with his commendable dispositions without suspicion of extravagance and he be not looked at as a father would be by his son, even then but a little out of much could be said."

According to a Jesuit Father, "Indeed he was a great king; for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command, simultaneously, the obedience, the respect, the love, and the fear of his subjects. He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men, high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen, or Gentile; so that every man believed that the King was on his side. He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at midday and at midnight, and, despite his many duties, his prayers on these four occasions, which were of considerable duration, were never curtailed. Towards his fellow-men he was kind, and forbearing, averse from taking life,

and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he condemned anyone to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. He was always glad to pardon an offender if just grounds for doing so could be shown."[1]

According to Father Monserrate who knew Akbar closely, "He was in face and stature fit for the dignity of king, so that anybody, even at the first glance, could easily recognise him as the king. His shoulders were broad and his legs slightly bandy and adapted to riding. His complexion was fair, but slightly suffused with a darker tint. He carried his head slightly inclined to one side, towards the right shoulder; his brow was broad and open and his eye sparkled as does the sea when lighted by the sun. His eye-lids were heavy as those of Sarmatians, the Chinese, the Niphonians, and nearly all Asiatics of the more Northern regions. His eyebrows were narrow, and his nose was of the middle size and drooping, but had a high bridge. His nostrils were expanded as though he were enraged and, on the left one he had a wart, which met the upper lip. He shaved his beard but not his moustache, following the custom of young Turks before they assumed the full costume of manhood. Unlike his forefathers, he did not shave his head nor did he wear a cap, but bound his hair with a turban, which, they say, he did in imitation of the Indian custom in order to conciliate them. He dragged his left leg slightly, as though he were lame in it, though he had not been injured in the foot. He has in his body, which is very well-made and neither thin and meagre nor fat and gross, much courage and strength. When he laughs, he is distorted, but when he is tranquil and serene, he has a noble mind and great dignity. In his wrath, he is majestic." Akbar possessed an attractive personality. He was bold and courageous. He had so much physical strength that he could cut off the neck of a lion with one stroke of his sword. He worked very hard and slept very little. He was fond of sports all his life. He was witty. Although illiterate, he managed to learn a lot on account of his sharp memory and earnestness to acquire knowledge. He was a broad-minded person and he alone could follow a policy of Sulh-Kul or universal toleration. He was not a bigoted person.

He was sympathetic towards the people and was always ready to do all that he could to win over their affection. "He always found time gladly to hear their cases and to respond graciously to their requests. Their little offerings, too, he used to accept with such a pleased look, handling them and putting them on his bosom, as he did not do with the most lavish gifts of the nobles, which with discrete pretence he often seemed not even to glance at." (Du Jarric). He was a deeply religious man. He was always ready to learn the good points of all religions. It is wrong to say that he gave up Islam towards the end of his life. We have testimony of Jahangir that his father was a Muslim upto his death. However, he was not a bigoted Muslim. He often used to say that "there is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible. God is omnipresent." Again, "Each man according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the unknowable is vain." "There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language."

He was a man of deep affections. He was a dutiful son of his

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 154-155.

parents. He was kind towards his brother, Hakim, although the latter gave him a lot of trouble. He loved his son, Salim, very much and in spite of his rebellions, forgave him towards the end.

Akbar possessed a large measure of humility in his character. He hated pride and arrogance. When he started the *Din-i-Ilahi*, many requested Akbar to guide them, but his reply was: "Why should I claim to guide men, before I myself am guided." Akbar was fond of music and no wonder he patronised a large number of musicians. He possessed a large amount of knowledge of many kinds. According to Dr. Smith, "Anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on his subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy."

Akbar had a very lofty ideal of kingship. According to him, "Tyranny is unlawful in every one, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world." "Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God and a shadow should throw straight." Again, "A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of God. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just Government and due recognition of merit; that of his people in obedience and praise."

According to Father Jerome Xavier, "In truth, he (Akbar) was great with the great and lowly with lowly."

Akbar believed in a policy of aggression and conquests. His view was that "a monarch should always be intent on conquests, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should always be exercised in warfare lest from want of training they become self-indulgent."

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar was a perfect man. Such a view is not acceptable because every person is bound to have certain shortcomings. Critics point out to the presence of beautiful women in the weekly Mina Bazars held in the palace, but these stories can be set aside as later inventions of fertile imagination. However, it cannot be denied that in his early days, Akbar, was very fond of women and his *harem* contained as many as 5,000 women.

According to Principal Shri Ram Sharma, "The greatest of monarches in his time, Akbar is sure of a high place among the rulers of mankind for his brilliant success in the great adventure of governing men. Among the rulers of India, he occupies a very high place for—among other things—his having attempted to bring Hindus and Muslims together with some success. If he did not succeed in creating a nation, it was because he could not hurry the march of events. It is worth remembering that at a time when Europe was plunged into a strife of warring sects, when Roman Catholics were burning Protestants at the stake, when Protestants were executing Roman Catholics, Akbar guaranteed peace not only to warring sects, but to differing religions. In the modern age, he was the first and almost the greatest experimenter in the field of religious toleration if the scope of the toleration, the races to which it was applied, and the contemporary conditions, be taken into account."

According to Dr. Smith, Akbar "was born a king of men, with

rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary national gifts, his original ideas and his magnificent achievements."

According to Sir William Sleeman, "Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets."

According to Edwardes and Garrett, "Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history........ During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Mughals from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian dynasty".

According to Binyon, "His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organization,—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government. There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weakness, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human".

According to Stanely Lane-Poole, Akbar was "the noblest king that ever ruled in India". He was "the true founder and organiser of the Empire". He "represents the gilden age of the Mughal Empire".

According to Malleson, "Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head...... His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles by accepting which his western successors maintain it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contemporaries were the most eminent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with these. His reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him...... The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so unlike him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together. When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions".

According to K.T. Shah, "Akbar was the greatest of the Mughals and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man or the inheritance of his birth, it may yet be said that Akbar was so great, because he was so thoroughly Indianised. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task of welding the two communities into a

common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat, in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticise him by the canons of another age, or from the standpoint of other ideals. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed,—in his life and outlook and achievements, which must demand our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure".

According to Havell, "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed his motives impugned, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination.....He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type; but few of the great rulers of the earth can show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honourably consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious; but in his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian History and lifted the political ethics of Islam into a higher plane than they had ever reached before. It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the Din-i-Ilahi did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the State all the records of previous centuries of misgovernment, and that his schemes did not embrace a full recognition of the ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm, longer than has been the case with any other empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realise the Aryan ideal are still worthy of imitation both by the British rulers of India and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill".

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Akbar was unquestionably the greatest of all rulers of India of the Muslim period. His age, it has been remarked, was an age of great rulers. His nearest contemporary was Elizabeth of England, but Henry IV of France and 'Abbas the Great of Persia were ruling their kingdoms during a great part of his reign. He was the first, if not the only. Indian monarch to aspire to ruling a united people rather than to leading a dominant race, and his domestic alliances with Rajput families were what is now called a friendly gesture to the subject race, but by degrees he learned that Hinduism and Islam were incompatible, and, though he knew that such alliances as his were regarded by many of the subject race as an indelible disgrace, he laid the blame for his incompatibility chiefly upon the faith of his fathers. Very early in life he adopted and practised the principle of *sulh-i-kul*, or universal toleration, but later there was one creed which he excepted from its benefits, and that one was his own former faith. Many Muslims, eager to claim so great a ruler as one of themselves, contend that Akbar always remained a Muslim, and never went beyond an attempt to reform the faith in the direction of making it less harshly intolerant; but these ignore the undoubted fact that he definitely abjured Islam, and required others to abjure it, and that in the latter part of his life he persecuted its followers and destroyed its places of worship."[1]

1. The Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 294.

According to Dr. Tripathi, Akbar was one of the greatest kings which historic India had ever had. He was at once the child and father of his age. The problems before him were more complicated than those before Chandragupta, Asoka, or Guptas. He had to deal with the Hindus, Turks, Mughals and Persians and although he was a foreigner, he tackled the problems successfully. Akbar wanted to unite the warring world under one authority. He did his best to bring the whole of India under one rule by a uniform system of administrative, judicial and currency measures and agrarian and commercial laws. If his plan had been appreciated by the rulers of the Deccan and they had co-operated with him, India would have become the strongest and most prosperous country in Eurasia and the history of India would have been different. After uniting India, Akbar wanted to unite the mid-east and western Asia with her as a very important step towards the establishment of a world Empire. "Taken altogether, it may safely be said that Akbar was one of the greatest kings of all times".[1]

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CHAPTER VI

JAHANGIR (1605—1627)

His Early Life. It has rightly been observed that Jahangir was the child of many prayers. Akbar wanted a heir to succeed him and he not only prayed to God but also begged of the blessings of saints to have such a son. He waited on Chisti at Ajmer for the same purpose. Ultimately, a son was born in August 1569 and he was named Muhammad Salim. Akbar used to call him Shaikhu Baba.

As the child was got after many efforts, Akbar left no stone unturned to make him as much accomplished as he could be. He started his studies at the age of 4 and many capable tutors were employed to teach him Persian, Arabic, Turki, Hindi, arithmetic, history, geography and other sciences. The most important tutor was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana who was a versatile genius.

Prince Salim was betrothed to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber at the age of 15 and he was married in February, 1586. Khusrau was the offspring of this union. In addition to this marriage, Jahangir married many other women. The total number of wives in his *harem* was more than 800.

In spite of all the care which his father took, Prince Salim acquired all the evils of his age. He was a young man of very loose morals and was too much addicted to wine. Akbar did all that he could to mend him but failed.

In 1600, when Akbar was away in the Deccan engaged in capturing the fort of Asirgarh, Prince Salim who was probably "weary of waiting for the long deferred and ardently desired succession", broke into open rebellion, and declared himself as Emperor. Akbar had to return to Agra and he sent many threats and remonstrances to Prince Salim but all that had no effect on him. In 1602, Prince Salim offended his father by bringing about the death of Abul Fazl. Akbar was so very angry that he ordered that Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer, be put to death. However, Bir Singh escaped and thus saved his life. By these occurrences, the end of Akbar was hastened. There was a time when Akbar thought of superseding Salim by putting Prince Khusrau on the throne. This prince was the son of the sister of Man Singh of Amber and also the son-in-law of Mirza Aziz Koka. He was handsome in appearance and blameless in private life. However, Akbar gave up the idea. Prince Salim came back to Agra and surrendered himself before his father. After some trouble, he was received well by his father. Particularly after the death of Prince Daniyal in April 1604, Prince Salim was left the only surviving son and heir.

When Akbar fell ill in October 1605 and there was no chance of his life being spared, two parties were formed at the court. The one party headed by Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka was in favour of the succession of Khusrau and the other party was in favour of the succession of Prince Salim. As the party of Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka was in a minority, Prince Salim was chosen the successor.

Akbar himself, before his death, placed the Imperial turban on the head of Salim, thereby recognising him as the successor. Thus it was that Prince Salim came to the throne in November 1605.

Early Measures. Prince Salim assumed the title of Jahangir or "World Grasper." He released many prisoners and struck coins in his name. He proclaimed his policy in 12 famous regulations. He prohibited the levy of many cesses called Tamga, Mir Bahri, etc. He prohibited the opening of merchants' bales without their knowledge and permission. He forbade the manufacture and sale of wine and intoxicating drugs. Government officers were ordered not to take possession of the house of any one. No Government Collector or Jagirdar was to inter-marry with the people of his Pargana without the royal permission. Government hospitals were to be established for the poor. He abolished the punishment of cutting of nose and ears. He forbade the officials to take possession of the land of the cultivator by force. He prohibited the slaughter of animals on certain days in the year. He ordered the building of *Sarais*, mosques and wells on the roads. The property of the deceased person was to be given to his heirs. In case there were no heirs, the property was to be used for the erection and repair of public buildings. Jahangir also confirmed all officers and Jagirdars in the posts which were occupied by them in the time of Akbar.

Jahangir ordered the setting up of the *chain of justice* between the Shah Buriji in the fort of Agra and a stone-pillar fixed on the banks of the Jumna, for enabling the aggrieved persons to place their complaints before the Emperor. To quote Jahangir himself, "I ordered that the chain should be of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long with 60 bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindustani Mans, equal to thirty-two mans of Iraq." It must have cost the Emperor about three lakhs.

Revolt of Prince Khusrau (1606). Five months after the succession of Jahangir to the throne, Prince Khusrau, whose relations with his father were not cordial at all, left Agra with 350 horsemen on the pretext of visiting the tomb of Akbar, the Great. He was joined at Mathura by Hussain Beg with about 3,000 horsemen. Further on, he was joined by Abdur Rahim, Dewan of Lahore who was coming to Agra. When Prince Khusrau reached Taran Taran, he got the blessings of Guru Arjun and probably also some money. After that, he marched towards Lahore and besieged the same. Lahore was defended by Dilawar Khan and hence could not be taken. Jahangir himself reached Lahore with a big army. The rebels were defeated in the battle of Bhairowal. After defeat, Prince Khusrau and his followers proceeded towards Kabul. However, they were captured while crossing the Chenab river. Prince Khusrau and his friends and followers were brought before Jahangir. The prince was chained and handcuffed and was weeping very bitterly. Everybody was moved by the sight but not Jahangir who ordered the Prince to be thrown into prison. Cruel punishments were inflicted on the followers of Prince Khusrau. To quote Jahangir himself, "I gave Khusrau into custody and I ordered these two villains to be enclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass and had to be placed on asses, faced to the tail and so to be paraded round the city." Guru Arjun who had blessed the Prince was not excused. He was ordered to be put to death and his property was confiscated.

In 1607, Jahangir came to know of a plot which aimed at murdering him and putting Prince Khusrau on the throne. The ring-leaders were ordered to be executed. Prince Khusrau was ordered to be blinded, although his eyesight was not completely lost.

Upto 1616, Prince Khusrau was kept in the capital as a prisoner. Then he was made over to Asaf Khan. In 1620, he was handed over to Prince Khurram who was not well-disposed towards him. In March 1622, the prince was murdered.[1] Long afterwards, Aurangzeb is said to have accused Shah Jahan of the murder of Khusrau and Parvez.

Prince Khusrau was very popular with the people and the nobility. It is stated that long after his death, his last resting place in Allahabad was visited by people in a spirit of veneration and he was considered to be a "martyred saint".

About Prince Khusrau, Dr. Tripathi observes thus: "What would have been the history of India had Khusrau succeeded Akbar instead of Jahangir is a question no historian can undertake to answer. There is, however, no doubt that though the son of Jahangir, he was in many respects superior to his father. Thoughtful, cultured and sober, he had none of the vices which disgraced the character of Jahangir. He had no fondness for wine nor any weakness for women. His pleasant features, personal charms, social grace, purity of character, liberal views, dignified manners and kind and affectionate heart had made him a pet of his grand-father Akbar and extremely popular with the masses, and a large section of the nobles. It was believed, for good reasons, that he had imbibed the spirit of his grand-father more than any one of his descendants and was expected to carry on his policy more faithfully and successfully than any one else."[2]

Nur Jahan. The story of Nur Jahan must occupy a very important place in the history of Jahangir. She was the daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg who himself was the son of Khawaja Mohammad Sharif who was the native of Tehran and Wazir of the Tartar Sultan, Beglar Begi of Khorasan. On account of unfavourable circumstances, Mirza Ghiyas Beg decided to try his luck in India. He took his journey under the protection of a wealthy merchant named Malik Masud. While Mirza Ghiyas Beg was on his way to India, a daughter was born at Kandhar. Mirza Ghiyas Beg was introduced to Akbar by Malik Masud and on account of his hard work and honesty, he rose to the high position of Diwan of Kabul. When his daughter named Mahrunnissa reached the age of 17, she married to Ali Quli Beg Istaglu who was a Persian adventurer. He was given a Jagir in Bengal and also the title of Sher Afghan. Jahangir learnt that Sher Afghan was insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious. Consequently, Qutb-ud-Din, the new Governor of Bengal, was directed to chastise him. When Qutb-ud-Din went to carry out the orders, he was killed by Sher Afghan

1. Regarding the murder of Khusrau, the Imperial historian, has written thus: "It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradiction of the rival claimants to the fortunate throne (therefore) on grounds of expediency and commonweal, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors, Khusrau was translated from the ditch of prison to the plains of non-existence."

2. Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 362.

who himself was put to death by the attendants of Qutb-ud-Din. Sher Afghan's widow Mahrunnissa, was brought to Agra and was placed under Sultana Salima Begum in 1607. In 1611, she married Jahangir who gave her the title of Nur Mahal or "Light of the Palace". The title changed later on to Nur Jahan or "Light of the World."

There has been a lot of controversy regarding the circumstances of the death of Sher Afghan and the marriage of his widow with Jahangir. Dr. Beni Prasad, the author of his monumental work on Jahangir, was of the opinion that Prince Salim had never seen Mahrunnissa. Akbar had also not forbidden the marriage between Prince Salim and Mahrunnissa and Jahangir saw her for the first time in 1611. He maintained that no contemporary Persian source supported the view that Jahangir as a prince had desired to marry Mahrunnissa and Akbar had refused permission. No contemporary Persian writer has held Jahangir responsible for the murder of Sher Afghan. Likewise, the contemporary European travellers and missionaries are also silent on this point. If it is accepted that Akbar had opposed the marriage of Mahrunnissa with Salim, he would not have placed Sher Afghan on the staff of Prince Salim in 1599. Moreover, if Salim had considered Sher Afghan as his rival, he would have not given him promotions after his accession to the throne and even before. Qutb-ud-Din was appointed the Governor of Bengal not for the purpose of bringing about the murder of Sher Afghan but because Jahangir wanted to remove Man Singh from that important province. Moreover, a woman like Nur Jahan would never have agreed to marry the murderer of her husband.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, there is every possibility that Jahangir as a Prince loved Mahrunnissa and wanted to marry her. There is every possibility of his complicity in the murder of Sher Afghan. According to him, the arguments given by Dr. Beni Prasad in favour of the innocence of Jahangir are of a negative nature. There is nothing to contradict the positive assertions of the later Indian historians who were "in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors." Moreover, there were no definite charges against Sher Afghan and the Governor, Qutb-ud-Din, was instructed to punish him only if he "showed any futile seditious ideas." To quote Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "Our suspicions are confirmed by the suddenness with which the arrest was attempted." Jahangir himself was very fond of mentioning even the most trivial affairs of his life in his Memoirs. He has omitted altogether the circumstances of his marriage with Nur Jahan. That creates the suspicion. He mentioned the name of Nur Jahan for the first time in 1614. It is also pointed out that after the death of Sher Afghan, Mahrunnissa should have been sent to her father or brother who were both living. There was absolutely no justification for her being brought to the royal palace and kept under the control of the step-mother of Jahangir. It is worthy of note that such a thing was never done in the case of the widows of other nobles and officers. De Laet, a Dutch contemporary, says that Jahangir loved Mahrunnissa when he was a Prince. Jahangir intentionally did not marry Mahrunnissa for four long years with a view to removing the suspicion from the minds of the people regarding the death of Sher Afghan. Moreover, some time was required for reconciling Mahrunnissa, who must have been unhappy over the death of her husband. The conclusion of Dr. Ishwari Prasad is that "the circumstances of Sher Afghan's death are of a highly

suspicious nature. Altogether there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Emperor was guilty of the crime."

The character of Nur Jahan provides a fascinating study. There is much in her which deserves praise. She had "a piercing intelligence, a versatile temper, sound commonsense." She could understand the most intricate problems of the state without any difficulty. No political or diplomatic problem was beyond her comprehension. The greatest statesmen and ministers bowed to her decisions. She was fond of poetry and wrote verses. She not only possessed superb beauty but was also a lover of beauty. She did a lot to add to the splendour and glory of the Mughal court. She set the fashions of the age. She designed new varieties of silk and cotton fabrics. She suggested models of jewellery.

Nur Jahan was possessed of great physical strength and courage. She went out on hunting tours with her husband. On more than one occasion, she shot ferocious tigers. Her presence of mind was remarkable. This is clear from the rebuke she gave to her brother, Asaf Khan when Jahangir was imprisoned by Mahabat Khan on the river Jhelum. Nur Jahan was at her best at the time of difficulty. Even generals and soldiers were amazed at the manner in which she behaved at the time of an emergency. When her husband was imprisoned by Mahabat Khan, she seated herself on an elephant and tried to rescue him even by endangering her own life.

She worked very hard and no detail of administration escaped her notice. She was generous and the refuge of the poor and the destitute. She provided money for the marriages of orphan Muslim girls. She was the "asylum of all sufferers." According to Jahangir himself, "Whosoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression, and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphans were married and portioned."

Nur Jahan raised her own kiths and kins to high positions. Asaf Khan, her brother, was made the first minister of the state. She also gave a high position to her father. Likewise when she married her daughter to Shahriyar, many favours were showered on him.

Her devotion to Jahangir was unmatched. She loved him so much that he forgot all about the world. No wonder, he entrusted all the work of the Government to her. Jahangir used to remark: "I have sold my kingdom to my beloved queen for a cup of wine and a dish of soup."

Nur Jahan was the ruler herself. The highest dignitaries of the state came to her for favours. A word from her could make or mar the career of any one. Rebels against the state requested her to interfere on their behalf. It was because of her that Jagat Singh, the hill chief of the Punjab, was forgiven and "the pen of pardon was drawn through record of his faults."

If Nur Jahan had virtues, she had her faults also. She was extremely jealous and could not tolerate the rise of others. She was afraid lest their rise should weaken her position. This is clear from the treatment meted out by her to Mahabat Khan who had been sent to pursue Prince Khurram in the Deccan. Mahabat Khan had done

his job so nicely that he had succeeded in turning out the Prince from the Deccan and also from Bengal where he had retired. This made him the idol of his soldiers. It was his popularity which created jealousy in the mind of Nur Jahan. She recalled him from his mission and ordered him to send to the court the elephants he had obtained in Bihar and Bengal and also render an account of the money alleged to have been received by him from the dispossessed jagirdars. Mahabat Khan proceeded towards the Punjab where the Emperor was with a view to presenting his case personally. He had with him four to five thousand Rajput soldiers. Jahangir had come back from Kashmir and was going to Kabul and he was to cross the river Jhelum next morning. News of the approach of Mahabat Khan upset the Royal party. Jahangir ordered Mahabat Khan to remain where he was and Nur Jahan asked him to explain as to why he had married his daughter to a nobleman's son named Barkhurdar without the previous permission of the court. Barkhurdar was summoned to the court. He was publicly disgraced and sent to prison with his hands tied to the neck. The dowry given by Mahabat Khan was forfeited. All this was too much for Mahabat Khan. He got Jahangir arrested and Nur Jahan had also to submit for the time being. However, when the control of Mahabat Khan over the Emperor ended, he ran away to the Deccan and joined hands with Prince Khurram who was already in revolt. It cannot be denied that Nur Jahan was responsible for turning Mahabat Khan into an enemy. The man who could have been used against the enemies of the Empire, was himself turned into an enemy.

Nur Jahan was responsible for the loss of Kandhar in 1622. The Persians besieged Kandhar and the Mughal garrison appealed for help to Jahangir. Nur Jahan who was at the helm of affairs ordered Prince Khurram to proceed to Kandhar but the latter refused to do so. There is no denying the fact that the refusal of Khurram was due to her behaviour towards him. She had done things which could not be tolerated by Khurram. She was favouring her son-in-law[1] at the cost of Khurram. The latter had requested again and again for the grant of the Jagir of Hissar Firoza, but that was given to Shahriyar, who has been rightly nicknamed "Nashudani," or "good-for-nothing" by his contemporaries. Khurram was right in suspecting that in his absence to Kandhar, Shahriyar might be given further promotion and he himself might be disposed of in the battlefield. Even Dr. Beni Prasad admits that in the absence of Prince Khurram, Nur Jahan was sure to push her creature Shahriyar to the front and undermine the position of Prince Khurram. It was this fear which forced Khurram to rebel against his father rather than fight against the Persians and thereby Kandhar was lost to the Mughals. It was Nur Jahan who was primarily responsible for this. It cannot be denied that the system of Government degenerated under her control. Everything became rotten. There were plots, intrigues and conspiracies. Sir Thomas Roe tells us that the things had come to such a pass that even he himself had to offer a very costly present to Asaf Khan to get his own work done.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, it was under the influence of Nur Jahan that Jahangir became a thorough-bred pleasure-seeker and completely forgot the duties of his office. If Jahangir's reign forms

1. Ladli Begum, daughter of Nur Jahan from her first marriage, was married to Shahriyar.

an inglorious period in the annals of the Mughal dynasty, she must share the responsibility in no small measure. The new fashions and tastes which she fostered, are a poor compensation for the lack of military achievement or administrative reform which must remain the supreme test of the greatness of rulers and statesmen. The dominating Begum made her husband travel fast on the path of ease till he ceased to take all interest in public business and began to look upon alcohol as a prudent friend.

According to Dr. Tripathi, "The influence which she exercised over her husband was mostly moral, emotional, spiritual and possibly intellectual. It, however, led some people to believe that in political sphere also her influence was equally great and the politics of the day, particularly after the death of her father, was entirely dominated by her. This suspicion was strengthened by her interested detractors who wanted to exploit it for their own ends. Opinions are easily formed and popular currency is given to them equally easily. If facts are stripped of opinions and scrutinized on their own merit, they hardly support the popular view. To argue that a lady of such energy, vitality and personality could hardly resist the temptation of meddling in politics is to beg the question and take to unscientific reasoning. Only once did she take an appreciable part in war and politics not for love of them or her inquisitiveness or ambition but to rescue her husband from the grip of Mahabat Khan. The driving motive was her love for her husband and brother and incidentally a desire to uphold respect and vindicate the dignity of the Crown of which she was also an ornamental part. Her responsibility for the rebellion of Khurram or Mahabat Khan or the so-called struggle for succession is a figment of imagination and popular myth and is as fanciful as the responsibility of Jahangir for the murder of Sher Afghan. The facts, however, indicate that far from being an evil genius hovering over Jahangir, she was his guardian angel."[1]

War with Mewar. It is well-known that Maharana Pratap carried on his struggle against Akbar for the whole of his life. When he died in 1597, he was succeeded by Amar Singh. He was not disturbed by Akbar for the rest of his reign. However, when Jahangir came to the throne, he re-started the war with Amar Singh and sent a force under Mahabat Khan. The Rajputs put up a stiff resistance and Mahabat Khan failed to achieve anything. Adbulla Khan was sent against Amar Singh, but he also did not achieve anything substantial. In 1614, Prince Khurram was sent against Amar Singh and he pushed on the campaign so vigorously that the Rajputs were made to come to terms. Amar Singh acknowledged Jahangir as his over-lord. Jahangir also treated Amar Singh generously and tried to soften the humiliation of his defeats. All the country conquered by him since the invasion of Akbar was restored to him. He was also given the assurance that he would not be compelled to attend the court in person. Karam Singh, the son of Amar Singh, was raised to the Mansab of 5,000. After some time, Jahangir is said to have done special honour to Amar Singh and Karan Singh by directing the artists at Ajmer to fashion their full sized statues in marble. Those statues were removed to Agra and set up in the garden of the palace below the audience window.

According to Dr. Sharma, "The treaty of 1615 A.D. terminated

1. Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 422-423.

almost a century old struggle between the two ruling houses. It must be regarded as a political triumph for Jahangir and a personal triumph for Khurram. The treaty between Amar Singh and Jahangir stands on a different plain from that between a Mughal ruler and any other Rajput chief of Rajasthan. Whereas other Rajput rulers were required to attend the Imperial Darbar in person, the Rana was exempted and it was agreed to by the emperor that he would be represented by his crown prince. The humiliating practice of a matrimonial alliance which other Rajput chiefs had entered with the Mughal ruling family was not included in the terms of the treaty. These were the special concessions which were made to the Rana of Udaipur on account of his pre-eminent position among the Rajput rulers. An insistence on them too would have prolonged the century-old war between the Mughals and the Sisodias. The treaty not only accorded special treatment to the Rana but at the same time it reflected statesmanship and generosity on the part of Jahangir and his son Khurram.

"Some casual observers find fault with Amar Singh for giving up the struggle and entering into a treaty with the Mughals. According to them the restoration of Chittor was hedged with conditions and, therefore, was worse than useless. The sending of a Rajput contingent at the Mughal court from Mewar was a humiliation to the people of the state and betokened subservience.

"The above criticism is based on sentiment and ignores the suffering to which Mewar had been subjected by the prolonged warfare. The country had to pay price for peace, and that was the recognition by its ruler of the nominal suzerainty of the Mughals whose policy was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the vassal states of Rajasthan. The loss occasioned by the recognition of Mughal sovereignty was more than compensated by peace for two generations—a peace without humiliations, for the emperor did not insist on the presence of the Rana in the court and sending a 'Dola' to his harem. Those who condemn the treaty do not seem to realize the consequences of the prolonged struggle. It was an unequal war in which eventually Mewar was bound to perish sooner or later. If, as the critics say, war was bound to recur, two generations of peace gave the Rana enough of strength to fight with a better chance of success. Hence barring sentimental satisfaction, the treaty proved to be beneficial for Mewar."[1]

Conquest of Kangra (1620). Jahangir also thought of capturing the fort of Kangra which Akbar had failed to do. Murtaza Khan, Governor of the Punjab, was directed to conquer Kangra, but he failed on account of the jeolousy and opposition of the Rajput chiefs who were associated with him. Then Prince Khurram was put in charge of the command. The siege of Kangra was pushed on for weeks. Supplies were cut off. The garrison had to live on boiled dry grass. It was faced with death and starvation. After a siege of 14 months, the fort surrendered in November 1620. In 1621, Jahangir visited it and ordered the slaughter of a bullock at that place. A mosque was also built within the fort of Kangra.

Conquest of Kistwar (1622). The district of Kistwar had been able to maintain its independence in spite of the conquest of Kashmir. Efforts had been made in the time of Akbar to conquer it, but those were not crowned with success. Dilawar Khan, the Governor of

1. Mewar and The Mughal Emperors, pp. 138-39.

Kashmir, brought the Raja of Kistwar to Jahangir in 1620. On account of the oppression of the Governor, the people revolted and a strong army had to be sent to crush the revolt. It was in 1622 that law and order was restored in Kistwar and the people settled down to a life of peace.

War with Ahmednagar (1610—1620). Akbar had established his authority over Ahmednagar and thereby ousted the Nizam Shahi dynasty. In the time of Jahangir, Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian adventurer, was able to restore the dynasty. Malik Ambar has been regarded to be one of the greatest generals and statesmen of medieval India. He was admired even by his enemies for the qualities of head and heart. He organised the revenue system on the same lines as that of Todar Mal. He trained the Marathas in guerilla warfare. According to Motamad Khan, the Mughal historian, "In warfare, in command, in sound judgment and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory warfare which in the language of the Deccan is called *Bargi Giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of the country and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave reaching such eminence." Another writer pays the following tribute to Malik Ambar: "A born leader of men, he conciliated all parties, maintained order, and left a name for justice, vigour and benefit which have not been forgotten yet."

Malik Ambar took advantage of the rebellion of Prince Khusrau and attacked the imperial forces in the Deccan. With the help of his Maratha troops, Malik Ambar defeated Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khana and recaptured Ahmednagar in 1610. Khan-i-Khana was recalled and Khan Jahan succeeded him. As the mind of the Emperor was otherwise busy with the affairs of Nur Jahan, no action could be taken against Malik Ambar for the present. However, in 1612, an army was sent from Gujrat to help Khan Jahan, but nothing substantial was achieved. The Maratha cavalry harassed the Mughal troops of Khan Jahan Lodi and Prince Parvez did not dare to attack Malik Ambar again. In 1616, Prince Khurram was entrusted with the command. He offered terms of peace to Malik Ambar and the latter accepted the same. Adil Shah gave presents worth 15 lakhs to Prince Khurram and also promised to restore all the territory which had been seized by Malik Ambar. The treaty was ratified by Jahangir who also conferred the title of Farzand upon Adil Shal, Prince Khurram was given the title of Shah Jahan and his Mansab was raised to 30,000 Zat and 20,000 Sawar. There was a lot of rejoicing but the fact remains that Ahmednagar was not conquered and the power of Malik Ambar was not crushed. This state of affairs continued till 1629 when Malik Ambar died.

Affairs of Kandhar. Kandhar had been annexed by Akbar by a stroke of good luck and is continued to be a part of the Mughal Empire throughout the rest of his reign.

On account of its strategic position and commercial importance, Kandhar was the bone of contention between India and Persia. It was the gateway to India and a natural base of operations for an invader coming from Central Asia or Persia. The power controlling Kandhar could also easily capture Kabul and that is the reason why the Mughals attached great importance to the possession of

Kandhar. Moreover, Kandhar was the place where merchants from India, Central Asia, Turkey and Persia met.

When Akbar died in 1605 and there was the revolt of Prince Khusrau, Shah Abbas, the Persian ruler, instigated the chiefs of Khorasan to attack Kandhar. The Indian Governor put up a stiff resistance. Jahangir also sent reinforcements. The result was that the attack on Kandhar failed. Shah Abbas expressed his complete ignorance of the whole affair. He not only rebuked the Khorasan nobles but also apologised to Jahangir. The matter rested there for the time being.

In 1611, Shah Abbas sent an ambassador to Agra with rich presents and letters of flattery for Jahangir. Other missions were also sent for the primary purpose of flattering Jahangir and thereby putting him off his guard. Such missions were sent in 1615, 1616 and 1620. In 1621, Shah Abbas sent a large army for the capture of Kandhar. The siege actually started in 1622. When the news reached India, Jahangir ordered Shah Jahan to proceed to Kandhar. Shah Jahan had his grievances against the treatment meted out to him by Nur Jahan who was advocating the cause of her son-in-law. Shah Jahan also suspected that he may not be quickly disposed of on the Kandhar front under the instructions of Nur Jahan.[1] The result was that instead of proceeding to Kandhar, he revolted against the Mughal Government. The fort of Kandhar fell after a siege of 45 days. Shah Abbas attempted to justify his capture of Kandhar but Jahangir accused him of treachery and deceit. He also ordered Prince Parvez to recapture Kandhar but the order was cancelled at the instigation of Asaf Khan. The result was that Kandhar could not be recaptured during the reign of Jahangir.

Bubonic Plague. Bubonic plague broke out in the Punjab in 1616. It spread to Sirhind and the Doab as far as Delhi. Jahangir has described the disease in these words: "When it was about to break out, a mouse would run out of its hole as if mad, and striking itself against the door and walls of the house, would expire. If immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death.

"If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal attack. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe upon the Hindus. In Lahore, its ravages were so great that in one house 10 or 20 persons would die, and their surviving neighbours annoyed by the stench, would be

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1. Dr. Tripathi does not accept this view. According to him, the command over a powerful and large army which Jahangir had decided to send, would have given Shah Jahan sufficient means to hold his own. If the worst came to the worst, he could enter into an alliance with the Shah of Persia. It is pointed out that Shah Jahan had not refused to go to Kandhar. He had merely stated that he would go there after the rains. Moreover, he wanted to have an absolute command of the army and full control of the Punjab in case he was to go to Kandhar. Shah Jahan knew that without that control, it will not be possible for him to do his work successfully. He realised the importance of the full co-operation of the provinces situated on the main road and contiguous field of operations. He also wanted to give some time to his men to prepare for the journey for Kandhar.

compelled to desert their houses full of habitations. The dead were left locked, and no person dare to go near them through fear of his life. It was also very severe in Kashmir where its effect was so great that a Darvesh who had performed the last said offices of washing the corpse of a friend, the very next day was met the same fate. A cow, which had fed upon the grass in which the body of the man was washed also died. The dogs also, which ate the flesh of the cow fell dead upon the spot. In Hindustan, no place was free from this visitation which continued to devastate the country for a space of eight years."

The plague broke out in Agra in 1618-19 and spread to all the surrounding areas. About 100 persons died every day. Both the rich and the poor were affected. In spite of heavy mortality, the state did not devise any methods to check the deaths.

Revolt of Shah Jahan (1623-25). It has already been pointed out that Shah Jahan revolted instead of going to Kandhar. Jahangir came out to oppose Shah Jahan personally. The opposing armies met at Balochpur and Shah Jahan suffered heavy losses. After that, the prince retired to the Deccan. He could not get help from the Governor of Gujrat. He went to Burhanpur and from there proceeded towards Bengal where he reached in 1624. He was able to take possession of both Bengal and Bihar on account of the favourable attitude of the Mughal authorities there. Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan pursued Shah Jahan and completely defeated him in the battle. Shah Jahan was again forced to go back to the Deccan. At this stage, he tried to make friends with Malik Ambar of Ahmednagar. In 1625, reconciliation was brought about between Shah Jahan and Jahangir. Shah Jahan agreed to surrender Rohtasgarh and Asirgarh and also sent Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh as hostages.

Death of Jahangir (1627). The health of Jahangir was completely shattered on account of too much of drinking. He was trying to restore it by visiting Kashmir and Kabul. He was going from Kabul to Kashmir and returned to Lahore on account of severe cold. He died on the way in October 1627. His body was brought to Lahore and was ultimately interred in the Jahangir tomb near Shahdara (Lahore).

Visit of foreigners. Captain W. Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe visited India in the time of Jahangir. As regards Hawkins, he was an adventurous English seaman and he arrived in India in 1608 with a letter from James I to the Emperor of India, "The Great Mughal." There was a lot of opposition but in spite of that he managed to reach Agra to deliver the letter in person. He was well-received by Jahangir and he became his favourite. Hawkins lived at the Mughal court for about three years (1608-11) and enjoyed the hospitality of the Emperor. So far as the object of his mission was concerned, he failed to accomplish anything on account of the intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries. Hawkins married an Armenian Christian lady at the bidding of Jahangir.

Hawkins has written a lot about the habits of the Emperor, the court etiquette, the condition of the people and the administrative system of the country. He tells us that Jahangir was a heavy drunkard. There were many feasts at the Royal Court and the most important was that of Nau Roz. There was also the law of escheat by

which after the death of a nobleman, all his property was taken over by the king. Hawkins has referred to the causes of the wealth of the Mughal Emperor. Those were the treasure and jewels of the ancestors, property of the nobles which came by way of escheat, money brought into the country by foreign merchants and the possession of land.

Hawkins tells us that when the king got angry, terrible results followed. He might order a man to be flayed alive, or torn to pieces by elephants or tortured to death in many ways. The king was a mixture of opposites. On one occasion he might order the murder of a person and on another occasion he may give generously or intervene to save the life of some innocent person. Jahangir showed himself publicly three times a day to hear petitions of the people and give justice to them. Bribery was very common and the local authorities were oppressive. The Provincial Governors could do whatever they pleased and there was no effective check on them.

Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I in 1615. He was both a scholar and a courtier and was well qualified for the job given to him. He reached Surat in September 1615 and proceeded to Ajmer where Jahangir was. He remained at the court of Jahangir from 1615 to 1618. He succeeded in obtaining a Firman from Jahangir allowing the English to trade at Surat. The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe and the Diary of the clergyman, Edward Perry form a very valuable source for the reign of Jahangir. Sir Thomas Roe got the concession by bribing Asaf Khan.

The Journal of Roe gives a pen-picture of the Royal Court and the important personalities of the country. He tells us that the Mughal court abserved a lot of pomp and show. He described the festivities in which the nobles took part. He also refers to the squalor and misery of the peasantry. The public highways were insecure. Local administration was completely inefficient and corruption prevailed everywhere. Roe was struck by the fact that there were no written laws in India and the word of the king was law. The control of the Central Government over the provinces was not what it should have been. He also refers to the law of escheat by which the property of a noble passed to the Emperor after his death. He tells us how the favourites of the king were given promotions whether they deserved it or not. According to Roe, Jahangir had neither pride nor conceit. There were scenes of drunkenness and revelry at night. Roe was a clever diplomat. He possessed plenty of shrewdness and business capacity.

Roe tells us that the merchants were harassed at the ports. The Deccan was in a state of ruin. The art of painting was highly advanced.

Estimate of Jahangir. According to Dr. V. A. Smith, Jahangir was "a strong compound of tenderness, cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness." He wrote his Memoirs known as *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*. The Emperor possessed plenty of intelligence and ability but his habit of excessive drinking completely ruined him. He was not cruel by nature, but he behaved cruelly on certain occasions. He loved justice and was always ready to give the same to the people. He possessed very liberal views on religious matters. He possessed a fine critical taste in matters of

dress and pleasures of the table. He designed new fashions. He relished fine fruits.

Jahangir was not in the morning what he was in the evening. "By day he was the picture of temperance, at night he became exceedingly glorious in the company of his nobles." He possessed a violent temper and there was every possibility of his behaving in a very cruel manner. Excessive drinking was responsible for his fits of violent temper. When he was sober, he was magnanimous and forgiving. He gave gifts to the needy.

Jahangir was a typical autocrat, a warm-hearted friend and a generous patron. He was a lover of nature and loved ease and indolence. He was "a lover of things Indian, and feels delight in Indian surroundings. There is much in his character that deserved to be condemned, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian history."

According to Jaffar, "Jahangir was a great ruler, capable of enormous energy. If he had not allowed himself to be dominated by the Nur Jahan clique, he would have proved himself an excellent administrator, worthy to be placed by the side of his father. It must, however, be pointed out that the real glory of his reign has been greatly eclipsed by the splendour of the two reigns that followed and preceded his, and he himself has suffered much on account of the coming between two illustrious sovereigns—Akbar, the Great and Shah Jahan, the magnificent."

According to Sir Richard Burn, "He stands in the roll of Indian monarchs as a man with generous instincts, fond of sport, art and good living, aiming to do well to all, and failing by the lack of the finer intellectual qualities to attain the ranks of great administrators."[1]

According to Beveridge, "Jahangir was indeed a strange mixture. The man who could stand by and see men flayed alive could yet be a lover of justice and could spend his Thursday evenings in holding high converse. He could procure the murder of Abul Fazl and avow the fact without remorse, and also pity the royal elephants because they shivered in winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water. One good trait in Jahangir was his hearty enjoyment of nature and his love of flowers."

According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, "Jahangir cannot be called a great king, nor can he be described as a statesman and administrator of outstanding calibre. He was by no means a first rate general or diplomat. But it must be admitted that he was a successful and benevolent ruler who cherished the well-being of his subjects and was deservedly popular with them. Like most rulers, he had his virtues and faults". Again, "Jahangir was fairly a successful ruler and administrator. He had the capacity of appreciating the needs and circumstances of the age and the good sense to continue the administrative system and policy devised by Akbar. But he was not a constructive statesman who could initiate great administrative reforms and legislate for the good of the generation yet to be born. He did not possess high idealism and genius of Akbar."

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1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 182.

According to Dr. Beni Prasad, Jahangir was "a sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice. On a few occasions, in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of cruelty. But as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and an open mind." According to Francis Gladwin, "From the beginning to the end of his reign, Jahangir's disposition towards his subjects appears to have been invariably humane and considerate."

However, as Dr. Tripathi points out, the seed of religious persecution was sown in the reign of Jahangir. Guru Arjan and the Seora Jains suffered not on account of treasonable activities, but because Jahangir had developed hatred against their religions. It is also pointed out that Kaukab, son of Kamar Khan, Abdul Latif, son of Naqibkhan and Sharif were thrown into prison and flogged on account of their opinions. It was under the orders of Jahangir and also in his presence that a bullock was killed in the temple of Kangra. It was Jahangir who gave orders for the desecration and destruction of the temples near Pushkar in Ajmer.

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CHAPTER VII

SHAH JAHAN[1] (1627—1658)

Early life and accession to throne. Shah Jahan was one of the four sons of Jahangir. His original name was Khurram. He was born in January 1592 at Lahore from a Hindu mother. While young, he was a favourite of Akbar. He was smart, intelligent and ambitious. No effort was spared to give him the best education.

Even while very young, he could be pointed out to be the successor to the Mughal throne after the death of Jahangir. Prince Khurram was liked by his father and Shahriyar had still not come into the picture. It was on account of his bravery and sense of responsibility that he was put in charge of many expeditions by his father. In 1607, he was given the Mansab of 8,000 Zat and 5,000 Sawar. In 1611, he got the Mansab of 10,000 Zat and 5,000 Sawar. In 1612, he married the daughter of Asaf Khan. He was also promoted to the rank of 30,000 Zat and 20,000 Sawar.

However, there was a sudden fall in the fortunes of Prince Khurram after the marriage of Prince Shahriyar with the daughter of Nur Jahan. On account of this matrimonial relation, Nur Jahan backed the claims of Shahriyar even at the cost of Shah Jahan. It was this fact that made Shah Jahan revolt in 1622. It is true that an amicable settlement was made between the father and the son in 1625, but Nur Jahan was bent upon supporting the cause of her son-in-law.

When Jahangir died in October 1627, Nur Jahan was with him. She summoned Shahriyar from Agra to Lahore with a view to putting him on the throne. Asaf Khan, the father-in-law of Shah Jahan, also backed the cause of Shah Jahan. Thus, both sister and brother supported their respective sons-in-law. Shah Jahan was not easily available as he was in the Deccan and it would have taken some time before he could reach Agra. The result was that Asaf Khan put Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrau, on the throne as a stop-gap arrangement. He was to continue on the throne till the arrival of Shah Jahan from the Deccan. Both Nur Jahan and Shahriyar were no match for Asaf Khan and the result was that both of them were defeated. Nur Jahan retired from public life and Shahriyar was imprisoned. When Shah Jahan arrived at Agra in February 1628, Dawar Baksh was removed from the throne and allowed to go to Persia where he spent the rest of his life. He was lucky to have saved his neck. Shah Jahan was responsible for the death of all his relatives. Nur Jahan died in 1645.

Rebellion of Bundela Rajputs. Bir Singh Bundela was the murderer of Abul Fazl. His son Jujhar Singh, made encroachments on the Mughal territory and showed signs of rebellion. The result was

1. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Shah Jahan......is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor, on the other hand, is he the moster of moral depravity described by some European travellers".

that Shah Jahan sent three armies from different directions to crush him. There was some desperate fighting and ultimately Jujhar Singh surrendered. He agreed to give Rs. 15 lakhs as war indemnity and 1,000 gold Mohurs as a present to Shah Jahan. He gave 40 elephants and also agreed to send an army of 2,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry to participate in the Deccan campaign. Shah Jahan allowed him to keep a Jagir for the maintenance of his rank of Chahar Hazari Zat and Chahar Hazari Sawar. In spite of this, Jujhar Singh revolted once again in 1635. He was pursued by the Mughal troops and killed by the Gonds in a chance skirmish.

Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi (1628). Khan Jahan Lodi was the commander-in-Chief and Viceroy of the Deccan. He was originally an Afghan adventurer and he rose in life to the highest rank due to his own efforts. He entered into an alliance with the ruler of Ahmednagar and revolted. Shah Jahan realised the gravity of the situation. If Khan Jahan could win over all the rulers of the Deccan to his own side and lead their combined troops, it might become difficult to retain the Southern Provinces of the Mughal Empire. No wonder, Shah Jahan went to the Deccan in person in 1629 to conduct the campaign. Azim Khan, the Mughal General was more than a match for Khan Jahan Lodi and the latter was driven from place to place. Ultimately, Khan Jahan retreated to the South with a view to taking shelter with the ruler of Bijapur. The allies of Khan Jahan, such as Shahji Bhonsla and Kaluji Bhonsla, voluntarily surrendered before the Mughal armies and were confirmed in their Jagirs. Khan Jahan failed to get any help from Bijapur. He proceeded towards Bundelkhand with a view to persuading its chiefs to revolt. Here also, luck did not favour him and instead of helping him, the chiefs opposed him. The result was that Khan Jahan was killed while fighting near the fort of Kalanjar in 1630.

The Nauroz of 1628. Shah Jahan celebrated the feast of Nauroz of 1628 with great pomp and show. Every effort was made to make the occasion as sacred as possible. All the four princes stood on the four corners of his throne. Shah Jahan gave liberal gifts to the members of his family. The gifts were of value of lakhs of rupees. The Mansab of Asaf Khan was raised to 9,000 Zat and 9,000 Sawar.

Famine of 1630. In 1630, famine broke out in the Deccan, Gujrat and Khandesh. So severe was the famine that thousands of people died of starvation. Parents did not hesitate to eat their children. According to Mirza Amin Quazwini, the people suffered terribly. The grocers and traders mixed powdered bones with flour and sold flesh of the dogs which was mistaken for meat. After famine came pestilence. So great was the destruction that many villages were completely destroyed. Streets and lanes were glutted with human corpses. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, "Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The number of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for fertility and plenty now retained no productiveness." According to Peter Mundy, "The highways were strewn with corpses which emitted terrible stench. In the towns especially, they dragged them out by the heel, stark-naked, of all ages and sexes, till

they are out of the gates and then they are left, so that the way is half barred up."

According to Dr. V.A. Smith, the Government did not perform its responsibility to relieve the sufferings of the people. The remission of one-eleventh of the assessment implies that the balance was collected from the people. However, such a view is not correct. According to Abdul Hamid, about Rs. 70 lakhs were remitted by the Government. To quote the same writer, "The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmedabad and the country of Surat to establish soup-kitchens or alms-houses, such as are called *Langar* in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained in Burhanpur, 5,000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday. Thus on 20 Mondays one lakh of rupees was given away in charity. Ahmedabad had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused distress in many other districts. So, under direction of the wise and generous Emperor, taxes amounting to nearly 70 lakhs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly 8 crores of dams, amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held Jagirs and Mansabs."

Death of Mumtaz Mahal. Mumtaz Mahal was the daughter of Asaf Khan. She is rightly called the Lady of Taj. She was too much loved by her husband who had many other wives also. She was not only extremely beautiful but also thoroughly devoted to her husband. She was her husband's companion during those days when his fortune got a setback.

When Shah Jahan became Emperor in 1628, she got an opportunity to show her real worth. She tried to do all that she could to help widows and orphans. She was the refuge of many miserable and oppressed men or women. She gave a lot of money in charity. She was kind to all those who came into contact with her. She died in 1631 and Shah Jahan built the Taj in her memory. The Taj is one of the wonders of the world and is a noble monument of conjugal love and fidelity.

War with the Portuguese (1631-32). The town of Hugli had arisen into prominence on account of the establishment of Portuguese factories there. The Portuguese settlers very often captured the orphan children of the Hindus and Mohammadans and forcibly converted them to Christianity. These actions of the Portuguese were highly objectionable and the Mughal authorities resented them. Some of the Portuguese captured two slave girls which were claimed by Mumtaz Mahal. In spite of her requests the slave girls were not released. Naturally Mumtaz Mahal was highly offended and she made up her mind to teach them a lesson. At that time, Shah Jahan was in revolt against his father and consequently nothing could be done against the Portuguese. However, even before his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan was well aware of the misdeeds of the Portuguese and was determined to crush their power.

In 1631, Kasim Khan was appointed the Governor of Bengal and was ordered to take steps to exterminate the Portuguese. Large forces were sent for that purpose. The Portuguese were attacked from all sides and "sent to hell". The siege of Hugli lasted for more than three months. After a stiff resistance, the Portuguese surrendered. Their losses were very heavy. More than 10,000 of them were killed and more than 4,000 were made prisoners. Shah Jahan hated the fanaticism of the Portuguese. He offered the captives the choice of becoming Muslims or suffer life-long imprisonment or slavery. They were paid back in their own coin. Some of them became Muslims and others died suffering. It is to be noted that Shah Jahan was very vindictive against the Portuguese. It is true that the Portuguese had done a wrong but Shah Jahan ought to have been more tolerant and generous.

Shah Jahan's Deccan Policy. Akbar had been able to conquer Khandesh and a portion of Ahmednagar. All his successors aimed at carrying to the logical conclusion the policy initiated by him in the Deccan. As the whole of Northern India had already been conquered, Shah Jahan could conveniently spare time, money and military resources for the conquest of the Deccan. Jahangir had already carried on a war with Malik Ambar of Ahmednagar. Shah Jahan had himself won spurs in the Deccan campaign. After his accession to the throne, he made up his mind to complete the conquest of the Deccan.

Ahmednagar had helped Khan Jahan Lodi when the latter revolted against the Mughal authority. That was a sufficient excuse for the Mughals to attack Ahmednagar. Moreover, the chaotic state of affairs in the country helped Shah Jahan. After the death of Malik Ambar in 1629, there arose differences between Fateh Khan, the son of Malik Ambar, and Sultan Murtaza Nizam. The things became so bad that Fateh Khan was thrown into prison. However, he was released later on and restored to power on account of the Sultan's difficulties with regard to the Mughals. Although Fateh Khan was restored to power, he refused to forget and forgive the treatment meted out to him by his master. The result was that he started negotiations with Shah Jahan and under the instructions of the Mughal Emperor, captured Sultan Murtaza Nizam, put him in prison and ultimately got him murdered. Hussain Shah, a minor member of the royal family, was put on the throne of Ahmednagar and Fateh Khan himself became the power behind the throne. Fateh Khan did not remain faithful even towards Shah Jahan. He was in possession of the fort of Daulatabad. Shahji Bhonsla persuaded the Sultan of Bijapur to attack Daulatabad and punish Fateh Khan, and he himself joined the army of Bijapur. On behalf of Shah Jahan, Mahabat Khan went to the relief of the fort. Fateh Khan refused to give up the fort. The siege continued for two months and ultimately Fateh Khan and the garrison were bought off. The fort surrendered. Sultan Hussain Shah was captured and sent as a state prisoner to Gwalior. Thus, in 1632 the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar was ended. Fateh Khan was rewarded for his treacherous conduct. He was taken into the imperial service and granted a liberal salary.

Shahji Bhonsla revived the Nizam Shahi dynasty by placing another boy of the royal family on the throne. However, even he had to surrender to Shah Jahan. In 1636, the kingdom of Ahmednagar was completely destroyed and its territory was shared by Shah Jahan and the Sultan of Bijapur.

War with Bijapur. In 1631, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur had joined hands with Murtaza Nizam. This was tantamount to the defiance of Mughal authority. No wonder, he had to pay heavily for it. The Shah of Bijapur was besieged by Asaf Khan in his capital. The people of Bijapur put up a stiff fight. The Maratha soldiers in the employment of Bijapur state rendered great service in harassing and plundering the Mughal army. The result was that the siege had to be raised and the kingdom of Bijapur was saved.

Nothing happened between 1631 and 1635. In the latter year, Shah Jahan had to take action against Shahji Bhonsla who tried to revive the state of Ahmednagar. Shah Jahan sent written commands to the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda requiring them to recognise his sovereignty and also abstain from helping Shahji Bhonsla. They were informed that if they refused to accept the command, their territories would be attacked. The ruler of Golconda accepted the command of Shah Jahan and agreed to pay tribute. He also agreed to read the Khutba in the name of Shah Jahan and strike coins in his name. The ruler of Bijapur refused to accept the command of Shah Jahan and the result was that his territory was invaded. Khan Dowran was put in charge of the army. The capital of Bijapur was besieged. The Marathas repeated their old tactics. The districts surrounding the capital were deserted. The lands immediately surrounding the city were flooded with water. The besieging army was harassed in many other ways. It is true that the capital of Bijapur was saved but the Mughal troops plundered the rest of the territory with a vengeance. On account of the helpless condition of his people, the ruler of Bijapur was forced to come to terms with the Mughals. According to the treaty, the ruler of Bijapur agreed to pay Rs. 20 lakhs as "a peace offering." He also agreed to respect the integrity of Golconda which was claimed as a tributary state by the Mughals.

Having thus settled the state of affairs in the Deccan in 1636, Shah Jahan retired to Agra. Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of the Deccan and he occupied that post for eight years (1636-44). During this period, Aurangzeb annexed Bagalna near Nasik and reduced the power of Shahji. Khan Zaman acted as the chief adviser of Aurangzeb. In 1653, Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of the Deccan for the second time. He remained in that post till 1657 when he got the news of the illness of his father.

During the period of the second governorship, Aurangzeb introduced the same revenue system in the Deccan as was done by Todar Mal in the North. In this task, he was assisted by Murshid Kuli Khan. Advances were given to agriculturists to buy implements and seeds. Efficient and honest persons were appointed as administrators and consequently the tone of administration improved.

It has been pointed out that in 1636, the ruler of Golconda promised to pay an annual tribute. However, he did not fulfil his promise. Moreover, he extended his territory with the help of Mir Jumla.[1] Mir

1. The real name of Mir Jumla was Muhammad Said. He was a Persian merchant-adventurer. He made a big fortune by trading in diamonds and precious stones. He entered the service of the Sultan of Golconda who was struck by his exceptional talents, military genius and administrative capacity. He was appointed the Chief Minister of the State and in course of time, he made himself the virtual dictator of the State. Though he had the rank of a noble, "he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince."

Jumla was granted a Jagir in Carnatic in lieu of his services to the state. The Jagir was developed to such an extent that the ruler of Golconda became jealous of Mir Jumla and tried unsuccessfully to blind him. Mir Jumla ran away and sought refuge with the Mughals. Aurangzeb decided to take full advantage of the situation in Golconda. He marched upon Golconda and besieged the same. When victory was in sight, Shah Jahan ordered Aurangzeb to end the siege. A treaty was made in 1656 with the ruler. According to it, the ruler of Golconda was to pay a large indemnity and also give up some parts of his territory to the Mughals. He also promised to marry his daughter to one of the sons of Aurangzeb and also nominate his son-in-law as his heir. The property of Mir Jumla was to be restored to him and his son was to be released.

As regards Bijapur, its relations with Aurangzeb were not cordial on account of the fact that Mohammad Adil Shah sided with Dara Shikoh. In 1656, Adil Shah died and he was succeeded by his son Ali II who was hardly 19 years of age. Finding the time opportune, Aurangzeb marched on Bijapur which was absolutely unprepared. Very soon, Bidar and Kalyani were captured. The ruler of Bijapur sued for peace. According to the treaty, he was to give Bidar, Kalyani and Parinda to the Mughals. He was also to pay Rs. one crore by way of indemnity. Aurangzeb was in favour of carrying on operations still further but the news of the illness of Shah Jahan forced him to suspend the hostilities and proceed towards the North.

Loss of Kandhar. Kandhar had been lost in 1623 in the time of Jahangir and no efforts were made to recover it till 1638. It was in that year that Shah Jahan turned his attention towards Kandhar. Ali Mardan Khan was the Governor of Kandhar on behalf of the Persian Government. When Ali Mardan came to know of the intentions of the Mughal Emperor, he started his preparations for defence and requested the Shah of Persia to send him help. Unfortunately, the Shah of Persia misunderstood and suspected the designs of Ali Mardan. An attempt was made by the Shah of Persia to get Ali Mardan arrested. This was too much for Ali Mardan and he corresponded with the Mughal authorities. He surrendered Kandhar into the hands of the Mughals and took refuge at Delhi. He was honoured at the Mughal court and was made the Governor of Kashmir and Kabul. He was also employed on various military and other duties. He was responsible for carrying out many works of public utility.

Although Kandhar was lost, the Persians never gave up the hope of re-conquering it. Shah Abbas II made preparations for the recapture of Kandhar. The fort of Kandhar was besieged. The Mughal garrison fought desperately against the invaders for 57 days. When they felt that no relief was coming from India, they surrendered on 11th February 1649. According to Inayat Khan the following circumstances led to the surrender of Kandhar: "At length a number of the garrison from want of spirit, lost the little courage they possessed and Shadi Uzbeg having entered into a conspiracy with the Kazalbashis, seduced Kipchak Khan from his duty. Though the latter was naturally inclined at heart to this course of behaviour, yet as his companions had their families with them, through dread of losing their wealth, their lives and their good repute they would not let him follow the bent of his own disposition, so he was necessarily compelled to ally himself with those unfortunates. Some of the Mughal

Mansabdars, Ahadis and Matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that in consequence of all the roads having closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of the early arrival of succour and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbashis they would very shortly capture the fort; and after its reduction by forces of violence, neither would there be any chance of their lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khan, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit by contenting himself with offering advice in reply. This, however, made no impression on the individuals in question who got up and departed to their respective homes so that nought but a scanty force having left in the entrenchments, the Kazalbashis entered the Sher Haji in several places."

First Siege of Kandhar (1649). Shah Jahan was determined to recapture Kandhar and consequently sent Aurangzeb with 60,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry for that purpose. The siege of Kandhar was continued for three months and 20 days, but without any result. After that, Aurangzeb was ordered by Shah Jahan to withdraw from Kandhar.

Second Siege of Kandhar (1652). Aurangzeb was appointed the commander of the Mughal forces for the conquest of Kandhar for the second time. The second siege lasted for more than two months and 8 days and no success was achieved against the Persians in spite of the best efforts. The Persian artillery was more than a match for the Mughal artillery. In spite of the protests of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan ordered the siege to be abandoned. When Aurangzeb asked for more time to complete the work, Shah Jahan gave the following reply: "If I had believed you capable of taking Kandhar, I should not have recalled your army. Every man can perform some work. It is a wise saying that men of experience need no instruction."

Third Siege of Kandhar (1653). Dara, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was put in command of the third expedition to reconquer Kandhar. Dara boasted that he would finish the work within a week. This time thorough preparations were made for the siege of Kandhar. Millions were spent for the undertaking. The siege was continued for months and after that the attempt had to be given up. After 1653, no other attempt was made to recapture Kandhar.

The failure of the Mughal armies to recapture Kandhar in spite of three efforts gave a mortal blow to their prestige. The Mughal Government wasted more than Rs. 12 crores. The failure of the last attempt proclaimed to the world the inefficiency and weakness of the Mughal forces. No wonder, throughout the rest of the 17th century the danger of a Persian invasion gave headache to the rulers of India.

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The cause of the three failures of the imperial troops to recover Kandhar was their inferiority to their opponents, who from constant warfare with the Ottoman Turks and from their instruction and reorganisation by the Sherley brothers in the reign of 'Abbas the Great,' had learned much of European methods of warfare, and particularly of the casting of guns and the use of artillery. The Indian troops had hardly advanced beyond the

use of irregular cavalry, and their cavalry was not fit to face even the cavalry, much less the infantry, of the Persians. They had guns, huge hollow cylinders, with balls of irregular shapes, but they could seldom be fired, their fire was most inaccurate, owing to windage, and the Indian troops relied rather on their moral than on their material effect. Moreover, in each of the successive attempts to recover Kandhar it became more evident that the Indian troops were no match in discipline, physique, or courage for the Persians, and that their artillery, as an engine of war, was contemptible."[1]

Balkh and Badakshan. Shah Jahan was actuated by a desire to conquer Balkh and Badakshan although the latter had given him no cause for offence. There was a dispute in the royal family of Balkh and Shah Jahan thought of fishing in troubled waters. Abdul Aziz, the son of Nazr Muhammed Khan, the ruler of Bokhara, revolted against his father. Shah Jahan thought this to be the most opportune time for interference into the affairs of Bokhara. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, the prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his courtiers turned the head of Shah Jahan and he started dreaming the vainest of vain dreams. It was a foolhardy enterprise and there was absolutely no chance of success.

In 1646, Prince Murad and Ali Mardan Khan were sent with 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry for the conquest of Balkh. Without much opposition, the Mughal armies entered the city of Balkh in July 1646. Its ruler ran away to Persia. After some time, Murad got sick of his stay in Balkh and without the permission of his father, left Balkh and came back to India. Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb and Shah Shuja in place of Murad. One great difficulty of the Mughals was that they were outnumbered by the enemy. The Uzbeg way of fighting also added to the difficulties of the Mughals. They did not offer a pitched battle and the Mughals found themselves helpless before the Cossack tactics of the Uzbegs. Aurangzeb entered Balkh and put the same under Madhu Singh Hada.

After Balkh, Aurangzeb thought of dealing a blow to the Uzbegs. Fighting continued for a very long time and the Mughals got fed up with the whole affair. They had to fight against the forces of Bokhara and defeated them.

There were prolonged negotiations and after that the Mughals retreated towards Kabul. They were furiously attacked by the Hazaras and had to suffer heavy losses.

It cannot be denied that the Central Asian policy of Shah Jahan failed miserably. In two years, the Government had to waste aimlessly about Rs. 4 crores. The campaign added neither to the prestige of the Mughals nor to their territory. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has put the results of the Central Asian campaigns of the Mughal army in these words: "Thus ended Shah Jahan's fatuous war in Balkh—a war in which the Indian treasury spent 4 crores of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of Rs. 22½ lakhs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, nor dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain store in Balkh fort, worth Rs. 5 lakhs, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukharians, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Muhammad's grandson and Rs.

1. The Cambridge Shorter History of India, pp. 319-20.

22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp followers) were slain by cold and snow on the mountains."

War of Succession (1657-58). In September 1657, Shah Jahan fell ill. The physicians were not hopeful about his recovery. He even made his last will and testament. Different kinds of rumours regarding his death were circulated.

A disputed succession had become a sort of a family tradition with the Mughals. Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan had to fight their rivals to the throne. Although all the four sons of Shah Jahan were born of the same mother, they were not prepared to give up their inherent right to fight for the throne. All these four sons were of mature age. In 1657, Dara was 43, Shah Shuja 41, Aurangzeb 39 and Murad 33. All the four brothers had experience both in civil and military affairs. All of them were Governors of the provinces. Dara was the Governor of the Punjab, Murad of Gujrat, Aurangzeb of the Deccan and Shah Shuja of Bengal.

As regards Dara, he possessed a lot of natural ability but at the same time suffered from a violent temper and haughty conduct. He freely associated with the Muslim Sufis and Hindu Vedantists. He was responsible for the translation of the Upnishads into Persian. He did not find any fundamental difference between Islam and Hinduism as such. He possessed an eclectic spirit in religious matters. However, it is wrong to suggest that he was an apostate from Islam. He was considered a heretic by the Muslims. Dara was a favourite of his father and that was the reason why in spite of his being posted in the Punjab, he lived with his father at Agra. He did not possess the qualities of a true statesman. He was vain and was not prepared to accept the advice of others. He was not a good soldier and his record in the battlefield was a very poor one. He was surrounded by flatterers. According to Lane-Poole, "Dara was nervous, sensitive, impulsive creature, full of fine feelings and vivid emotions, never master of himself or of others and liable to lose his self-control just when cool judgment was most necessary. He might have been a poet or a transcendental philosopher, he could never become a ruler of India." According to Manucci, "The first-born son of King Shah Jahan was the Prince Dara, a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberty, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers. He despised those who gave him counsel. This was why even his dearest friends never ventured to inform him of the most essential things. Still it was very easy to discover his intentions. He assumed that fortune would invariably favour him and imagined that everybody loved him."

Dara was never a heretic. He never "discarded the essential dogmas of Islam; he only displayed the eclecticism of the Sufis, a recognised school of Islamic believers. If he showed contempt for the external rites of religion, he only shared the standpoint of many noble thinkers of all churches, such as John Milton." According to another writer, "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that any one who intends to take up the solution of the problem of religious place in India must begin the work where Dara had left it, and proceed on the path chalked out by that prince."

As regards Shah Shuja, he was the Governor of Bengal. He was a victim to pleasures and luxury. Consequently, both his intellect and mental faculties were seriously affected. The result was that he could not make up his mind at the crucial moment. Moreover, Shah Shuja professed the Shia faith and consequently was hated by the Sunni Muslims who formed an over-whelming majority of the Muslims of India. According to Bernier, "He (Shah Shuja) resembled in characteristic traits his brother, Dara, but he was more discrete, firmer of purpose and excelled him in conduct and address." According to Manucci, "He knew how to acquire friends likely to help him in his important and reasonable affairs. His agents at the court succeeded in seducing many men from the service of Dara. He was a Shia by religion and it is believed that this religion was adopted with the object of winning support of the Persian officials of the Emperor who were also Shias." According to Lane-Poole, "Shuja's Zenana was the prison of his career."

Undoubtedly, Aurangzeb was the ablest of all the sons of Shah Jahan. He was a great soldier and general. He had given an ample proof of his war-like qualities during the reign of his father and was more than a match for any brother in the battle-field. He was very clever and consequently even the most intimate friends of his could not find out as to what was passing in his mind. He was a true statesman who could keep his head cool even in the event of a great calamity. He was a pious man and was loved by the orthodox Muslims for his religious zeal and fanaticism. He possessed a lot of administrative experience as the Governor of the Deccan and Gujrat. According to Bernier, "He was a consummate statesman and a great king, but endowed with a versatile and rare genius." According to Lane-Poole, "It has been usual to call the character of Aurangzeb as a puzzling compound of contradictions. He possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues; but he was lacking in one thing needful in a leader of men, he could not win love. Such a one may administer an Empire, but he cannot rule hearts of men." According to Irvine, "His life was austere and laborious; he seems never to have indulged in a holiday. He belonged to that uncommon class of men who believe that their worst and most self-interested connections are directly inspired by God." According to Hunter, "His life would have been a blameless one, if he had no father to dispose, no brothers to murder and no Hindu subjects to oppress."

Murad was the youngest son of Shah Jahan. He was a brave and plucky soldier but otherwise dissolute, drunken and brainless. He was such a simpleton that he could be deceived very easily. According to Lane-Poole, "The youngest son of Shah Jahan was a gallant swash-buckler, brave as a lion, frank, and open as the day, a fool in politics, a despair in statecraft and a firm believer in ruddy steel. He was the terror of the battle-field and the best of good fellows over a bottle. No one could be better trusted in a melee, none was more fatuous in council or more reckless in a debauch. The hereditary passion for wine which had descended from Akbar to his posterity, found a willing victim in this valiant lion. He was, in short, brainless." According to Bernier, "His constant thought was how he might enjoy himself and the pleasures of the table and the field engaged his undivided attention."

Fight for the Throne.

As at a signal, straight the sons prepare
For open force, and rush to sudden war'
Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main
To prove by arms whose fate it was to reign.

As soon as the news of the dangerous illness of Shah Jahan reached the various princes, all of them started making preparations for capturing the throne. Shah Shuja and Murad took up the imperial title. Both of them placed themselves on the throne and got the coins struck in their own names. However, Aurangzeb moved very cautiously. He took every precaution to conceal his own movements. He established guards over all the ferries over the Narbada. He asked his sister Roshanara to inform him of all that happened in the capital. Having done this, he started negotiations with Prince Murad for a joint action against Dara Shikoh. According to the agreement arrived at between the parties, Murad was to receive the Punjab, Kabul, Kashmir and Sindh and Aurangzeb was to receive the rest of the Mughal territory in India. After this settlement, both the princes marched towards Agra and their armies joined each other outside Dipalpur in Malwa.

An army was sent under Sulaiman Shikoh and Raja Jai Singh to check the advance of Shah Shuja. A battle was fought at *Bahadurgarh* in February 1658 and Shah Shuja was defeated. Jaswant Singh and Kasim Khan were sent to fight against Aurangzeb and Murad. The *Battle of Dharmat* was fought in April 1658 and Aurangzeb and Murad won a victory.[1] This was too much for the Central Government at Agra. No wonder, Dara personally marched out to fight against his brothers. He disregarded the advice of his father to allow him to appear on the scene and thereby disperse Murad and Aurangzeb. He also did not wait for the arrival of the victorious Mughal army under Sulaiman Shikoh and Jai Singh. Unfortunately, the army commanded by him had more sympathy for Aurangzeb than for himself. It was in this atmosphere that the *Battle of Samugarh* was fought on 29th May, 1658. The Rajputs fought desperately and "did honour to their race". Both Aurangzeb and Murad fought in front of their armies and thereby staked their own lives. The balance was in favour of Dara when the elephant on which Dara was riding was wounded by an arrow. He foolishly accepted the advice to mount on a horseback. When his troops found him missing from the elephant, they took him to be dead. "That action decided the fate of the battle" (Smith). The soldiers of Dara ran away from the battlefield and victory lay with Aurangzeb and Murad.

There was some resistance at Agra and after that the fort was

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1. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, "The hero of the Deccan Wars and the victor of Dharmat faced the world not only without loss but with his military reputation rendered absolutely unrivalled in India." According to Smith, the defeat of the Imperialists at Dharmat "was due partly to the evils of divided command and jealousy between the Rajputs and the Mussalmans and partly to the bad choice of ground made and the erroneous tactics pursued by the Raja (Jaswant Singh). Kasim Khan (Mughal Commander) did little to help his master's cause, and the gallant Rajput clans suffered most of the casualties."

surrendered in June 1658 by Shah Jahan.[1] Shah Jahan was made a prisoner and he died in captivity in 1666.

One by one, Aurangzeb managed to dispose of all his brothers. So far as Murad was concerned, he was invited to a dinner and arrested while drunk. First of all, he was sent to Delhi and then to Gwalior. It was there that he was executed in 1661.

As regards Shuja, he raised the standard of revolt and occupied Banaras, Allahabad and Jaunpur. With the help of Mir Jumla, Shah Shuja was defeated. After his defeat, Shuja ran away to Arakan. He was killed by the Maghs.

As regards Dara, he retreated from Samugarh to Delhi and from there to Lahore. Multan was the next destination. From Multan, he went to Thatta. As he was not welcomed there, he went to Cutch. From there he went to Kathiawar where he was welcomed by Shah Nawaz Khan, the Governor of the Province. He helped Dara to occupy Surat. Dara was also able to raise a large army and if he had accepted the advice of his friends, he could easily have escaped to the Deccan where it would have been difficult for Aurangzeb to crush him. Unfortunately, he made up his mind to give battle to the pursuing army. The result was that he was defeated at Ajmer. After his defeat, he ran away to Sindh. Unfortunately, he got shelter from Jiwan Khan who treacherously handed him over to the pursuers in June 1659. Dara was brought to Delhi. He was placed on a filthy elephant and paraded in the streets of Delhi.[2] He was put on his trial as an apostate from Islam and a verdict of death was given against him. According to Smith, "On the night of that day (August 30), brutal murderers tore away Sipihr Shikoh from his father's embrace and after a violent struggle beheaded Dara Shikoh."

Even after disposing of his three brothers, Aurangzeb did not find himself safe. Sulaiman Shikoh had defeated Shah Shuja in the Battle of Bahadurgarh in 1658. On account of his slow movement, he had not been able to join his father and take part in the Battle of Samugarh. The result was that after the defeat of Dara in the Battle of Samugarh, he had to run for his life to Garhwal where he was given shelter by a local chief. Pressure was put on the chief and in December 1660, Sulaiman Shikoh was handed over to Aurangzeb.

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1. It is stated that when as a sort of offensive measure against the defenders of the Agra fort, Aurangzeb stopped the supply of water from the Jumna, Shah Jahan had to satisfy his thirst in the month of June with brackish water from the wells within the fort. It was at that time that he wrote thus to Aurangzeb :—

> "Praised be the Hindus in all cases,
> As they even offer water to their dead.
> And thou, my son, art a marvellous Mussalman.
> As thou causest me in life to lament for lack of water."

2. Bernier who saw the scene describes the same in these words : "I took my station in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city, in the midst of the largest bazar ; was mounted on a good horse and accompanied by two servants and two intimate friends. From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks, for the Indian people have a very tender heart ; men, women, and children waiting as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves. Gion kan (Jiwan Khan) rode near the wretched Dara ; and the abusive and indignant cries, vociferated as the traitor moved along, were absolutely deafening. I observed some Fakirs and several people throw stones at the infamous **Patan** ; but not a single movement was made, no one offered to show his sword with a view of delivering the beloved and compassionated Dara."

Sulaiman Shikoh was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior and there he was put to death "by the slow process of *Post* or infusion of opium poppy-heads."[1] Sipihr Shikoh, another son of Dara, was lucky. He was later on married to one of the daughters of Aurangzeb.

Causes of the Success of Aurangzeb. (1) The victory of Aurangzeb over his rivals was due to many factors. According to the Muslim historians, that was due to the *Iqbal* of Aurangzeb. But leaving aside this factor, Aurangzeb's success was partly due to his own qualities of head and heart. He was a great general and a statesman. No one could equal him in diplomacy and statecraft. He was a staunch Muslim and no wonder the orthodox Muslims of India not only prayed but also worked for his victory. Even the Muslims on the side of Dara proved treacherous to him and his cause and the Muslims on the side of Aurangzeb fought for his cause with determination and enthusiasm. They considered Aurangzeb as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy.

(2) The success of Aurangzeb was partly due to the folly and weakness of Shah Jahan. He did nothing to check the spread of the news that he was dead. As soon as he heard of the advance of Murad and Aurangzeb, he ought to have put himself at the head of the Mughal forces and defeated them. There is nothing to doubt that many of the followers of Aurangzeb would have deserted him on the appearance of Shah Jahan himself in public. The reason was that in such a case there was no occasion for a war of succession. Such a fight could have meaning only if Shah Jahan was dead. Shah Jahan ought to have prevailed upon Dara to allow him to be in the battle-field at Samugarh. He foolishly submitted to the dictates of Dara, and he had to pay dearly for that folly. He had to spend 8 years in prison.

(3) Dara was no match for Aurangzeb in any way. The latter was much better than the former in diplomacy, generalship and statecraft. Dara lacked the reckless courage which was possessed by Aurangzeb. Dara should not have got down from his elephant and he should not have put himself on a horseback at Samugarh. He should have changed one elephant for the other. Moreover, Dara should not have gone out to give battle to Murad and Aurangzeb till the victorious Mughal army under Sulaiman Shikoh and Raja Jai Singh had returned. If he had waited for that army, he would have got better chances of success on account of his military strength. By his action, the army under Sulaiman Shikoh and Jai Singh became useless.

(4) The artillery of Aurangzeb proved more useful than that of Dara. Foolishly, Dara advanced beyond his own artillery and thereby made it useless.

(5) There was lack of co-operation between the Rajput and Muslim armies under Dara. The result was that they could not fight effectively. However Aurangzeb used better tactics than those of Dara. Aurangzeb kept a part of his troops in the reserve and used them only when the troops of Dara were exhausted. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the victory of Aurangzeb "was the victory of action over supineness, of intrepidity over inertia, and of organisation and discipline over confusion and incoherence."

Art and Architecture under Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was a great builder and he has rightly been called "the prince of builders". The architectural style of Shah Jahan's building was different from that of his predecessors. Humayun's Mausoleum, the buildings of Fatehpur

Sikri, Akbar's Tomb at Sikandara and that of Itimad-ud-Daula at Agra belonged to the Indo-Persian style and architecture. The pre-Shah Jahan buildings were remarkable for their massiveness and strength. On the other hand, the buildings of Shah Jahan have a romantic glitter and effiminate beauty. They are characterised by "elegance rather than by strength and by the lavish use of extraordinary costly decoration." Shah Jahan preferred to use marble instead of red stone used by Akbar and Jahangir in their buildings. Moreover, while there was a mixture of Hindu-Muslim style in the buildings of Akbar and Jahangir, there was no such thing in the architecture of Shah Jahan. In 1632, Shah Jahan completely forbade the building of temples by the Hindus.

One of the greatest achievements of Shah Jahan was the building of the Taj on the banks of the river Jumna. This was built in the memory of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. It cost a lot of money. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, the building of the Taj cost Rs. 50 lakhs and about 12 years were spent in completing it. According to Tavarnier, the Taj was completed in 22 years and cost more than Rs. 3 crores.

Shah Jahan built a large number of buildings in the Agra fort. Special mention may be made of the Moti Masjid and Musamman Burj. The Moti Masjid is to the north of the Diwan-i-Am. Its measurement is 117 by 234 feet. Its construction was started in 1648 and it was completed in 1652. A total of Rs. 30 lakhs was spent on it. The Musamman Burj is a beautiful structure of marble. It is here that Shah Jahan died in prison.

Shah Jahan laid the foundations of Shah Jahanbad in May 1639. There was a lot of pomp and show on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the building. Jami Masjid is one of the largest mosques in India. It took 6 years to complete it. It cost a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs.

The tomb of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya was built of pure white marble. A few buildings were built at Ajmer. Reference may be made to the Peacock Throne. It cost him Rs. 19 crores. It was of solid gold studded with costly jewels.

Golden Age of Mughal Period. It is pointed out that the reign of Shah Jahan was the Golden Age of the Mughal period. The Mughal Empire reached its high water mark in his time. There was peace and prosperity in the country. Land was fertile and the revenues of the state were abundant. Export trade was carried on profitably. No wonder, Shah Jahan built a large number of buildings which were undoubtedly master-pieces of Mughal architecture.

According to Lane-Poole, "Shah Jahan was renowned for his kindness and benevolence which endeared him to the people." According to Hunter, "The Mughal Empire attained its highest union of strength and magnificence under Shah Jahan." According to Khafi Khan, "Although Akbar was conqueror and a law-giver, yet for order, arrangement of territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jahan." Shah Jahan was a just ruler. He appointed upright people as judges so that justice may be done to the people. Shah Jahan led a strenuous life and gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people. According to Manucci, "He kept his eye on his officials punishing them rigorously when they fell short of their duties. This was the reason why he kept at his court an

official with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence they should be made to bite any official who had failed to administer justice, leaving the culprit lying in his presence till the breath left him." *Chor Minars* were constructed and the heads of the thiefs were exhibited in them.

Foreign travellers in the time of Shah Jahan. Many foreign travellers visited India in the time of Shah Jahan. Bernier and Travenier were two Frenchmen and they visited the country practically at the same time. Manucci was an Italian adventurer. As regards Bernier, he was a French physician and he visited India at the time when the struggle was going on in the country among the four sons of Shah Jahan. He wrote a book called, "The War of Succession of 1658". He has tried to give a graphic picture of the sufferings of Dara when he was being pursued by the armies of Aurangzeb. As regards the condition of India, Bernier tells us that the people were not at all destitute of good laws although high officials could disregard them with impunity. The chief men in the country were opportunists and time-servers. Provincial Governors were rapacious, oppressive and ambitious. The people were demoralised and spiritless. The peasantry was completely crushed. He also refers to the law of escheat by which all the property of a noble was taken over by the king at the time of his death. The whole of the administration depended upon the will of the Mughal Emperor. He could raise anybody and also pull him down. To quote Bernier, "The country is ruined by the necessity of defrying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people. The cudgel and the whip compelled them to incessant labour for the benefit of others." Travenier praised the Government of Shah Jahan in these words: "He reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but as a father over his family and children. He excelled other monarchs in good administration and in the order and arrangements and finances as well as the system of justice which was stern." Manucci has given us a lot of information about the King and the people of India. There are a lot of interesting anecdotes in his account. There may be a lot of exaggeration in what he wrote about the King and the people of India, but according to him, Shah Jahan gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people.

Estimate of Shah Jahan. Undoubtedly, Shah Jahan was one of the greatest rulers of the Mughals and his reign has rightly been called the Golden Age of the Mughals. He was a great soldier and general. He had given proof of his qualities of generalship during the reign of his father and that of his own. He was a great builder and the buildings at Delhi and Agra are a standing monument of his achievement. He was a great administrator and statesman. He systematised the administration, particularly of Mansabdari system. He reduced the salaries of the Mansabdars and forced them to keep the number of troops prescribed for their ranks. He increased the land revenue by enhancing the state demand from one-third to one half. He was a very hard-working man. However, in religious matters, he was a bigoted Muslim. In a way, he anticipated his son, Aurangzeb.

According to Smith, "Shah Jahan has received from most modern historians and specially from Elphinstone, treatment unduly favour-

able. The magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his Empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpiece, the Taj, have combined to dazzle the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have slurred over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed. As a son, he failed in his duty, remaining in rebellion for years. He mercilessly exterminated his collateral male relations, beginning with his elder brother, Khusru in order to clear his own path to the throne. As a father, he displayed undue partiality for his first-born son, and showed little capacity for control over his family. The brightest feature in his character as a man is his intense love for Mumtaz Mahal, the mother of fourteen of his sixteen children. Probably he restrained his passions during her lifetime, but she died early in his reign (1631), and there is no doubt that during the remaining thirty-five years of his life, he disgraced himself by gross licentiousness. In affairs of state, he was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous, perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time, but certainly no better. He had little skill as a military leader. The loss of Kandhar and the triple failure to recover that important position prove the inefficiency of the organisation and cammand of his army." Again, "Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shah Jahan or the efficiency of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mughal dynasty and Empire. During the space of 30 years (1628-58), the authority of the Emperor was not seriously challenged and the realm was never invaded by any foreign foe. Although the loss of Kandhar and the failure of three attempts to retake it proved military inefficiency and encouraged Persian pride, these events had little effect on India where the strength of the army sufficed to uphold the imperial system. It is true that Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb Alamgir, largely extended the Southern frontier of the Empire during the first thirty years of his reign, but it is also true that long before the annexation of the Sultanates in the Deccan, the Marathas had searched out the weak places in the Imperial armour and the erroneous policy of the sovereign had undermined the foundations of the throne. The empire which had suffered severely from the prolonged wars of succession may be regarded as declining throughout the whole reign of Aurangzeb notwithstanding his conquests in the South."

According to Elphinstone, "Khafi Khan, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion that, although Akbar was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a lawgiver, yet for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jahan......

"Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted cities, ruined places, and choked up aqueducts which we still see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed cause-ways, wells, and caravan-serais on the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation......

"Shah Jahan was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared

in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact that they neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances....

"Notwithstanding the unamiable character given to him in his youth, the personal conduct of Shah Jahan seems to have been blameless when on the throne. His treatment of his people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which (unlike most Eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons."

According to Dr. Tripathi, "The reign of Shah Jahan was prosperous. The Peacock throne and the glitter of jewels dazzled the foreign travellers. The Taj Mahal, the Pearl Mosque, the Ali Masjid of Shahjahanabad, the fort of Shahjahanabad stand to this day to testify to the greatness of Mughal Empire and the glory of his reign. The gardens in Delhi, Lahore and Kashmir prove his love for plants and flowers and springs. It was in his reign that Ali Mardan Khan cut the Ravi Canal of ninety-eight miles and brought it to Lahore, and the Nahri Shahab or the old Firoz canal which had silted up was not only reopened but was extended by sixty miles and named Nahri Bihisht. Khafi Khan says that in the whole line of the Timurides there was no ruler who could equal Shah Jahan in organization, improving the treasury, settlement of the country, and due recognition of the merits of officers and soldiers. He was always keen to protect the ryots and suppress tyranny. During his period, 'profound peace reigned. The peasantry was carefully cherished; harsh and exacting governors were in many case dismissed on the complaint of the people'. He was 'stern in punishing oppressive tax collectors and erring, if at all, the side of excessive leniency".[1]

Shah Jahan was not essentially an excessively pleasure-seeking ruler. However, he was severe and unsparing towards his rivals. The way he put himself on the throne, left many unpleasant memories. But if we take into consideration the times in which he was living, "we lose half our rage in the pressure of circumstances that drove him to such a ghastly step" (Dow). "For these early crimes, he had made ample amends by the strict justice and clemency of his government and his solicitude for the well-being of his subjects."

The following couplet has been written in praise of Shah Jahan:

O King, Thy subjects are light hearted
Because thou hast taken a heavy load
On thy shoulders, oppression has fallen
Into a deep sleep in thy kingdom, because
Thou hast banished sleep from thy eyes.

However, Dryden describes the sunset of the glorious career of Shah Jahan in these words:

Oh! had he still that character maintained,
Of valour, which in blooming Youth he gain'd,
He promised in his East a glorious Race;
Now sunk from his Meridian, sets a pace.
But in the Sun, whom he from Noon declines,

1. Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 500.

And with abated heat less fiercely shines,
Seems to grow milder as he goes away.
Pleasing himself with the remains of Day:
So he who, in his Youth, for Glory strove,
Would recompense his age with Ease and Love.

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CHAPTER VIII

AURANGZEB ALAMGIR (1658—1707)

According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, the famous biographer of Aurangzeb, "The history of Aurangzeb is practically the history of India for sixty years. His own reign (1658—1707) covers the second half of the seventeenth century and stands forth as a most important epoch in the annals of our country. Under him the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single state ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed. From Ghazni to Chittagong, from Kashmir to the Karnatak, the continent of India obeyed one sceptre. Islam made its last onward movement in India in this reign. The Empire thus formed, while unprecedented in size, was also one political unit. Its provinces were governed not by the mediation of sub-kings, but directly by servants of the Crown. Herein Aurangzeb's Indian Empire was vaster than that of Asoka or Samudragupta or Harshavardhan."

Again, "The life of Aurangzeb was one long tragedy, the story of a man battling in vain against an invisible but inexorable fate. And this tragedy in history was developed with all the regularity of a perfect drama".

After having settled with his brothers, Aurangzeb ascended the throne in July 1658. However, the formal accession did not take place till June 1659. On the latter occasion, Aurangzeb assumed the title of Alamgir. In 1661, he received ambassadors from Persia and Bokhara who were sent to congratulate him on his succession. As all the possible rivals had already been disposed of, Aurangzeb enjoyed comparative peace.

Early Measures. A reference may be made to some of the early measures adopted by Aurangzeb. There was a lot of confusion in the country on account of the war of succession. The tolls and taxes which the people had to pay, already added to their difficulties and interfered with the trade of the country. The huge armies of the Mughals also damaged the crops of the people on the way. With a view to giving some relief to the people, Aurangzeb abolished the *Rahdari* which was collected on every highway frontier or ferry and brought a lot of money to the Government. He also abolished the Pandari or ground tax or house-tax. About 80 cesses collected from the Hindus and Muslims were abolished and Khafi Khan mentions only 14. However, in spite of this, these taxes continued to be levied by the Zamindars. Aurangzeb prohibited the use of the *Kalima* on the coins so that the same may not be touched by the non-Muslims. He abolished the Nauroz which was a borrowed institution from Persia. He appointed Muhatsibs or censors of public morals to look after the conduct of the people and also to see that they acted according to what the Koran said. They were to stop the use of alcohol, intoxicating drugs and other things forbidden by the Holy Koran. Aurangzeb ordered the repair of the mosques and Khanqahs. Imams and Muazzims were regularly paid. Strong measures were taken against those Sufis who were the associates of Dara.

Wars on the Eastern Frontier (1661-66). Daud Khan Governor of Bihar, conquered Polaman in December 1661. Mir Jumla had been sent in pursuit of Shah Shuja. He chased him from Bengal to Dacca and from there to the Arakan frontier in May 1663. Aurangzeb appointed Mir Jumla as the Governor of Bengal and encouraged him in his activities. Consequently, Mir Jumla overran Cooch Bihar and Assam. He penetrated into the country with the object of invading the Chinese territory. However, he was driven back by floods, heavy rains and the lack of proper means of transport. He was very much exhausted and died in March 1663.

According to J.N. Sarkar, "No other general of that age conducted war with so much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 20 maunds of diamonds, viceroy of the rich province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by scorning delights and living laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression of the people and saw to it that his orders were obeyed."

Shayista Khan was transferred from the Deccan to Bengal as its Governor. The new Governor found that the Portuguese and Burmese pirates were growing very bold and they were carrying their attacks to the sub-division of Dacca. He strengthened the Bengal fleet and then attacked and ultimately compelled the King of Arakan to cede Chittagong in January 1666. The Island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal was also captured and piracy was put down.

Aurangzeb's Illness. In 1662, Aurangzeb had a serious attack of illness. As a result of it, he was confined to bed for a month. When he improved a little, he went to Kashmir to regain his health. Bernier accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmir and he has left an excellent account of the journey.

North-West Frontier Policy. Aurangzeb followed a forward policy out of political and economic considerations. The turbulent Muslim tribes were always a source of danger and trouble to the Mughals. They were attracted by the riches of the Punjab and their poverty forced them to attack India time and again.

To begin with, Aurangzeb tried to silence them by payments of money. However, "even political pensions were not always effective in securing obedience." In 1667, the Yusufzais revolted under their leader, Bhagu. They crossed the Attock river and invaded the Hazara district. Some of them plundered and destroyed the districts of Attock and Peshawar. But their rising was suppressed within the next few months.

In 1672, the Afridis revolted under Akmal Khan. He not only crowned himself as king but also called upon all the Pathans to wage a holy war against the Mughals. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughals at Ali Masjid. Although some of the Mughal officers escaped, yet they lost everything else. This victory enhanced the prestige of Akmal Khan and he got more recruits. "This whole of the Pathan land from Attock to Kandhar" rose in arms. The Afridis were joined by the Khattaks under their leader Khush-hal Khan. The latter "became the leading spirit of the national rising and ins-

pired the tribesmen with his pen and sword alike." In February 1674, the Afghans attacked the Mughal forces under Shujaat Khan and the latter was killed in the battle-field.

Aurangzeb realised the gravity of the situation and took the matters into his own hands. He went to Hasan Abdal in July 1674 and was able to control the situation by diplomacy and force of arms. Many Afghans were bought over by means of presents, Jagirs, pensions and offices. Amir Khan, the Mughal governor of Afghanistan, also followed a conciliatory policy towards the people. Thus Aurangzeb was able to rehabilitate its position in the North-West Frontier "by following the policy of paying subsidies or by setting up one clan against another—or, to use his own metaphor, breaking two bones by knocking them together." Khush-hal Khan continued the struggle till he was betrayed by his own son into the hands of the Mughals. As a captive, Khush-hal boasted thus: "I am he who has sorely wounded Aurang's heart. Khaiber's pass have I made to the Mughals their dearest purchase."

Sir J.N. Sarkar refers to the effects of the frontier wars in these words: "Ruinous as the Afghan war was to the imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of the Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible, though the Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory in that rugged and barren country. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the north-west frontier. The Maratha Chief took advantage of this division of his enemy's strength to sweep in a dazzling succession of triumphs through Golconda to the Karnatak and back again through Mysore and Bijapur to Raigarh, during the fifteen months following December, 1675. It was the climax of his career; but the Afridis and the Khattaks made his unbroken success possible."

Aurangzeb and the Muslim World. Aurangzeb received "complimentary embassies" from Sharif of Mecca, Kings of Persia, Balkh, Bokhara, Abyssinia, Kashgar, Khiva and Shahri-nau, and the Turkish governors of Basra, Yaman, Mocha and Hadramaut between 1661 and 1667. An ambassador from Constantinople was received in 1690. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, "His policy at the beginning was to dazzle the eyes of foreign princes by the lavish gifts of presents to them and their envoys, and induce the outer Muslim world to forget his treatment of his father and brothers, or at best to show courtesy to the successful man of action and master of India's untold wealth, especially when he was free with his money."

Aurangzeb, the Puritan[1]. Reference has already been made to some of the measures adopted by Aurangzeb at the beginning of his

1. According to J. N. Sarkar, "The most important feature of Aurangzeb's internal administration was his deliberate reversal of the policy of his predecessors towards his non-Muslim subjects and vassal princes, which change of policy is generally held to have caused the swift downfall of the empire after his death. But with him it was not a matter of personal caprice or earthly gain. According to the orthodox interpretation of the Quranic law, it is the duty of every pious Muslim to 'exert himself in the path of God', or, in other words, to wage holy wars (Jihad) against non-Muslim countries (dar-ul-harb) till they are turned into realms of Islam (dar-ul-Islam)." (See Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 240.)

reign. However, the subject requires a more elaborate treatment on account of its importance in the life of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb discontinued the use of the Solar Ilahi year for the purpose of counting his reignal years. In the 11th year of his reign, the courtsingers were allowed to be present at the court but music and dancing were forbidden. After some time, they were not allowed even to attend the court. Aurangzeb stopped the practice of Jharokha-Darshana. This was a retrograde step because it deprived the people of an opportunity to get their wrongs redressed directly from the Emperor. It was stopped because it encouraged human worship. In the 12th year of his reign, Aurangzeb stopped the practice of the weighing of his body against gold, silver and other commodities. It appeared to him that such a custom was borrowed from the Hindus. To begin with, Aurangzeb attended the Dusehra celebrations of the Hindus, but later on he gave up the same. To start with, he put on *Tika* on the head of every new Hindu Raja if he was present at the Mughal court. He stopped the practice because it appeared to him that the *Tika* was a Hindu ceremony. He also dismissed the royal astronomers and astrologers. That was done with a view to removing superstition from administration. Scent, burners of gold and silver were removed from the court. Silver inkstands were discontinued. Prostitutes and dancing girls were given the option of leaving the Mughal Empire or getting married. This regulation did not have much effect as the Mughal nobles could not live without them. The cultivation and public use of *Bhang* was forbidden. Gambling was also prohibited.

Aurangzeb not only forbade singing, but also disallowed public musical parties. Religious music even on the day of the death of the Prophet was not allowed. He made an exception in the case of Shaikh Yahya Chisti, a saint of Ahmedabad. An attempt was made to control the fashions of the day. The length of the beard allowed by the state was fixed. An order was issued that if the beard of any person was longer than the prescribed length, the same was liable to be cut down. According to Manucci, a large number of persons were employed by the state and their duty was to cut the offending beards. Dresses of gold-cloth were disallowed. The length of the trousers was also prescribed by the state. The representation of the figures of birds, animal, men and women on the occasion of Hindu and Muslim festivals, was disallowed. Aurangzeb stopped the practice of lighting lamps on the tombs of the saints of respectable persons. The Khojas were persecuted. Faquir who claimed to be a God, was executed in 1694. Likewise, Hussain Malik was put to death because he used disrespectful language for the companions of the Prophet.

Aurangzeb stopped the celebration of the Muharram in 1669. We are told that the Governor of Ahmedabad was removed because he celebrated the Muharram. Similar action was taken against certain Mansabdars. Likewise, a Portuguese was put to death because he first of all became a convert to Islam but later on became a Christian again. Another person was put to death because he abused the three Khalifas.

The predecessors of Aurangzeb had appointed a large number of Mansabdars from the Hindus. However, he stopped this practice. The number of the Hindu Mansabdars fell, although the total number of Mansabdars increased. Aurangzeb followed the policy of shutting out the Hindus from the highest offices deliberately. It is true that some

Hindus occupied big posts even in the time of Aurangzeb, but in the later half of his reign, they did not fill any high executive or administrative office. The Hindus were not allowed to occupy high administrative jobs. The heads of the various hereditary houses were not given the same status which their predecessors had.

Aurangzeb adopted many measures to break the monopoly of the Hindus in the Revenue Department of the State. A general order prohibiting the employment of the Hindus was passed. This was particularly so with regard to the Revenue Department. The Hindus enjoyed a monopoly in the clerical establishments because most of the Muslims were reserved for royal army. Many Hindus changed their religion and thereby bought the security of tenure of their office. Aurangzeb systematically followed the practice of appointing Muslims in place of the Hindus in various departments of the Government. The Hindus were not to be the heads of departments in which the Muslims worked. The Hindus in the army were not allowed to employ Muslim servants.

Aurangzeb ordered the demolition of Hindu temples. In February 1659, he passed the following order in connection with a dispute as to the right of holding charge of the ancient temples of Banaras: "It has been decided according to our canon law that long standing temples should not be demolished but no new temples be allowed to be built... Our Royal Command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways, interfere with or disturb the Brahmins and other Hindu residents in those places." The temple of Somnath was destroyed early in his reign. In November, 1665, he sent an order to his officials in Gujrat for the destruction of such temples as had one time been destroyed or desecrated by him as the Viceroy of Gujrat but later on been restored by the Hindus.

Similar orders seemed to have been issued in 1669 to the Governor of Orissa. Thereupon the Governor of Orissa issued the following order to his officials: "To all Fojdars, garrison commanders, accountants, district collectors of revenue and their officials from Katak to Midnapur in the frontier of Orissa.

"The Imperial Bakhshi Asad Khan has sent a letter written according to the instructions of the Emperor to say that the Emperor, learning from the news-letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkkuti in Midnapur a temple has been built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in the province. Therefore, you are hereby commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on receipt of this letter you should destroy the above-mentioned temples. Every temple built during the last ten or twelve years should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the Hindus and infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temples should be sent to the court under the Seal of Qazis and attested by pious Shaikhs."

Aurangzeb turned his attention towards Mathura where a large number of beautiful temples had been built from time to time. The famous temple was that of Keshav Rai. Its railings of stone were built at his own cost by Dara Shikoh. In October 1666, the Faujdar of Mathura removed the railings of that temple.

In 1659, Aurangzeb came to know that the Brahmins of Multan,

Sindh and Banaras were using their temples for purposes of instruction. He passed order for the punishment of those who were giving instruction in the temples. According to Massair-Alamgiri, "Orders in accordance with the organisation of Islam were sent to the Governors of all the provinces that they should destroy schools and temples of the infidels and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practice of the religion of the Kafirs."

In August 1669, the temples of Vishwanath at Banaras was completely demolished. The same was the case with the temple of Gopinath at Banaras. Likewise, the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura which was built by Bir Singh Bundela at a cost of Rs. 33 lakhs, was levelled to the ground and a mosque was built on its site.

In 1679, orders were passed for the sequestration of the state of Jodhpur after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Khan-I-Jahan destroyed many temples and brought cart-loads of gold from those temples to Delhi. When the Rajput war started, the Maharana of Udaipur ran away and the temple in front of his palace was destroyed. Likewise, temples on the edge of Udaipur Lake were also destroyed. In all, 235 temples were destroyed in the state of Udaipur.

Orders were also passed for the destruction of the Hindu temples in the state of Jaipur. While one of the temples was being demolished, there was stiff resistance by the Rajputs and till all of them were killed the work of demolishing could not proceed. About 66 temples were destroyed in Amber. When Aurangzeb marched from Amber to the Deccan, he ordered the destruction of all the temples on the way. This was one of the special duties of the Superintendent of labourers with the army.

After the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur, the temples in those states were destroyed and mosques were built out of the same material. Aurangzeb appointed an officer on special duty to destroy the Hindu temples in Maharashtra. He also stopped worship at the Hindu temple of Dwarka. Likewise, temples at Hardwar and Ayodhya were destroyed.

Aurangzeb issued many punitive regulations against the Hindus. The pilgrimage tax which had been abolished in the time of Akbar, was reimposed on the Hindus. This brought a lot of money to the state treasury. The celebration of the Hindu festivals was banned. From 1665, the Holi festival ceased to be celebrated. In the same year, the celebration of the Diwali was stopped. In 1703, the Hindus were not allowed to burn their dead on the banks of the river Sabarmati in Ahmedabad. Similar restrictions had been imposed in 1696 at Delhi in connection with the Jumna. Fire-works of all kinds were prohibited. It was ordered that the Hindus were not to look like Muslims. An order of 1694 laid down that with the exception of the Marathas and Rajputs, no Hindu was to ride on an Iraqi or Turani horse or an elephant or to use a palanquin. A Hindu of Multan violated this order and his horse and saddle were confiscated by the state. However, the exception with regard to the Marathas was not strictly enforced. Orders were passed in 1702 that Muslim engravers were not to engrave the names of Hindu gods and goddesses on the seals of the rings of the Hindus. It was ordered in 1665 that the Muslims were to pay half the custom duties realised from the Hindus. Two years after, customs duties were abolished altogether from the Muslims.

As the privilege was abused by the Muslims, they were ordered to pay once again half of the customs duties paid by the Hindus. A tax on produce from gardens was realised at the rate of 20% from the Hindus and 16.6% from the Muslims.

However, the worst of all was the imposition of the *Jizya* on the Hindus in April 1679. This was done on the representation of Anayat Khan, Diwani Khalsa. The *Jizya* was to be paid by all the non-Muslims in India. Even the Brahmins were not exempted. The same was realised from the Indian states also. No distinction was made in favour of officials, clerks or soldiers. Every Hindu was required to pay the *Jizya* personally. He was to come before the collector personally and then make the payment. The payment could not be made through a deputy. There was a lot of humiliation at the time of the payment of the *Jizya*.

Elaborate arrangements were made for the assessment and collection of *Jizya*. There were three grades of assessment: (1) A Hindu whose property was worth 200 Dirhams paid 12 Dirhams as *Jizya*. It was about 6% of the property. (2) Persons whose property varied from 200 Dirhams or Rs. 52/- to Rs. 2,500/- paid 24 Dirhams. (3) Persons whose property was worth more than Rs. 10,000/- Dirhams, paid a lump sum of 48 Dirhams. It is evident that the incidence of the *Jizya* was less in the case of the rich. However, the rich paid the whole amount in a lump sum and the others could pay in instalments. There were certain exemptions from the *Jizya*. Minors, women, beggars, slaves, the blind, the crippled, the mentally deficient and the unemployed were not required to pay. In every exceptional cases, *Jizya* was also remitted by the state.

The *Jizya* was a part of the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzed. Its object was to have converts to Islam by harassing the Hindus. Any Hindu could escape from the *Jizya* by becoming a Muslim. No wonder, a large number of Hindus were converted to Islam in this way.

Khafi Khan refers to the following instructions of Aurangzeb to the Collectors of *Jizya*: "You are free to grant remission of revenue of all other Hindus, but if you remit any man's *Jizya* which I have succeeded with great difficulty in laying on the infidels, it will be an impious change (bidate) and will cause the whole system of collecting the poll-tax to fall into disorder." Khafi Khan tells us that thousands of Hindus gathered together to protest against the imposition of *Jizya*. As Aurangzeb could not tolerate the agitation by the Hindus, he gave them an hour's notice to disperse. As they did not obey, he ordered the elephants to run over them and consequently a large number of Hindus were killed. The zeal with which *Jizya* was collected by the fanatical officers is shown by the conduct of one Mir Abdul Karim who was the prefect of the City of Burhanpur. It is stated that "He increased the yield of the tax from 26,000 a year for the whole city to more than four times the amount in three months for half the city only (1682)".

Aurangzeb employed many other ways to have converts to Islam. Converts to Islam were given recognition by the Emperor. They were given high posts in the state. Thousands of Hindus were removed from the various departments of the Government and Muslims were recruited in their places. They were given the option of re-

taining their jobs if they became converts to Islam. Rebels were pardoned if they became Muslims. If there was a quarrel between two persons and one of them became a Muslim, he who became a Muslim got the property. "If a Mohammadan had no desire to discharge his debt to the Bania and if the Bania demanded the payment of the same, the Mohammadan would lodge a complaint to the Kazi that he had called the Prophet names or spoken contumaciously of their religion, produce a false witness or two, and the poor man was forced to circumcision and made to embrace Islam. Several persons had been thus served to the great terror of all. The king not at all minding anything of his Kingdom gives himself wholly upon the converting or rather perverting the Banias."

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The religious policy of Aurangzeb was disastrous. His great-grandfather had striven to remove the religious and social barriers which divided the various classes of his subjects, and, though exception can be taken to his methods, none can be taken to the end which he had in view. His grandfather, the son of a Hindu mother, held liberal, even lax views on religion. His father was a better Muslim than either Akbar or Jahangir, but, except in the case of political offenders, bridled his zeal. But Aurangzeb was a bigot to whom the religion of the great majority of his subjects was anathema, misbelief, and idolatry, which it was his duty before heaven to persecute, and if possible to stamp out. His methods were iconoclasm, sacrilege, economic repression, bribery, forced conversion and restriction of worship."[1]

Effects of Anti-Hindu Policy. (*a*) **Rajput War (1679-81).** The Rajputs revolted in 1679. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur died at Peshawar in December 1678. At the time of his death, he was in the service of the Mughals. Aurangzeb sent his officers to take possession of his Kingdom and set up on the throne a worthless relative of Jaswant Singh who promised to pay him a Nazrana of about Rs. 35 lakhs. When the two widows of Maharaja Jaswant Singh reached Lahore, they gave birth to two sons. Aurangzeb ordered them to be detained at the Mughal court. This was too much for the Rajputs and they decided to rescue them. This was accomplished through the bravery of Durga Das in July 1679. The widows appealed for help to the Rana of Udaipur. The Rajputs made a common cause and the war started against the Mughals. This war continued from 1679 to 1681. To begin with, Aurangzeb directed the armies from Ajmer. In 1679, Jodhpur was annexed to the state. The state of Mewar was ruined and the Rana ran away. In the beginning of 1681, Prince Akbar revolted against his father and joined the Rajputs. Aurangzeb tried to create dissensions between Prince Akbar and the Rajputs and for some time he succeeded in his mission. However, truth came to be known to Durga Das who escorted Prince Akbar to the Deccan in May 1681. From there, Prince Akbar ran away to Persia in 1683.

It is true that Aurangzeb made peace with the Rajputs in 1681[2]

1. The Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 334.

2. According to the terms of the peace, Maharana Jai Singh gave to the Mughals the Parganas of Mandal, Par and Bednor in lieu of the Jizya demanded from his kingdom. The Mughals were to withdraw from Mewar which was to be restored to Jai Singh with the title of Rana and the rank of a commander of five thousand.

but he had committed a blunder. In future, he could not count upon the loyalty and active support of the Rajputs. When he went over to the Deccan to take action against the Marathas and the Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, he was all the time afraid of the trouble in Rajputana. Aurangzeb might have fared better in the Deccan if he had not alienated the Rajputs.

According to Lane-Poole, "But while the treaty enabled Aurangzeb to beat a fairly creditable retreat, it did not appease the indignant Rajputs of the West; even the Rana of Udaipur soon rode his elephants through the treaty; and all Rajputana, save Jaipur and the eastern parts, was perpetually in a state of revolt until the end of the reign. *Tantum relligio potuit* : But for his tax upon heresy, and his interference with their inborn sense of dignity and honour, Aurangzeb might have still kept the Rajputs by his side as priceless allies in the long struggle in which he was now to engage in the Deccan. As it was he alienated them for ever. No Rajput Raja would again marshall his willing mountaineers to support a Mughal throne, as had been seen in the days of Jai Singh. So long as the great Puritan sat on the throne of Akbar, not a Rajput would stir a finger to save him. Aurangzeb had to fight his southern foes with the loss of his right arm."[1]

According to J.N. Sarkar, "In the height of political unwisdom, Aurangzeb wantonly provoked rebellion in Rajputana while the Afghans on the frontier were still far from being pacified. With the two leading Rajput clans openly hostile to him, his army lost its finest and most loyal recruits. Nor was the trouble confined to Marwar and Mewar. It spread by sympathy among the Hada and Gaur clans. The elements of lawlessness thus set moving overflowed fitfully into Malwa and endangered the vitally important Mughal road through Malwa to the Deccan."

It is to be observed that from 1681 onwards, the struggle between the Rajputs and the Mughals continued till Ajit Singh was recognised in 1709 by Bahadur Shah as the lord of Mewar. Between 1681 and 1687, Ajit Singh was in concealment and hence the struggle was in the form of a people's war, leaderless, desperate and desultory. From 1687 to 1701, Durga Das and Ajit Singh themselves organised the war of independence with the help of the Hadas of Bundi. Between 1701 and 1707, the struggle entered the last and final stage. More than once, Ajit Singh received imperial rank in order to tide over a crisis. However, when the news of the death of Aurangzeb came, Ajit Singh drove out Jaffar Quli, the Deputy Faujdar of Jodhpur and ascended the throne of his ancestors. The struggle was no doubt exhausting but it was worth the '*blood, sweat, tears and toil.*"

(*b*) **Revolt of Satnamis.** The Satnamis were originally a militant sect of Hindu worshippers. Mewar and Narnol were their chief centres. Khafi Khan gives the following description about them: "These men dressed like devotees, but they nevertheless carried on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion, they have dignified themselves with the title of 'good name', this being the meaning of Satnami. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons or arms."

1. Aurangzeb, p. 142.

There was a special reason why the religious-minded Satnamis revolted against the Mughal authority. A Satnami cultivator was murdered by a Mughal Piada or foot-soldier. The Satnamis hit back and practically killed the foot-soldier. After that, they revolted. "The quarrel soon took a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzeb himself." The Faujdar of Narnol was also defeated. The situation became serious and ultimately Aurangzeb sent Radandaz Khan and other generals against the Satnamis and thus it was that they were crushed.

(c) **Rebellion of Gokal.** The Jats of Mathura revolted against Mughal tyranny. That was partly due to the fact that Abdun-Nabi Khan, the Faujdar of Mathura (1660-69), oppressed the Jats very much and also offended their sentiments. The Jats revolted under the leadership of Gokal, a Zamindar of Tilpat, killed the Faujdar and plundered the Pargana of Sadabad. Aurangzeb made preparations for an attack on the Jats and himself proceeded against them. The Jats were defeated and Gokal was captured with his family. According to Sarkar, Gokal's "limbs were hacked off one by one on the platform of the police office of Agra". His family was forcibly converted to Islam. 5,000 Jats lost their lives and 4,000 Mughal soldiers were killed.

In spite of this, there was no peace. The new Faujdar of Mathura was a chip of the old block and he oppressed the people in the same way as Abd-un-Nabi Khan had done. The result was that the Jats revolted once again in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram. They were so daring that they plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandara near Agra in 1688. Ultimately, Raja Ram was defeated and killed. The stronghold of the Jats was captured in 1691. However, the Jats carried on their struggle till the end of Aurangzeb's life under the leadership of Churaman.

(*d*) **The Bundelas.** The Bundela Rajputs considered themselves to be safe on account of "dense forests, the rapid streams, and the steep hills of Central India". Bir Singh Bundela had openly revolted against Akbar in 1602 and Akbar had failed to punish him on account of the guerilla tactics of the Bundelas. Champat Rai revolted against Aurangzeb but he was so much hard pressed that he committed suicide. Chhatrasal, one of the four sons of Champat Rai, "lived to defy the Imperial Government with success." He was hardly 11 at the time of his father's death. He and his brother Angad were employed by Raja Jai Singh in his own contingent and were given promotions on account of their service in the campaign against Shivaji. Chhatrasal was also employed by Dilawar Khan in the Mughal attack against Deogarh. As he felt that his services were not being recognised by the Mughal Government, he "dreamt of taking to a life of adventure and independence in imitation of Shivaji which meant a defiance of the Mughal Government." The people of Bundelkhand and Malwa hailed Chhatrasal "as the champion of the Hindu faith and Kshatriya honour". He won many victories against the Mughals and was able to set up an independent state in Eastern Malwa. He died in 1731 "with the complete effacement of the Mughal rule in Bundelkhand".

(*e*) **The Sikhs.** The Sikhs also suffered at the hands of Aurang-

zeb. After the death of Har Kishan, Teg Bahadur became the 9th Guru of the Sikhs. The Guru set up his headquarters at Anandpur in the Hoshiarpur District. Guru Teg Bahadur visited Patna in 1666. In 1668, he accompanied Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, to Assam but returned to Anandpur. He was called Sacha Padshah by the Sikhs. He protested against the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzeb. According to Khafi Khan. "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities". Aurangzeb was annoyed on account of the Guru's encouragement of the Hindus to resist his religious policy. The Guru was summoned to Delhi and asked to become a Muslim. He refused to do so and was put to death in 1675 after a lot of torture. Another story is that the Guru was asked to prove his Guruship by a miracle. The Guru wrote a charm on a piece of paper and when his head was cut off from the body, the following words were found written on the paper: "*Sir Diya Sar na Diya*" or "*Sir Diya Din na Diya.*"

After the death of Guru Teg Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh became the 10th Guru and he made up his mind to have revenge for the death of his father. Open war started between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Guru Govind Singh organised the Khalsa into a military organisation. He revolutionized the philosophy of the Sikhs. According to him, "*I shall make men of all four castes into lions and destroy the Mughals.*" He organised an army and built forts on the hills. From 1695 onwards he fought successfully against the Rajas of North Punjab and the Mughal officials. Ultimately, he was defeated by the Mughals. Two of his sons were captured and executed with great cruelty. It is stated that when Aurangzeb was nearing his death, he summoned Guru Govind Singh and promised him good treatment. However, he died in 1707 when Guru Govind Singh was on his way to meet him. The Guru was stabbed to death in 1708 by an Afghan. He was succeeded by Banda Bahadur and the latter carried on the struggle against the Mughals.

Deccan policy of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb spent the last 25 years of his life (1682—1707) in the Deccan[1]. During all this long period, he had practically no rest. The object of his Deccan wars was to conquer the states of Bijapur and Golconda and crush the power of the Marathas. Unfortunately, the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda were Shias and Aurangzeb as a Sunni was the deadly enemy of the Shias. Aurangzeb also felt that the existence of these states enabled the Marathas to enrich themselves. The Marathas got not only military and administrative experience but also received a lot of

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1. According to J. N. Sarkar, "Looking collectively at the Mughal gains in the Deccan during the first twenty years of Aurangzeb's reign, we find that he had in 1657 annexed Kalyani and Bidar in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur, the fort and district of Parenda in the extreme north had been gained by bribery in 1660; Sholapur had been acquired by treaty in July 1638; and now Nuldurg and Kulburga were annexed. Thus the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhima and Manjra east-wards, upto an imaginary line joining Kulburga to Bidar passed into Mughal hands and the Imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhima opposite Halsangi, within striking distance of Bijapur city—while south-eastwards it touched Malkhed, the fortress on the western border of the kingdom of Golcunda."

money. Aurangzeb must have argued that if those states were annexed to the Mughal empire, the Marathas would not dare to attack them. No wonder, Aurangzeb proceeded in person to put an end to these states.

Conquest of Bijapur (1686). Sikandar Adil Shah was the ruler of Bijapur. His weakness lay in his youth. In 1682, an expedition was sent against him under Prince Azam, but the same failed and Prince was called back. For two years, Aurangzeb was busy against the Marathas and Prince Akbar. This interval was utilised by the ruler of Bijapur in re-organising his army with the help of Sharza Khan, his minister. Aurangzeb demanded the dismissal of Sharza Khan. As his order was not complied with, he proceeded against the King in person and besieged Bijapur in April 1685. A breach was made in the fortifications of the city. It is true that the garrison fought very bravely and the Marathas also tried to help the people of Bijapur, but the siege could not last long. The city of Bijapur fell in September 1686. Sikandar Adil Shah was captured and made a prisoner. His kingdom was annexed in 1686 and he himself was taken into the Mughal service. He was made a Mansabdar and allowed a pension of Rs. one lakh. Later on, he was imprisoned in the fort of Daulatabad where he died in 1700.

Conquest of Golconda (1687). Abul Hasan was the ruler of Golconda and he was not in the good books of Aurangzeb. The cause of Aurangzeb's displeasure was not only the Shia religion of the ruler but also the employment of Hindus in his Kingdom. During the Mughal invasions of Bijapur under Jai Singh in 1665-66, under Dilir Khan in 1679 and under Prince Muhammad Azam in 1685, the Sultan of Golconda had openly sent his troops to assist his brother in distress. The first two wrongs were condoned by the payment of tribute but the last one brought ruin on him. Moreover, the Sultan of Golconda had helped Shivaji with the sinews of war after his flight from Agra in 1666 and thus enabled him to recover his forts from the Mughals. He also welcomed Shivaji on his visit to Hyderabad in 1677 and behaved like a humble vassal of the Maratha king, placing a necklace of gems round his horse's neck and promising him an annual subsidy of one lac of *Huns* for the defence of his territory. He made Madanna and Akkanna, two Brahmins, his chief ministers. Aurangzeb himself explained the causes of the war in these words: "The evil deeds of this wicked man passed beyond the bounds of writing, but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. *First*, placing the reins of authority and Government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the Saiyids, Shaikhs and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine Commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to a country, the disregarding of which it cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discrete men. No attention has been paid to them; moreover, it had lately become known that a lac of Pagodas had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in this insolence and

intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope of deliverance in this world or in the next."

The war between Golconda and the Mughals dragged on for some time. Ultimately, Aurangzeb himself arrived at Golconda in January 1687 and pressed the siege. Both mining and assaults failed. Then Aurangzeb had recourse to bribery and gained admittance through the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison who opened a gate. Abul Hasan was captured and made a prisoner. His kingdom was annexed in September 1687.

The fall of Golconda has been described thus: "Before break of day, the Imperial forces attacked the city and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed; for in every part and road and market there were lakhs upon lakhs of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express (writes Khafi Khan) how many women and children of Mussalmans and Hindus were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value which were too heavy, to carry were cut to pieces with swords and daggers and every bit was struggled for."

Reference may also be made to the bravery of Abdur Razzak, one of the ablest officers of Abul Hasan, who remained faithful to his master to the last. He rejected the tempting offers of Aurangzeb and fought bravely in the hand to hand fight at the gateway till he fell with 70 wounds on his body. Aurangzeb was so much impressed by his bravery and fidelity that he appointed one of his surgeons to cure him. Khafi Khan has given the following account of this brave men: "Abdur Razzak Lari heard this, and, springing on horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by 10 or 12 followers, he rushed to the open gate through which the imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone like a drop of water falling into sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation shouting that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat. The horse carried him to a garden called Nagina, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoanut tree where by the help of the tree, he threw himself off. On the morning of the second day, a party of men belonging to Husaini Beg passed and recognising him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him and carried him upon a bedstead to a house. When his own men heard of this they came and dressed his wounds."

According to Lane-Poole, "With the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur, Aurangzeb considered himself master of the Deccan. Yet the direct result of his destruction of the only powers that made for order and some sort of settled government in the peninsula was to

strengthen the hands of the Marathas. The check exercised upon these free-lances by the two kingdoms may have been weak and hesitating, but it had its effect in somewhat restraining their audacity. Now this check was abolished; the social organization which hung upon the two governments was broken up; and anarchy reigned in its stead. The majority of the vanquished armies naturally joined the Marathas and adopted the calling of the road. The local officials set themselves up as petty sovereigns, and gave their support to the Marathas as the party most likely to promote a golden age of plunder. Thus the bulk of the population of the two dissolved states went to swell the power of Sambhaji and his highlanders, and the disastrous results of this revolution in Deccan politics were felt for more than a century. The anarchy which desolated the Deccan was the direct forerunner of the havoc wrought by the Marathas in Delhi in the time of Shah-Alam and Wellesley."[1]

Aurangzeb and the Marathas. The story of the relations of the Marathas with Aurangzeb is given in the next Chapter. Suffice it to say that Aurangzeb sent Shayista Khan against Shivaji in 1663, but the latter failed to subdue him and with great difficuly escaped with his life. Later on, Prince Muazzam and Raja Jai Singh were sent against Shivaji. Jai Singh forced Shivaji to sign the treaty of Purandhar in 1665. Shivaji attended the Mughal court at Agra in 1666. Although he was placed under detention, he managed to escape to his headquarters in the Deccan. Prince Muazzam and Jaswant Singh were sent against him.

After the death of Shivaji in 1689, Aurangzeb carried on the struggle against Sambhaji. The latter was arrested and put to death. His son, Sahu, was put in prison where he remained till 1708..

After the execution of Sambhaji in 1680, the struggle was carried on by Raja Ram up to 1700. After his death, the same struggle was successfully carried on by his widow, Tara Bai. In spite of his best efforts, Aurangzeb failed to crush the Maratha resistance. He had completely failed in his mission.

Consequences of the Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb. (1) The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had far-reaching consequences. If Napoleon could say that "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me", Aurangzeb could also say that the Deccan wars not only undid his own work but also those of his predecessors. No wonder, V.A. Smith remarks that the Deccan was not only the grave of his body but also of his Empire. It was foolish on the part of Aurangzeb to have conquered the states of Bijapur and Golconda. It is true that their rulers were Shias, but Aurangzeb ought to have subordinated his religious zeal to statesmanship. He ought to have known that in practical politics many things are done by statesmen which are hardly approved of by them. Anyhow, the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda destroyed the check on the Marathas. It was difficult for Aurangzeb to deal with the Marathas from so distant a place as Delhi. No wonder, he had to spend the rest of his life in the Deccan to subdue the Marathas. It was a fatal step which Aurangzeb took. On account of his absence from the north for a quarter of a century, the administration of the country was thrown out of gear. It led to the break up of the Mughal Empire after his death. The Provincial Governors and Faujdars defied the Central authority and there was nothing to curb them. The result was that towards the end of his life, Aurang-

1. Aurangzeb, pp. 188-89.

zeb could see his own Empire breaking up. A lot of money was wasted in the Deccan wars. At the top of it, when money was most needed to carry on the war in the Deccan, not much could be realised from the various provinces on account of the weakening of the Central authority. It was during this period that the Jats and Sikhs got an opportunity to strengthen their hands.

(2) The operations of the Imperial armies, especially the numerous sieges, led to a total destruction of forests and grass. The huge Mughal forces, totalling 1,77,000 including non-combatants, ate up everything green. The Maratha raiders destroyed whatever they could not carry. They fed their horses on the standing crops and burnt the houses and property which they could not carry on account of their weight. When Aurangzeb retired in 1705, the country presented a scene of utter desolation. According to Manucci, "He left behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts." The total deforestation injured agriculture. The power of resistance of the common man was weakened on account of the long duration of war. Everything they produced or stored up was swept away by the hordes on both sides. The result was that when famine or draught came, the peasants and landless labourers perished helplessly like flies. Scarcity was chronic in the imperial camp and often deepened into famine. Raiding bands were locally formed and many got an opportunity of making money and winning glory. Trade almost ceased in the Deccan during this period. Caravans could travel to the south of the Narbada only under strong escort. Even the Royal Mail and baskets of fruits for the Emperor were detained for 5 months at the Narbada. The Provincial Governors enriched themselves at the cost of the traders by snatching away their goods and making unreasonable demands on them. Village industries and industrial classes almost died out. The Madras coast was so unsettled by the struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals between 1690 and 1698 that the English and French factors found it difficult to get enough cloth for loading their European-going ships. This led to great economic impoverishment of India. It also lowered the mechanical skill and standards of civilization of the Indians.

(3) The Mughal soldiers on the march destroyed the crops on the way and the Government could not and did not compensate the peasants for their losses. The worst oppressors of the peasants were the servants, day-labourers and other persons who moved with the Mughal armies. Particularly, the Baluchi camel-owners who hired their animals to the army and the unattached Afghans searching for employment plundered and beat the countrymen most mercilessly. The *Banjaras* or wandering grain-dealers who moved in large numbers, defied the authority of the petty officers of the Government and very often looted the people on the wayside and fed their cattle on the crops in the fields with impunity. Even the royal messengers who carried Government letters, reports of spies and baskets of fruits for presentation to the Emperor robbed the people of the villages on the way. The land-stewards of the rival Jagirdars of the same village were a menace to the people. The incoming and outgoing Jagirdars had no sympathy for the peasants.

(4) The financial condition of the Mughal empire became so weak that it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Hundreds of soldiers and several officers fell into arrears for three years. The starving men

created scenes in the court of the Emperor. Sometimes they abused and beat the business manager of the General. Although the Government made reckless promises of money grants, it was humanly impossible to fulfil them. Even when grants in lieu of salary were drawn up by the pay-office, they remained for years as orders on paper as the actual delivery of the villages to the grantees was impossible. The interval between the order and the actual possession of the Jagir was long enough to turn a boy into a grey-bearded man. Aurangzeb spent huge amounts on bribing the Maratha officers in charge of hill-forts. It was impossible for the Mughal treasury to meet all the demands.

(5) The spirit of the Mughal army in the Deccan was utterly broken. Soldiers grew sick of the endless and futile war. Even the most trusted officers of Aurangzeb became home-sick. One such nobleman offered the Emperor a bribe of Rs. 1 lakh for transferring him to Delhi.

(6) Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made the following observation with regard to the effects of the Deccan wars: "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre. His enemies rose on all sides: he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan and the administration grew slack and corrupt; chiefs and Zamindars defied the local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country with tumult. In the province of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage; not a single grand edifice, finely written manuscript or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury; the Government turned bankrupt; the soldiers starving from arrears of pay, mutinied; and during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the able Diwan Murshid Quli Khan, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me.' The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb."

Causes of Aurangzeb's failure in the Deccan. The main cause of Aurangzeb's failure in the Deccan is to be found in the contrast between the characters of the Mughals and the Marathas. If the Mughals had been the same hardy warriors that Babur led from the valleys of the Hindukush or if the Rajputs had supported them with all their might, the Marathas would have been allowed a short shrift. However, Aurangzeb had alienated the Rajputs and they were not prepared to risk their lives for him for destroying those who were after all Hindus. Moreover, three or four generations of court-life had ruined the manliness of the Mughals. Instead of hardy swordsmen, they had become padded dandies. They were wadding under their heavy armour. They luxuriated in comfortable saddles and velvet housings and bells and ornaments of their chargers. They were adorned for procession when they should have been in rough campaigning out-fit. Their camp, was as splendid and luxurious as if they were on guard at the Palace at Delhi. The Mughal soldiers grumbled if their tents were not furnished as comfortable as in the

quarters at Agra. Their requirements attracted an immense crowd of camp-followers twenty times as numerous as the effective strength. About Aurangzeb's camp at Galgala in 1695, Dr. Careri observes thus: "I was told that the forces in this camp amounted to 60,000 horse and 100,000 on foot, for whose baggage there were 50,000 camels and 3,000 elephants; but that the sutlers, merchants and artificers were much more numerous, the whole camp being a living city containing five millions of souls and abounding not only in provisions but in all things that could be desired. There were 250 bazars or markets, every Amir or general having one to serve his men. In short, the whole camp was thirty miles about." It cannot be denied that such an army was like a plague of locusts in a country and it ate up everything. Whenever the supplies of Mughal armies were cut by the Marathas, famine followed.

The dilatory tactics of the Mughal generals were also responsible for their failure. It is pointed out that Zul-Fikar, the best of officers of Aurangzeb, held treasonable parleys with the enemy and intentionally delayed a siege in the hope that the aged Emperor would die any moment and leave him in command of the troops. Obviously, such generals and such soldiers were no match for the Marathas. It is true that the Mughals were more in numbers and resources and they could defeat the Marathas in pitched battles but the Marathas followed guerilla tactics and refused to be drawn into a pitched battle. It is also true that the Mughals could conquer a fort by their lengthy sieges, but the Marathas had many forts and consequently this advantage of the Mughals did not help them much. As the Marathas refused to fight decisive battles, fighting with them was one long series of petty victories followed by larger losses.

Aurangzeb and the English. From the time of Sir Thomas Roe, the English factors in India followed a policy of friendly relations with the Mughal emperors and the Indian princes. About 1616, the English got permission to build a factory at Masaulipatam. In 1639, Francis Day applied and got from the ruler of Chandragiri a lease of land and later on the famous Fort St. George was built on the same land. Although Shah Jahan took action against the Portuguese, he was friendly disposed towards the English and allowed them to build factories at Hugli and Kasim Bazar in 1650-51. He also gave them certain trade concessions. The English East India Company got the island of Bombay from Charles II in 1668 on an annual rent of £ 60.

On account of the general insecurity prevailing in the Deccan in the time of Aurangzeb, the English fortified their possessions. In 1684, the Directors approved of the policy of their factors in India and wrote back to say that "though our business is only trade and security, we dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks...where we have not the security of a fort."

In 1685, Shayis'a Khan, Governor of Bengal, imposed local duties upon English traffic. The Company openly defied the authority of Aurangzeb and resisted with force the demands of the Mughal Viceroy. The result was that a sort of semi-official war between the English and the Mughal Empire started. James II, the King of England, was persuaded to send warships to capture Chittagong. The expedition was a total failure. Its only result was to infuriate Aurangzeb. The latter ordered the capture of English factories at Surat, Masualipatam and on the Hugli. The English factors were forced to leave these

places in 1688. This brought the English to their senses. Peace was restored between the parties. The new Governor of Bengal invited Charnock, the chief of the English factory at Hugli, to return to his settlement in 1690. Charnock got the Royal Firman and was allowed to start a small station which later on grew into the present city of Calcutta.

Aurangzeb and his sons. Aurangzeb possessed a very suspicious temperament. He had already disposed of his brothers at the beginning of his reign and he did not place his trust even in his sons. It has already been pointed out that his son Prince Akbar revolted against him and ultimately went away to Persia. Prince Sultan, his eldest son, was kept in prison for about 18 years because he had shown sympathy with Shuja and had also married his daughter. Prince Muazzam who later on succeeded Aurangzeb as Bahadur Shah I, displeased his father on account of his sympathy for the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda. He was imprisoned in 1687 and released in 1695. Kam Baksh, the youngest son, also suffered imprisonment. Aurangzeb kept all his sons away from him and was always suspicious of their movements. Prince Muazzam was sent to Agra as Governor. Kam Baksh was put in charge of the former territory of Bijapur. Prince Azam was made the Governor of Malwa.

We are told that at the time of death, Aurangzeb wrote pathetic letters to his sons. To Prince Azam, he wrote thus: "I am grown very old and weak. Many were around me when I was born, but now I am going alone. I know not who I am or why I came into the world. I bewail the moments which I spent forgetful of God's worship. I have not done well for the country or its people. My years have gone by profitless. God has been in my heart; yet my darkened eyes have not recognised His light. Life is transient, and the lost moment never comes back. There is no hope for me in the future. The fever is gone, but nothing is left of me save skin and dried flesh. The army is confounded and without heart or help, even as I am, apart from God, with no rest for the heart. They know not whether they have a king or not. Nothing brought I into this world but carry with me the burden of my sins. I know not what punishment be in store for me to suffer. Though my trust be in the mercy of goodness of God, I deplore my sins. When I have lost hope in myself, how can I hope in others? Come what will, I have launched my bark upon the waters! Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!"

To Kam Baksh, Aurangzeb wrote thus: "Soul of my soul.... Now I am going alone. I grieve for your helplessness. But what is the use? Every torment I have inflicted, every sin I have committed, every wrong I have done, I carry the consequence with me. Strange that I came with nothing into the world, and now go away with this stupendous caravan of sin! Wherever I look I see only God. You should accept my last will. It should not happen that Musalmans be killed and the reproach should fall upon the head of his useless creature. I commit you and your sons to the care of God and bid you farewell. I am sorely troubled. Your sick mother Udaipuri, would fain die with me.. May the peace of God be upon you."

About these letters, V.A. Smith remarks that "the sternest critic of the character and deeds of Aurangzeb can hardly refuse to recognise the pathos of those lamentations or to feel some sympathy for the old man on his lonely death-bed."

Character and estimate of Aurangzeb. It goes without saying that Aurangzeb was an ideal person in many ways. He was simple in his habits and pious in his life. His contemporaries called him a "Darvish clad in the Imperial purple". He was absolutely free from vice and even from the most innocent pleasure of the idle rich. The number of his wives was less than four and he was faithful to wedded love. He possessed a wonderful memory. He never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard. He retained all his physical powers to the end. He was a little deaf towards the end and was lame in his right leg. He was a past master in diplomacy. He could not be beaten in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation. He was a master of the pen and the sword.

Unfortunately, he possessed a suspicious nature. He trusted neither his officers nor his sons. Consequently, he had to do too many things himself. It was impossible for an individual to carry on the work of the administration of the country single-handed and no wonder he failed. He failed in spite of all his talent, skill, and patience. He interfered too much into the work of his subordinates. The result was that his subordinates lost all sense of responsibility and initiative. Such a bureaucracy was not fit to carry on the administration of the country.

Aurangzeb was a practised calligraphist and wrote Shikasta and Nastaliq with great skill. He was a master of Persian and could compose verses. He had no ear for music. He ate very little and slept only for three hours a day. He was a great general and this is proved by his achievements in the life-time of his father. The *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, the greatest digest of Muslim law, was compiled under his patronage.

Aurangzeb was intolerant towards the non-Muslims and this fact alone multiplied his difficulties. There was practically no human touch in his dealings. He would have been an ideal ruler if he had been the ruler of a Muslim state. Unfortunately, he was not fitted to rule a country where the bulk of the population was that of non-Muslims. Khafi Khan makes the following observations on Aurangzeb: "Of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur, nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi...no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity and justice. In courage, long suffering and sound judgment, he was, unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object."

According to Dr. Smith, when Aurangzeb is judged as a sovereign, "he must be pronounced a failure". His intense suspiciousness.... poisoned his whole life. He never trusted anybody and consequently was-ill served. His cold, calculating temperament rarely permitted him to indulge in love for man or woman and few indeed were the persons who loved him. His reliance on mere cunning as the principal instrument of statecraft testified to a certain smallness of mind, and, moreover, was ineffective in practice. Although he had many opportunities for winning military distinction, he failed to show ability as a general, whether before or after accession. His proceed-

ings in the Deccan during the latter part of his life were simply ridiculous as military operations. In fact, nothing in the history of Aurangzeb justifies posterity in classing him as a great King. His tricky cunning was mainly directed, first to winning, and then to keeping the throne. He did nothing for literature or art. Rather it should be said that he did less than nothing, because he discouraged both.

Lane-Poole has made the following observations with regard to Aurangzeb, "For the first time in their history, the Mughals beheld a rigid Muslim in their emperor—a Muslim as sternly repressible of himself as of his people around him, a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of his faith. He must have been fully conscious of the dangerous path he was pursuing, and well aware that to run a-tilt against every Hindu sentiment, to alienate his Persian adherents, the flower of his general staff, by deliberate opposition to their cherished ideals, and to disgust his nobles by suppressing the luxury of a jovial court was, to invite revolution. Yet he chose this course, and adhered to this with unbending resolve through close on fifty years of unchallenged sovereignty."

Again, "All Muhammadan writers extol him as a saint; all contemporary Christians—except Drydon, and he was no historian,—denounce him as a hypocrite who used religion as a cloak for ambition, and said prayers to cover the most unnatural murders. Aurangzeb has experienced the fate of his great contemporary, Cromwell, whom he resembled in many features of the soul. He has had his Ludlow among his biographers, and his Baxter, with their theories of selfish ambition and virtue vitiated by success; he has also been slavered with the panegyrics of Muhammadan Flecknoes and Dawbeneys. These opposite views, however, are less contradictory than might be supposed. They merely represent the difference between Christian bigotry and Muhammadan bigotry. To the Musalman of India Aurangzeb is the ideal type of the devout and uncompromising Muhammadan king, and his sanguinary advance to the throne is forgotten in his subsequent zeal for the faith and undeviating observance of the law and practice of Islam. On the other hand, Christian observers of the Great Mughal could not divest themselves of the western idea that a prince who says his prayers in public, like the Pharisee in the street, must necessarily be an ostentatious hypocrite; while they failed to reconcile the enormity of fratricide with piety or even common humanity. They did not understand the nature of the religion which could be honestly professed by such a man as Aurangzeb, any more than the royalists of the Restoration could discover in the ambitious regicide the sincere Christian that Cromwell really was."[1]

After referring to the accomplishments of Aurangzeb, J.N. Sarkar observes thus: "But all this long self-preparation and splendid vitality, in one sense proved his undoing, as they naturally begot in him self-confidence and distrust of others, a passion for seeing everything carried to the highest perfection according to his own idea of it, which urged him to order and supervise every minute detail of administration and warfare personally. This excessive interference of the head of the State kept his viceroys and commanders and even 'the men on the spot' in far off districts in perpetual tutelage; their

1. Aurangzeb, pp. 60-61.

sense of responsibility was destroyed, initiative and rapid adaptability to a changing environment could not be developed in them, and they tended to sink into lifeless puppets moved to action by the master pulling their strings from the capital. No surer means than this could have been devised for causing administrative degeneration in an extensive and diversified empire like India. High spirited, talented and energetic officers found themselves checked, discouraged and driven to sullen inactivity. With the death of the older nobility, outspoken responsible advisers disappeared from his council, and Aurangzeb in his later years like Napoleon I after the climax of Tilsit, could hear no contradiction, could bear no unpalatable truth, but surrounded himself with smooth-tongued sycophants and pompous echoes of his own voice. His ministers became no better than clerks possibly registering his edicts.

"Such a king cannot be called a political or even an administrative genius. He had merely honesty and plodding industry. He was fit to be an excellent departmental head, not a statesman initiating a new policy and legislating with prophetic foresight for moulding the life and thought of unborn generations in advance. That genius, though unlettered and often hot blooded, was Akbar alone among the Mughals of India.

"Obsessed by his narrow ideal of duty and supremely ignorant of the real limitations of his character—and not out of political cunning, as Manucci suggests—Aurangzeb practised saintly austerities and self-abasement and went regularly and even ostentatiously through all the observances of his religion. He thus became an ideal character to the Muslim portion of his subjects. They believed him to be a saint who wrought miracles (*Alamgir, zinda pir*) and he himself favoured this idea by his acts. *Politically, therefore, Aurangzeb with all these virtues was a complete failure.* But the cause of the failure of his reign lay deeper than his personal character. Though it is not true that he alone caused the fall of the Mughal empire, yet he did nothing to avert it, but deliberately quickened the destructive forces always present in rigid theocratic form of Government, because he was a reactionary by instinct and no reforming statesman."

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CHAPTER IX

RISE OF THE MARATHAS

It is true that Shivaji contributed a lot towards the rise and growth of Maratha power in India, but it is equally true that at the time when he appeared on the scene, the ground had already been prepared for him. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "But Shivaji's rise to power cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon in Maratha history. It was as much the result of his personal daring and heroism as of the peculiar geographical situation of the Deccan country and the unifying religious influences that were animating the people with new hopes and aspirations in the 15th and 16th centuries."

(1) **Physical features.** The physical features of the Maratha country developed certain peculiar qualities among the Marathas which distinguished them from the rest of the people of India. The mountainous territory gave security to the Marathas from outside invaders. It also made them hardy soldiers who were not afraid of difficulties and hardships. The scarcity of rains in Maharashtra and the difficulties of finding livelihood, developed among the Marathas a spirit of self-reliance and hard work. Without these qualities, they would have faced death from starvation. Their hardy character stood them in good stead when they were pitted against the Mughals. While the Marathas could be seen galloping in their small narrow paths in search of their enemies without the least feeling of any inconvenience or hardship, the Mughal soldiers found their life miserable. The mountainous country made it possible for the Marathas to adopt successfully the guerilla tactics. The broken ranges of hills provided the Marathas "ready-made and easily defensible rock forts." "The people were taught to regard the forts as their mother as indeed it was, for thither the inhabitants of the surrounding villages resorted in time of invasions with their flocks and herds and treasure, and in time of peace they afforded a living by supplying the garrisons with provision and fodder." According to J.N. Sarkar, nature developed in the Marathas "self-reliance courage, perseverance, a stern simplicity, a rough straight forwardness, a sense of social equality and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man." There were no social distinctions among the people and Maratha women added to the strength and patriotism of men.

According to Elphinstone, "They (the Marathas) are all active, laborious, hardy and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajputs, they have none of their indolence or want of worldly wisdom. A Rajput warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Maratha thinks of nothing but the result, and cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose, he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures and hazard his person; but has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his interest, for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations; there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajput, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Maratha. The Rajput is the most

worthy antagonist—the Maratha the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them, or supply their place, by stratagem, activity and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery to whom more bad qualities might fairly be ascribed. The mere husbandmen are sober, frugal and industrious, and, though they have a dash of a national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere."

(2) **Bhakti movement.** The spread of the Bhakti movement in Maharastra inculcated the spirit of oneness among the Marathas. The main teachings of the leaders were Bhakti or devotion to God and equality of all believers before God without any distinction of class or birth. The Bhakti movement united the people of Maharashtra in a common love of man and faith in one God. The important leaders of the Bhakti movement were Tukaram[1], Ramdas, Vaman Pandit and Eknath. Ram Das Samarth was considered by Shivaji as his Guru and he exercised a tremendous influence over his countrymen. He rendered yeoman's service by carrying out social reforms. In his book called Dasa Bodh, Ram Das taught the philosophy of *Karma* or action. He was not only a religious preacher but also a nation-builder.[3] The effect of the Bhakti movement on the Maratha people is described by Justice Ranade in these words: "Like the Protestant reformation in Europe in the 16th century, there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries. The religious revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy, it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of pure heart and the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower order of society, tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers and even scavengers more often than Brahmins."[4]

(3) **Literature and Language.** The literature and language of the

1. According to Tukaram, "I shall sing the praises of God and gather together his saints. I shall evoke tears even from stones. I shall sing the holy name of God and dance and clap my hands with joy. I shall plant my feet on the brow of death.........I have discovered for you the path across the ocean of life. Come hither, come hither; come great and small; men and women. Take no thought and have no anxiety; I shall carry you all to the other shore. I bear with me certitude to carry you over in God's name!"

According to Namdeva, "The people, having found the Yavanas (Muslims) unendurable, are singing the praises of God, for they are even the means of our redemption."

2. According to Eknath, "If Sanskrit is derived from the gods, was the mother tongue born of thieves?"

3. According to Ranade, "Ramdas, more than any other saint of Maharashtra, called people's minds to the performance of duty while the heart was to be set on God.........No wonder that with this teaching he helped the formation of the Maratha kingdom, as no other saint had done before." His rallying cry was: "Places of pilgrimage have been descerated; homes of the Brahmans have been destroyed; the entire earth is agitated; Dharma is gone. Hence the Marathas should be mobilised; Maharashtra Dharma should be rallied and filled with a singleness of purpose; sparing no-effort, we should crash upon the Malecchas".

4. Rise and Growth of the Maratha Power.

Marathas also acted as a unifying force. The hymns of Tukaram were sung by all the classes and they served as a bond of unity among people who belonged to different sections of society. The songs in Marathi dialect and Marathi language played an important part. According to J.N. Sarkar, "Thus a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in the Maharashtra in the 17th century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the people was supplied by his creation of national state, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the Imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwas. Thus in the end a tribe—or a collection of tribes or castes—was fused into a nation, and by the end of the 18th century a Maratha people in the political and cultural senses of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained. Thus history has moulded society."

(4) Even before the appearance of Shivaji on the scene, the Marathas had acquired training in the art of administration and also in the military field.[1] This training the Marathas got in the Muslim states in the Deccan. The Marathas were employed in the Revenue Department of the States. Some of them were appointed even Ministers by the Mohammadan rulers. Murar Rao, Madan Pandit and many members of the Raj Rai family filled from time to time the posts of ministers and Diwans in the Golconda State. Narso Kale and Yesu Pandit were other important persons who served with distinction in the state of Bijapur. Brahman ambassadors were employed on diplomatic duties by the rulers of Ahmednagar. The Maratha Siledars and Bargirs were employed first of all in the Bahmani kingdom and later on in the five states into which it was broken up. The training thus acquired in arms and civil administration brought to the Marathas education, power and wealth. It is a matter of history that a very prominent part was played in the politics of Ahmednagar and Bijapur by the Maratha jagirdars, Shahji Bhonsla and Murar Rao Jogdev in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. It has rightly been stated that "the nominal Mohammadan rulers of Golconda, Bijapur, Bidar etc., were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha statesmen and Maratha warriors and the hill forts near the Ghats and the country thereabout were in the hands of Maratha jagirdars who were only nominally dependent upon these Mohammadan sovereigns."

Shivaji's Early Life. It was in this atmosphere that Shivaji was born in April 1627. His father's name was Shahji Bhonsla and his mother's name was Jijabai. Shahji Bhonsla had played a very important part in the politics of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Jijabai was the daughter of Jadhav Rao, the greatest Maratha jagirdar of his time and a descendent of the Yadev rulers of Dogiri. Both from the side of his father and mother, Shivaji was highly connected. Shivaji's mother exercised a tremendous influence on her son. She

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1. According to Dr. Beni Prasad, "The chief importance of the Deccan campaigns of the Mughals lies in the opportunities of military training and political power which they afforded to the Marathas. Malik Ambar, who was as great a master of the art of guerilla warfare as Shivaji himself, stands at the head of the builders of the Maratha nationality. His primary object was to serve the interest of his own master, but unconsciously he nourished into strength a power which more than avenged the injuries of the South on the northern power."

was a very pious lady and she did a lot to mould the character of her son. She taught her son the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the acts of bravery on the part of the Hindu warriors in the past. She by "her example and teaching did much to stimulate the zeal of her famous son in defence of Brahmins, cows and caste, the three principal objects of Hindu venerations." According to Justice Ranade, "If ever great man owned their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jijabai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivaji's career, and the chief source of his strength."

Dadaji Kondadev also played an important part in the life of Shivaji. He was the administrator of the estates of Shivaji's father in Poona. The administrator loved Shivaji as his son. He gave him training in the art of riding, fighting etc. He also taught him the art of administration.

Both Ram Das and Tuka Ram had their influence on the life of Shivaji. Ram Das was virtually regarded by Shivaji as his Guru or spiritual guide or philosopher. The Guru Mantra or the sacred formula which Ram Das whispered into the ears of Shivaji was the love of his country and nation. "Mother and mother country are dearer than heaven itself. Gods and cows, Brahmins and the faith, these are to be protected; therefore, God has raised you up; when faith is dead, death is better than life; why live when religion has perished? Gather ye, therefore, the Marathas together; make the dharma live again; for otherwise our forefathers will laugh at us from Heaven."

Such was the training and such was the environment in which Shivaji started his work. In his youth, he made himself thoroughly familiar with the hilly country around Poona. He also mixed freely with the Mawali chiefs of his own age. Their friendship proved of great value to him later on. He got his best soldiers from them. The Mawalis were hardy and brave people and were well-acquainted with every nook and corner of the country. This helped them a great deal when they were pursued by the Mughals and the forces of Bijapur.

Conquests. Shivaji started his career of conquests and progress at the early age of 19. According to Rawlinson, "There seems to be little doubt that his career was inspired by a real desire to free his country from what he considered to be a foreign tyranny, and not by a mere love of plunder." According to Sarkar, "A career of independence was no doubt risky to Shivaji, but it had undreamt of advantages to compensate for the risk if only he could succeed." Shivaji took advantage of the confusion prevailing in Bijapur and in 1646 captured the fort of Torna. After this, the fort of Raigarh was captured and almost wholly rebuilt. Then he snatched Supa from his uncle, Shambhaji Mohite. After the death of Dadaji Kondadev, Shivaji took over the whole of the estate of his father. He also brought the forts of Baramati and Indapura under his direct control. He also captured Purandhar and Kondana. When these activities of Shivaji came to the notice of the ruler of Bijapur, it was decided to take action against him, but the matter was hushed up on account of the intervention of the ministers who represented that those forts were captured for the protection of the family jagir.

After this Shivaji directed his attention towards the Konkan.

The Marathas under Abaji Sonder took possession of the important town of Kalyan in that region. After that, Abaji marched southwards in the Kolaba district. This was a little too much for the Bijapur Darbar. Once again, it was decided to take action against Shivaji. According to J.N. Sarkar, the father of Shivaji had already been degraded and imprisoned and his Jagir confiscated owing to his insubordination to the Bijapur Commander Nawab Mustafa Khan during the siege of Jinji by the Bijapuri troops. Another view is that the father of Shivaji was imprisoned on the ground that he had connived at the acts of aggression of his son. Shivaji did not want to do anything which might endanger the life of his father. He gave up his raids for the time being. He also negotiated with prince Murad, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan and expressed a wish to join Mughal service. The Government of Bijapur was alarmed at the diplomatic move of Shivaji and ordered the release of his father. The release was also due to the good offices of certain Muslim nobles of Bijapur. The names of Sharza Khan and Randula Khan are noteworthy in this connection. Shahji was released in 1649. As the release was conditional, Shivaji kept quiet for six years, *i.e.*, from 1649 to 1655. This time was utilised by him in consolidating his power and re-organising his administration.

Struggle with Bijapur (1657-62). In November 1656, Mohammad Adil Shah of Bijapur breathed his last and was succeeded by a youngman of 18. At this time, Aurangzeb was the Governor of the Deccan and he decided to fish in the troubled waters. With the help of Mir Jumla, he conquered Bidar, Kalyani and Parinda in 1657. The Bijapur Darbar made peace with Aurangzeb by surrendering certain districts and agreeing to pay a huge war indemnity. What saved Bijapur was the fact that Aurangzeb had to divert his attention towards Northern India with a view to take part in war of succession which followed in the wake of the illness of Shah Jahan in September 1657.

Shivaji and Afzal Khan (1659). As there was no danger from the Mughals, the Government of Bijapur decided to take action against Shivaji. A huge army was collected and Afzal Khan was commissioned to bring back the rebel (Shivaji), dead or alive. Afzal Khan boasted that he would bring the mountain-rat in chains. When he reached the field of operations, he found that fighting in the mountainous country was extremely difficult. Consequently, he decided to send Krishnaji Bhaskar to Shivaji with certain tempting offers. When Shivaji got the letter, he found himself on the horns of a dilemma. He treated the envoy with great kindness and met him at night and appealed to him as a Hindu to tell him the real intention of Afzal Khan. Krishnaji merely hinted that Afzal Khan meant mischief. This was enough for Shivaji and he decided to be on his guard. Military preparations were made to meet the situation that might arise.

Shivaji and Afzal Khan met at the appointed place. Afzal Khan embraced Shivaji and then suddenly tightened his clasp and held the neck of Shivaji in his left arm with an iron grip. With his right hand, Afzal Khan tried to run Shivaji through with his sword. However, the armour that Shivaji was putting on saved him from the blow. Then came the turn of Shivaji. With the help of the "tiger claws" (Baghnakh) fastened to his left hand, Shivaji forced Afzal Khan to relax his grip and after that he stabbed him with his dagger. After this, the attendants of Afzal Khan and Shivaji exchanged

blows. Afzal Khan lost his life and the Maratha troops, which were in readiness, pounced upon the Muslim troops and massacred them mercilessly.

Th question has been raised as to how far the murder of Afzal Khan by Shivaji was justified. According to Khafi Khan, Shivaji was guilty of treachery and deceit. Grant Duff has also followed him. However, modern researches have shown that Shivaji did everything in self-defence. This is what the records of the English factories show. Instead of allowing himself to be killed by Afzal Khan, he killed him instead. There has been a controversy as to who struck the first blow. It has been finally decided that Afzal Khan was the aggressor.

According to J.N. Sarkar, "To the Marathas the fight with Afzal has always appeared as at once a war of national liberation and a crusade against the desecrator of temples. To them Afzal Khan typifies the bold bad man who combines treachery with frightfulness and defies God and man alike. Their historians from the earliest times have seen no element of murder in the incident, but always described it as glorious example of the sagacity, courage and agility with which their national hero averted a treacherous plot against his own life, made the treachery recoil on the plotter's head and avenged the outraged shrines of their gods."

The failure of the expedition of Afzal Khan led to the conquest of the countries southward to Panhala and along the banks of the Krishna. Another army was sent by the Government of Bijapur against Shivaji, but that also met with the same fate. Shivaji was able to carry his armies to the very gates of Bijapur. His generals captured Bijapur and Dabhal. A third expedition did not fare any better. The fourth army of Bijapur was commanded by the Shah of Bijapur himself. In spite of that, nothing substantial was gained and the war dragged on for more than a year. Ultimately, the Government of Bijapur entered into negotiations for peace. Shivaji was recognized as the ruler of the territories in his possession and there the matter ended.

Shivaji and the Mughals. Shivaji did not spare even the Mughals. He started attacking those provinces which were a part of the Mughal territory. Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, was not prepared to take it lying. In 1660, he sent Shayista Khan as the Governor of the Deccan and instructed him to put a check on the activities of Shivaji. Shayista Khan was able to defeat the Marathas at a few places. He also captured a few forts belonging to Shivaji. However, the Maratha troops made the lives of the Mughal soldiers a hell. The latter did not know how to deal with such enemies. Shayista Khan decided to spend the rainy season at Poona. Unfortunately, he took up his residence in that very house in which Shivaji had spent his childhood and consequently was acquainted with every nook and corner of the place. Shivaji hit upon a bold plan. He entered the city of Poona at night with 400 followers in the form of a marriage party and attacked the residence of Shayista Khan. Shayista Khan was fast asleep at that time. He was roused by one of his slave girls. Before he could strike, his thumb was cut off by Shivaji. The son of Shayista Khan was surrounded and killed. After finishing their work, the Marathas ran away (April, 1663). The attack was a comp-

lete success. That added to the prestige of Shivaji.[1] Next morning when Raja Jaswant Singh went to see Shayista Khan, the latter remarked thus: "I thought the Maharaja had died fighting for me in the last night's attack." It was suspected that Raja Jaswant Singh had his hand in the attack. Aurangzeb was so much upset that he called Shayista Khan from the Deccan in December 1663 and appointed him the Governor of Bengal.

Attack on Surat (1664). Shivaji attacked Surat with 4,000 picked men who were fully armed. A lot of booty was carried away from the town. The English and Dutch factories were able to defend themselves and were saved.

Jai Singh and Shivaji. Aurangzeb deputed Raja Jai Singh to deal with Shivaji. Prince Muazzam at that time was the Governor of the Deccan. Jai Singh relieved Jaswant Singh in March 1665 and started preparations for an attack on the territories of Shivaji. Shivaji was surrounded on all sides. Even Raigarh, the seat of Shivaji's Government, was threatened. The flying columns of the Mughals destroyed the Maratha villages. Finding himself helpless, Shivaji decided to come to terms with Jai Singh. With that object in view, Shivaji visited the camp of Jai Singh and entered into the Treaty of Purandhar in June 1665. According to this treaty, Shivaji surrendered 23 of his forts and retained only 12 for himself. His son Sambhaji was to be created a Panj Hazari Mansabdar and he was to be given a jagir. Shivaji was not to be forced to attend the Mughal court like other Mansabdars. However, he promised to render military help to Aurangzeb in his wars in the Deccan. Shivaji agreed to pay 40 lakhs of Huns to Aurangzeb in 13 annual instalments if his possession of certain lands yielding 4 lakhs of Huns a year in the Konkan and 5 lakhs of Huns in a year in the Balaq was confirmed. It was expected that Shivaji would occupy those lands with his own soldiers. Shivaji also agreed to help the Mughals in their attack of Bijapur.

The Treaty of Purandhar was regarded to be a great diplomatic victory for Jai Singh. Shivaji joined the Mughals in their war against Bijapur, although the war was not a success, Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to visit the Mughal court. According to Sardesai, Shivaji agreed to go to Agra because he wanted to have personal knowledge of Aurangzeb, his court and the sources of his strength. According to J.N. Sarkar, Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to visit the Mughal court by holding out very high hopes to him. He also took up personal responsibility for his safety at the capital. It goes without saying that a visit to the Mughal capital was a dengerous one, but in spite of that Jai Singh succeeded in his efforts to send Shivaji to Agra.

Shivaji and his son Sambhaji reached Agra in May 1666. However, they were not shown the respect which they expected. This upset Shivaji and there was an exchange of words between him and

1. According to J.N. Sarkar, "The daring and cunning of Maratha hero were rewarded by an immense increase of his prestige. He was taken to be an incarnation of Satan; no place was believed to be proof against his entrance and no feat impossible for him. The whole country talked with astonishment and terror of the almost superhuman deed done by him; and there was bitter humiliation and sorrow in the Emperor's court and family circle at this disaster to his maternal uncle and the 'premier peer' (Amir-ul-Umara) of his empire".

Aurangzeb. "Thus, Shivaji's high hopes were dashed to pieces and he found himself a prisoner instead." However, Shivaji did not give up hope. He made up his mind to find out an excuse to escape from Agra. He pretended to be ill and started sending baskets of sweets for distribution among the Brahmins and the poor. These baskets were watched for some time by the guards but later on, the watch was relaxed. Shivaji took advantage of this and escaped along with his son in these baskets. He managed to reach Maharashtra by following a circuitous route. There was great rejoicing among the Marathas. It was a national deliverance, as providential, as it was romantic. Aurangzeb suspected Jai Singh and recalled him. The latter died on his way in July 1667.

The Mughals were not in a position to deal with Shivaji. They were busy with the Afghan risings in the North-West "which taxed the imperial strength for more than a year." Prince Muazzam was weak and indolent and Raja Jaswant Singh was friendly towards Shivaji. The result was that there was not much to fear from the Mughals. In 1668-69, Shivaji occupied himself with the reorganisation of his internal administration. Jaswant Singh and Muazzam persuaded Aurangzeb to grant the title of Raja to Shivaji. His son Shambhaji was also made a Mansabdar of 5,000. Shivaji was also given a Jagir in Berar.

After a brief respite, war started once again in 1670 between Shivaji and the Mughals. Many of the disbanded soldiers from the Mughal army joined Shivaji. The result was that Shivaji was able to capture many forts and thereby add to his dominions. In December, 1670, the officers of Shivaji got from the two local authorities of certain districts in Khandesh written promises to pay Chauth to Shivaji.

In 1670, Shivaji plundered Surat for the second time and was able to secure a booty Rs. 66 lacs. In 1672, the Marathas got Chauth from Surat. Between 1670 and 1674, the Marathas got successes everywhere. The Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled.

In 1674, Shivaji got himself coronated at Raigarh according to the Vedic rites. He became the sovereign ruler of Maharashtra. A new era was also started. Unfortunately, Shivaji did not live long. His reign lasted only for six years. In 1676, Shivaji planned and began to direct operations in the South. Before his death in 1680, he was able to capture Jinji, Vellor and many other important forts. The expedition to Jinji has been described as "the most important expedition of Shivaji's life.

At the time of his death, Shivaji's kingdom or Swaraj comprised the Western Ghats and the Konkan between Kalyan and Goa, with some districts to the East of the mountains. The provinces in the South comprised the Western Karnatak extending from Belgaum to the bank of the Tungbhadra, opposite to the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. Vellore, Jinji and a few other districts were not settled at the time of his death.

Shivaji's administrative system. According to Rawlinson, "Like nearly all great warriors—Napoleon is a conspicuous example—Shivaji was also a great administrator, for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those which are required by the successful organiser and statesman." In theory, Shivaji was an autocrat like his contemporaries. He could do what he pleased. However, he was

assisted by a Council of 8 ministers known as the Ashta Pradhan. It is absolutely misleading to say that Ashta Pradhan was like a modern cabinet. Its functions were purely advisory. The eight ministers were the following:—

(1) The Peshwa or Prime Minister whose duty was to look after the general welfare and interests of the state.

(2) The Amatya or Finance Minister whose duty was to check and countersign all public accounts of the Kingdom in general and the particular districts.

(3) The Mantri or Chronicler whose duty was to keep a diary of the daily doings of the King and also record everything that happened at the court. He was also called Wakia-Nawis.

(4) Summant or Dabir or Foreign Secretary whose duty was to advise the King on matters relating to foreign states and all questions of war and peace. He was also to see foreign ambassadors and envoys and keep touch with the state of affairs in other states.

(5) Sachiv or Shuru Nawis or Home Secretary whose duty was to look after the correspondence of the King. He was to see that all royal letters and dispatches were drafted in the proper style. He had the authority to revise them. He also checked the accounts of the Parganas.

(6) Pandit Rao or Danadhyaksha or Sadar and Muhtasib or Ecclesiastical Head whose duty was to fix dates for religious ceremonies, punish hearsay and distribute among the Brahmins the charity of the King. He was the judge of canon law and censor of public morals.

(7) Nyayadhis or Chief Justice who was responsible for civil and military justice.

(8) Senapati or Sari Naubat or Commander-in-Chief who was in charge of the recruitment, organisation and discipline of the Army. He arranged disposition of the troops in the battle-field.

It is to be noted that with the exception of the Nyayadhish and Pandit Rao, all other ministers were required to command armies and lead expeditions. "All royal letters, charters and treaties had to bear the seal of the King and the Peshwa and the endorsement of the next four ministers, *i.e.*, other than the Commander-in-Chief, the Ecclesiastical Head and the Chief Justice. There were 18 departments of the state and those were under the charge of the various ministers who worked under the supervision and guidance of the King.

Local Government. Shivaji divided his kingdom into four provinces and a Viceroy was appointed for each. The provinces were divided into a number of Prants. The system of granting Jagirs was abolished and Shivaji started the system of paying the officers in cash. Even when the revenues of a particular place were assigned to any official, his only concern was with the money and he had no control over the people. It was laid down that no office was to be hereditary.

Army. Shivaji was a military genius and no wonder he took pains to put the army on an efficient footing. It was the practice of the Marathas to work for half the year upon their field and to spend the dry season in the saddle on active service. Such a system was

considered to be defective by Shivaji and he introduced the system of keeping a regular standing army. During the rainy season, it was provided with quarters and the soldiers were given regular salaries for the whole year. Regular grades were fixed up. In the case of cavalry, the unit was formed by 25 troopers. Over 25 troopers was placed one Havaldar. Over 5 Havaldars was placed one Jumladar and over 10 Jumladars was placed one Hazari. Other higher ranks were the Five Hazari and the Sari Naubat of cavalry or Supreme Commander. For every 25 troopers, there was a water-carrier and a farrier. The cavalry was divided into two classes: the Bargirs and the Shiledars. The Bargirs were supplied with horses and arms by the state and the Shiledars had to find their own equipment.

The infantry was divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. The smallest unit was formed by 9 soldiers who were under a Naik. Over 5 Naiks was placed a Havaldar and over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumladar. Over 10 Jumladars was placed a Hazari and over 7 Hazaris was placed a Sari Naubat.

Both Hindus and Muslims were recruited in the army without any distinction. Soldiers were paid in cash and had full confidence in their leaders. Those soldiers who showed bravery, were rewarded. Shivaji was able to attract a large number of persons from different parts of the country on account of his appreciation of worth.

Forts played a very important part in the military organisation. Garrisons of forts were carefully selected. Great care was taken to keep the troops disciplined. Every fort was placed under three officers of equal status *viz.*, the Havaldar, the Sabnis and the Sari Naubat.

Shivaji built a considerable fleet which was stationed at Kolaba. He checked the power of the Abyssinian pirates of Janjira. It also plundered the rich Mughal ships.

Shivaji was very anxious to maintain discipline in the army. Women were not allowed to go with the army. The baggage was restricted to the minimum. The following were some of the regulations of the army: "The army should return to cantonments in the home territory during the rainy season. Grain, fodder and medicines were to be stored for the horses and thatched huts for the troopers. Soon after Dashehra, the army marched out of the cantonments and for eight months it subsisted in foreign territories. No women, female slaves or dancing girls should be permitted. Any one breaking the rule should be put to death. Women and children of the enemy should be protected. Brahmins were to be let alone and should not be accepted as sureties, when contributions were levied from conquered country. Precious articles seized by the troops during their sojourn abroad should be sent to the treasury. Those who kept back anything should be severely dealt with." According to Khafi Khan, Shivaji "laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered the goods of poor people, pulsiyah (copper money) and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; that other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined jems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers and to be paid over by them to Shivaji's Government." It is stated that on the occasion of the sack of Surat, the Marathas did not touch cloth, copper untensils and other insignificant articles.

Fiscal System. Shivaji abolished the system of taxing of farmers. A direct arrangement was made by the Government with cultivators. According to Sarkar, "The Ryots were not subjects to the authority of the Zamindars, Deshmukhs and Desais who had no right to exercise the powers of a political superior or harass the Ryots. The land was carefully surveyed with the help of a measuring rod or Kathi. The share of the state was fixed at 30% of the produce but later on it was increased to 40% when other taxes were abolished. The cultivator was allowed to pay in cash or in kind according to his sweet will. The amount of money to be paid was fixed and consequently there was not much chance of their oppression. The state encouraged agriculture. We are told that in times of famine, the Government advanced money and grain to the cultivators which were to be paid back in instalments later on. Fryer has condemned the revenue system of Shivaji and according to him there was oppression of the peasants. "The great fish prey on the little and even Bijapur rule was milder than that of Shivaji." It is admitted that Shivaji was very strict in the matter of realisation of land revenue so that much discretion may not be left in the hands of the officers for oppression or favouritism. It is admitted on all hands that Shivaji's system was humane and beneficent and according to Grant Duff, Shivaji's claim to "a high rank in the page of history must be admitted."

Shivaji started the system of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. According to Justice Ranade, the Chauth was not a military courtribution without any moral or legal obligation. It was a payment in lieu of protection against the invasion of a third power. Ranade compared the system of Chauth with the system of subsidiary alliances of Wellesley and added that "the demand for Chauth was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression on payment of fixed sums for the troops maintained for such services. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji and it was the same idea which in Marquis of Wellesley's hands bore such fruit a hundred and twenty years later."

Sir J.N. Sarkar holds a different opinion. According to him, "the payment of the Chauth merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or any internal disorder. The Marathas looked only to their own gain and not to the fate of their prey after they had left. The Chauth was only a means of buying off one robber, and not a subsidiary system for the maintenance of peace and order against all enemies. The lands subject to the Chauth cannot, therefore, be rightly called spheres of influence."

According to Sardesai, the great Maratha historian, the Chauth was a tribute realised from hostile or rival territories. Such a system prevailed in Western India even before the advent of Shivaji. Shivaji got Chauth from the countries invaded by him with the promise that he would protect them from other foreign invaders.

According to Dr. Sen, the author of "*Administrative system of the Marathas*", Chauth was a contribution exacted by a military leader. Such a demand was justified by the circumstances of the times. In theory, the Chauth was one-fourth of the revenue of a district invaded by the Marathas. According to Sarkar, "As this paper assess-

ment was always larger than the actual collection, the real incidence of the Chauth was considerably more than one fourth of what the peasants paid to their legitimate sovereign.

The term "Desai" is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit word "Desaswami" or Deshmukh. Sardeshmukh was over many Deshmukhs or Desais. He was paid for his services and that payment was called Serdeshmukhi. Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country and consequently demanded an additional levy of 10% as Sardeshmukhi. However, it cannot be denied that it was merely a legal fiction.

Justice. The administration of justice was of a primitive nature. No regular courts were set up and no regular procedure was laid down. The Panchayats continued to decide disputes in the villages. The system of ordeals was common. Criminal cases were tried by the Patels. Appeals in both civil and criminal cases were heard by the Nyavadhish who was guided by the Smritis. Hazir Majlis was the final Court of appeal.

Estimate of Shivaji. It goes without saying that Shivaji possessed a creative genius of a very high order. From the son of a petty Jagirdar in a Muslim state, he rose to the position of a Chhatrapati. He brought order out of chaos and welded the Marathas into nation. The Marathas regarded him as a "superman, a divine agency to free them from the yoke of Muslims". He had a very high standard of morality. Although he was illiterate, he was capable of understanding the most complicated problems of Government. Both in diplomacy and statecraft, he had no equal. He was a very religious-minded man but this does not mean that he was a bigot. He respected the Muslim saints also and gave lands and annuities to Muslim shrines. It is true that he fought against the Muslims, but he stopped the war as soon as they accepted his overlordship. Khafi Khan describes Shivaji as "a father of fraud" and "a sharp son of the devil". But even he admits that Shivaji had "made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mohammedan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with their ransom to buy their liberty." Again, "Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of people in his territories. He preserved in a course of rebellion, plundering caravans and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Mohammedans, when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict and any one who disobeyed them received punishment."

Shivaji "had the born leader's personal magnetism and therw a spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers, while his dazzling victories and ever-ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his successes, as his selection of general and governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault, and his administration, both civil and military, was unrivalled for efficiency."

According to Rawlinson, "His was a dark and violent age and

at least Shivaji's hands were not stained like those of Aurangzeb with the blood of his kindred. He was never deliberately or wantonly cruel. To respect women, mosques and non-combatants, to stop promiscuous slaughter after the battle, to release and dismiss with honour captured officers and men—these are surely no light virtues."

According to Jadunath Sarkar, "No blind fanatic, no mere brigand can found a state. There can be no denying the fact that he was, as the ancient Greeks would have called him, a king among man—one endowed with the divine instinct or genius." Again, "Unlike Ranjit Singh and Mahdaji Sindhia he built up an administrative system and raised a national army without any foreign help. His institutions lasted long and were looked up to with admiration and emulation even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwas' rule." Shivaji was not "an entrepreneur of rapine of a Hindu edition of Ala-ud-Din Khilji or Timur." According to Sarkar again, "Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccani Kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation and he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty powers like the Mughal Empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India and the Abyssinians of Janjira. No other Hindu has shown such capacity in modern times. The materialistic Maratha authors of the Bhakhars have given us a list of Shivaji's legacies—so many elephants, horses, soldiers, slaves, jewels, gold and silver and even spices and raisins! But they have not mentioned Shivaji's greatest gift to posterity, *viz.*, the new life of the Maratha race." To quote Sarkar again, Shivaji was "not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius of medieval India," and "the memory of a true 'here as king' like Shivaji remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race—to animate the heart, to kindle imaginaion and to inspire the brain of succeeding ages to the highest endeavours."

According to Elphinstone, "Though the son of a powerful chief, he had begun life as a daring and artful captain of banditti, had ripened into a skilful general and an able statesman, and left a character which has never since been equalled or approached by any of his countrymen. The distracted state of the neighbouring countries presented openings by which an inferior leader might have profited; but it required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangzeb, by kindling a zeal for religion, and, through that, a national spirit among the Marathas. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it had passed into feeble hands and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders, until it had established its supremacy over the greater part of India. Though a predatory war, such as he conducted, must necessarily inflict extensive misery, his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced. His devotion latterly degenerated into extravagances of superstition and austerity, but seems never to have obscured his talents or soured his temper." (Pp. 167-8, *Aurangzeb.*)

According to Grant Duff, "The territories and the treasures, however, which Shivaji acquired, were not so formidable to the Mughals as the example he had set, the system and habits he had introduced and the spirit he had infused into a large proportion of the Maratha people."

According to Sarkar again, "To the Hindu world in that age of renewed persecution, Shivaji appeared as the star of a new hope, the protector of the ritualistic paint-mark (*Tilak*) on the forehead of the Hindus and the Saviour of the Brahmins. His court, as later his son's, became the rallying point of the opposition to Aurangzeb. The two rivals were both supermen, but contrast in character."

The greatness of Shivaji has been expressed in the following couplets :

(1) The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire.

(2) The corrupt Muslims have become now kings,
Everywhere misdeeds have cropped up,
Then He incarnated Himself
To remove the sins of this dark age.

Shivaji and Hindu Empire. According to Sardesari, the object of Shivaji was not merely to free the Hindus of Maharashtra but also to set freedom for all the Hindus living in various parts of India. Sardesai has given many reasons for his view. According to him, Shivaji's main object was to secure religious freedom for the Hindus and not territory. In 1645, he wrote to Dadaji Naras Prabhu about his scheme of "Hindavi-Swarajya." The scheme aimed at religious autonomy for the Hindus all over India. After the death of Shivaji, his ideal and ambition were interpreted in that light by the Marathas. Moreover, "Shivaji's levy of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was conceived in the spirit of an all-India instrument of expansion." Shivaji decided to go to Agra with the object of studying the conditions in Northern India and find out the possibility of overthrowing the Mughal Empire. His desire to regenerate the Hindus is supported by the fact that he developed land and sea forces and set aside the prejudice against sea-voyages. Shivaji also encouraged the readmission into the Hindu society of Hindu converts to Islam. He did not fight with the Rajput chiefs and tried to maintain good relations with them.

However, this view is not accepted by the other historians. It is pointed out that it was impossible to secure religious autonomy for the Hindus so long as the Mughal Empire was not destroyed. There is nothing to show that he entertained any ambition to be the leader of the Hindus of India. He had no definite scheme of an alliance with other Hindus of India against the Mughals. It is well-known that Shivaji did not avail of the services of Chhatrasal Bundla who came to help him. It is evident that Shivaji was not trying to set an all-India Hindu Empire.

Weakness in Shivaji's System. In spite of the efforts of Shivaji, his Empire did not last long. It was a military organisation like that of Ranjit Singh and Ala-ud-Din Khilji and was destroyed within a decade of his death. There were many causes responsible for it. Like Babur, the reign of Shivaji was very short and throughout all this period he had to fight against the enemies and consequently he had no time to consolidate his position. The Maratha society was such as could be reformed by the patient and sustained efforts of selfless workers for years. There were constant disputes among the Marathas with regard to the distribution of Watan or hereditary land. When Shivaji became supreme, he had to decide those cases and while doing so, he gave decisions against certain parties. These

parties became his enemies and joined hands with his enemies. This fact gave a lot of trouble to Shivaji all his life. The large number of castes in Maharastra in the 17th century also created dissensions among the Marathas and stood in the way of their solidarity. The Brahmins hated the non-Brahmins and were themselves sub-divided into Desh Brahmins, Konkan Brahmins and Chitpavan Brahmins. The Brahmins quarrelled among themselves. Moreover, the success of Shivaji brought about the supremacy of Hindu orthodoxy. The upper classes put emphasis on ceremonial purity, and this created a division between the rich and the poor. According to Jadunath Sarkar, "Shivaji's political success sapped the main foundation of that success. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu Swaraj was based on orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own death." According to Rabindra Nath Tagore, "A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over the country and we imagine that it has been united; but the rents and holes in our body-social do their work secretly; we cannot retain any noble idea long. Shivaji aimed at preserving the rents; he wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu society to which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over all India! He wove ropes of sand; he attempted the impossible. It is beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the Swaraj of such a caste-ridden, isolated, internally torn sect over a vast continent like India." Moreover, no well-considered attempt was made to educate the people of Maharastra and to improve their intellect and character. The ignorance of the masses was a great obstacle in the way of the success of the Maratha nation. To quote J.N. Sarkar, "There was no attempt at well-thought-out and communal improvement, spread of education or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the people in the Maratha state was not organic but artificial, accidental and, therefore, precarious. It was soley dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen among its rulers." Moreover, a government of personal discretion is uncertain and has a fatal effect on administration. "However well-planned the machinery and rules might be, the actual conduct of the administration was marred by inefficiency, sudden changes of personal and official corruption, because nobody felt secure of his post or of the due appreciation of his merit."

Sambhaji (1680-89). After the death of Shivaji, Sambhaji, his eldest son, ascended the throne. He was a man of loose character and spent all his time in merry-making. He completely ignored the work of re-organisation of the Marathas. When Aurangzeb was busy in his campaigns against Bijapur and Golconda, he and his followers did not take full advantage of the opportunity. Nothing was done to harass the Mughal armies. When Bijapur and Golconda were conquered, Aurangzeb decided to deal with the Marathas. Many of their forts were captured and Sambhaji moved to Sangameshwar. He wasted a lot of his precious time at that place. The result was that Muqarrab Khan, the Mughal general, made a surprise attack and captured him along with his friend Kavi Kulesh and their wives and daughters. The prisoners were brought in heavy chains to the Imperial camp. In the words of J.N. Sarkar, they were presented to Aurangzeb in the following manner: "Four miles outside the encampment, Sambhaji and Kavi Kulesh were adressed as buffoons with long

fool's caps and bells placed on their heads, mounted on camels, and brought to Bahadurgarh with drums beating and trumpets pealing... Hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the roads to gaze Sambhaji as a new kind of wild beast or demon. Thus degraded, the captives were slowly paraded through the entire camp and finally brought to the Emperor who was sitting in full Durbar for the occasion. At the sight of the prisoners Aurangzeb descended from his throne and kneeling down on the carpet bowed his head to the ground in double thankfulness to the Giver of this crowning victory. After he had looked at them, the captives were removed to prison."

Khafi Khan tells us that when Kavi Kulesh saw this devotion of Aurangzeb, he addressed verses to Sambhaji to this effect: "Oh Rajah, at the sight of these the king Alamgir, for all his pomp and dignity, cannot keep his seat upon the throne, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour." Another story is that Aurangzeb sent an officer to Sambhaji enquiring as to where the latter had hidden his treasure and which Mughal officers had intrigued with him. It is stated that Sambhaji abused Aurangzeb and the Prophet and demanded the hand of Aurangzeb's daughter as the price of his friendship. When all this was reported to Aurangzeb, he decided to take severe action against him and his followers. Consequently, Sambhaji and his followers were tortured and put to death in March 1689, "their limbs being hacked off one by one and their flesh thrown to the dogs." According to the custom of the Mughals, the heads of the culprits were stuffed with bran and were exposed in public in all the chief cities of the Deccan. Probably, Sambhaji deserved his fate. He had to pay heavily for his vices.

However, by his death, Sambhaji achieved what he had failed to do in life. The effect of his imprisonment and death was that the Marathas were united and they made up their minds to carry on a relentless struggle against the Mughals. The Mughals carried on their struggle with the Marathas with vigour and the result was that they were able to capture a large number of forts in a short period. Itiqad Khan conquered Raigarh and was also able to capture the family of Sambhaji including his son, Shahu. Raja Ram, a son of Shivaji by another wife, escaped in the guise of a Yogi and stationed himself in the fort of Jinji in the Karnatak.

Raja Ram (1689—1700). Raja Ram lacked the qualities of his father. He possessed neither the initiative nor the dash of Shivaji. He was hardly ten when his father died and he was kept a prisoner by his brother Sambhaji. The result was that he failed to get the education which was necessary for his status. However, he was fortunate in having brilliant advisers and helpers. Ram Chandra Pant and Parhlad Niraji were his advisers and they possessed exceptional ability. Shantaji and Dhanaji were two great warriors who carried out the plans and policy of Raja Ram. No wonder, the Marathas were able to have the upper hand over the Mughals in the time of Raja Ram. Raja Ram himself was addicted to opium and dissipation. He possessed the virtue of selecting the right type of minister and putting his trust in them. That was the main cause of his success.

Shantaji Ghorpare and Dhanaji Jadav, with their plundering hosts, ravaged the country. They cut off the Mughal convoys and spread terror and confusion everywhere. In spite of the fact that

an able general like Zulfikar Khan was sent to besiege Jinji in 1691, no better results could be achieved. This fort was one of the strongest forts in Southern India and no wonder Raja Ram was able to defy the Mughals. Zulfikar Khan, in spite of his handicaps, tried to take over the forts and provinces which were newly acquired. The siege was unusually prolonged and Prince Kam Baksh was recalled on account of his suspected behaviour. Likewise, Zulfikar Khan was recalled in 1694 on account of his failure. Many other generals were tried between 1694 and 1697. According to J.N. Sarkar, "Jinji became a centre of Maratha enterprise in the east coast, while their minister (notably Ram Chandra Pant) left at home organised resistance to the Mughals in the west. The difficulties of Aurangzeb were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central Government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha Government or state army for him to attack and destroy."

After 1690, the Marathas began to win victories. Two Mughal generals were defeated and captured. By 1695, two other Mughal generals were defeated. Those generals were Qasim Khan and Himmat Khan. The struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals was "no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal Empire and the indigenous people."

From 1695 to 1699, the Marathas under Shantaji and Dhanaji harassed the Mughals to such an extent that they were completely demoralised. According to Sarkar, "The Mughal administration had realy dissolved and only the presence of the emperor with all his troops in country held it together; but it was now a delusive phantom. Santa and Dhana were the heroes of this period; the initiative lay entirely with them and they upset every plan and calculation formed by the imperialists." However, Jinji was captured in January 1698 after a siege of 8 years. Before its capture, Raja Ram escaped to Satara where he organized a new state army and brought all the Maratha generals under his banner. He also levied Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from Khandesh, Berar and Baglana.

By October 1699, Aurangzeb was fed up with the mutual quarrels of the Mughal generals and he decided to conduct the campaign against the Marathas personally. In December 1699, Satara was besieged. Although vigorous efforts were made to capture the fort, no good result followed. Satara was captured after the death of Raja Ram in 1700.

Tara Bai (1700-7). After the death of Raja Ram, Karna, his son, came to the throne. However, he died after a few weeks on account of small pox. Tara Bai, Raja Ram's widow, put another son named Shivaji II on the throne and became herself the regent. Tara Bai was a vigorous lady. She took keen interest in the affairs of the State. She possessed a lot of knowledge of civil and military affairs. According to Khafi Khan, "She took vigorous measures for ravaging the imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six Subhas of the Deccan as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the Subhas of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of

his reign the power of the Marathas increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shah Jahan, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still their daring increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went...... Whenever the commander of the army hears of a large caravan, he takes six or seven thousand men and goes to plunder it. If the collector cannot levy the Chauth, the general destroys the towns. The headmen of the villages, abetted by the Marathas, make their own terms with the imperial revenue-officers. They attack and destroy the country as far as the border of Ahmedabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Deccan to the environs of Ujjain. They fall upon and plunder caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the imperial camp, and have even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure."

In addition to the capture of Satara, the Mughals got the forts of Parli (1700), Panhala (1701), Kondana (1701), Khelna (1702), Rajgarh and Torna (1704). Some were got by military valour and others by treachery and bribery. In 1705 was captured the fort of Wagingera which belonged to the Beràds. The inmates of the fort carried their women and children with them and set fire to all that was left behind. The result was that the Mughals got nothing in spite of their victory. The capture of Wagingera was the last military victory of Aurangzeb.

In spite of his best efforts, Aurangzeb failed to crush the spirit of the Marathas. On the other hand, the latter had become the masters of the situation and their resources increased on account of their raids and robberies. According to Manucci (1704), "the Maratha leaders and their troops move in these days with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time, they possess artillery, muskets, bows and arrows with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. They carry these to secure some repose from time to time. In short they were equipped and moved about just like the armies of the Mughals...only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion."

In 1703, the Marathas attacked Berar and in 1706, they invaded Gujrat and sacked Baroda. In the same year the Marathas thereatened the camp of Aurangzeb at Ahmednagar. Such was the Mughal state of affairs.

According to Manucci the entire land had become so much depopulated that neither fire nor light could be found in the course of a three or four days' journey. "In the Deccan there was no rain from 1702 to 1704, but instead plague prevailed. In these two years have expired over two millions of souls; fathers compelled by hunger, offering to sell their children for a quarter to half a rupee, and yet forced to go without food, finding no one to buy them."

Famine, pestilence and flood fought on the side of the Marathas. According to J.N. Sarkar, "The soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships in marching over flooded rivers and rain-soaked roads, porters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was chronic in the camp."

Tara Bai managed the affairs of the state in the name of her son Shivaji II. She was assisted in her work by Paras Ram Trimbak, Dhanaji Jadav and Shankerji Narayan. She moved from place to place with a view to guiding the Maratha operation against the Mughals. She was the very soul of the Maratha resistance. No amount of suffering could weaken her resolve. Her indomitable personality was responsible for the success of the Marathas.

According to J.N. Sarkar, "The difficulties of Aurangzeb were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha Government or State army for him to attack and destroy. It was not a simple military problem but had become a trial of endurances and resources between the Mughal Empire and indigenous people of the Deccan..... They were no longer a tribe of banditti or local rebels, but the one dominating factor of Deccan politics, the only enemy left to the Empire, and yet an enemy all pervasive, from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of that power."

Sahu (1707-49). After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughals tried to divide the Marathas. In 1707, Zulfikar Khan, the Governor of the Deccan, set Sahu free and the latter claimed the Government of the country from Tara Bai. Sahu had been captured in 1689 and kept in Mughal custody along with his mother. He was seven years of age at that time. He spent more than 18 years in captivity and got the training which could be available under the circumstances. Efforts were made to convert him but without much success.

When Sahu was released by the Mughals, there started a struggle between the two groups of the Marathas. Tara Bai declared that Sahu was an imposter and he had no right to the Kingdom which had been lost by his father Sambhaji. The present state was created by her husband Raja Ram and Shivaji II was the lawful ruler. She sent an army under Dhanaji to check the advance of Sahu and a battle was fought at Khed in November, 1707. Tara Bai was defeated and she retired to Kolhapur with her son Shivaji II. When Shivaji II died, his step-brother Sambhaji was put on the Gaddi of Kolhapur. Sahu was recognised as the ruler of the Marathas on the Gaddi of Satara.

The relations between Sahu and Sambhaji were not cordial. The latter was determined to get back half of Maratha territory for himself. Sambhaji went to the extent of hiring assassins to murder Sahu. However, in 1731, the Treaty of Warna was signed between Sahu and Sambhaji. According to it, Sahu gave to Sambhaji the Warna Mahal and all the districts known as Dotarfa along with the forts and military outposts to the south of confluence of the Warna and the Krishna. The fort of Kopal was also given to Sambhaji in exchange for Ratnagiri. All the forts and military outposts from the confluence of the Warna and the Krishna to that of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra to the south were given to him. From the Tungabhadra to Rameshwaram, half the territory was given to Sambhaji. In the Konkon, all the districts form Salsi to Panch Mahal were given to Sambhaji. Both the parties agreed to destroy the enemies

of each other and agreed to work together for the improvement of the Kingdom.

The Treaty of 1731 resolved the differences between Satara and Kolhapur and after that the relations between Sahu and Sambhaji remained cordial. Sambhaji paid many visits to Satara and he was very nicely treated by Sahu. Sambhaji died in 1760, 11 years after the death of Sahu.

According to Sardesai, Sahu was never a clever politician nor a capable commander. However, his commonsense and sympathetic heart helped him to detect those qualities in others and utilize them for the service of the state. He made the right selection of the right persons and gave them a free hand without grudge or hindrance. He advanced the interest of the ryots, brought barren tracts under cultivation, encouraged the plantation of trees, relieved the sufferings of the poor and removed many burdens of taxes. He considered himself one with the people. He freely mixed with them and shared their joys and sorrows. On the occasions of festivals, celebrations, dinners, etc., he took an active part with outsiders. Both the rich and the poor invited him to their marriages and other celebrations. He is rightly called by many writers as *Punya Shloke* (of pious memory). He succeeded in achieving brilliant results through a mild persuasive policy dictated by rigid justice and good-will to all. He had a winning personality. Few notable figures in history approach his personality in the rule of the heart.

Sahu had a soft corner in his heart for everyone who approached him. There was no tinge of caste prejudice in his nature or policy. Although he did not personally lead distant expeditions, he kept a close watch over the actions of his subordinate to whom he had allotted separate spheres of influence. He called them to account for any wrong or misdeed committed by them, reprimanded them, punished them, rewarded them, composed their quarrels and adjusted their disputes by calling them to his presence at Satara for personal explanation, or settlement.

According to Dr. Sinha, "Thus expired one of the kindest of men, most generous of kings and most god fearing of the religious-minded persons. His weaknesses are glaring. He had neither the strength of will nor the calibre of the statesmen to control critical situations. He was good affectionate, ease-loving and peaceful. But he possessed in plenty the rare gift of judging men and matters extremely accurately. He hardly ever erred in selecting his own men and in reposing confidence in them. His loving and frank disposition endeared him to all, and more than made up for his defeat. He was loyally served and devotedly regarded by all. He loved his relatives, officers and people equally dearly, and his good intentions won the hearts of all. He was worshipped in his country and passed away mourned by all.

"But his personality was a real force in the Maratha state. He was the symbol of its unity, and though each member of the confederacy ruled more or less in virtual independence, yet all of them had to obey the commands of the king. The obedience was not due to the actual authority that the king exercised as such, but partly to the individual who happened to be king at the time, that is to say, to the personality of Sahu, and partly to the tradition of the Hindus that the king, however worthless, should be regarded as an incarnation of God on earth. Sahu's authority was personal rather than

official. By this time the real powers of the king had changed hands, and he had lost the real initiative in matters of high policy, real control in matters of actual administration and real power, where the safety and integrity of the state were concerned. The king was now the sinking sun, and the Peshwa was the rising moon orbed in his light. So long therefore as the king Sahu lived, the Peshwa sincerely considered himself as his servant. That was due to Sahu's personality. But after him ensued a period of turmoil and trouble, the reign of a weak and worthless youth, who spent his lifetime in prison, and the Peshwa stepped into the vacant office of kingship and became the head of affairs both in fact and in name. Thus Sahu in spite of weaknesses was the king of the Marathas, but his successor Ramraja sank into insingnificance, and allowed the Peshwas to be supreme in the state." (pp. 251-52, *Rise of the Peshwas.*)

Ramraja (1749-77). Sahu I was succeeded by Ramraja. He was declared by Tarabai to be grandson of Rajaram who had lived in exile as an ordinary fellow. There was a struggle for power between Tarabai on the one side and Balaji Bajirao on the other. The Peshwa was not prepared to give up the power which he was enjoying. Tarabai captured Ramraja on 24th November, 1750 and made him a prisoner. This imprisonment continued upto 1763 when Tarabai herself died. To begin with, the Peshwa wanted to free Ramraja from the hands of Tarabai but later on a reconciliation was made between Tarabai and the Peshwa and on that occasion Tarabai declared that Ramraja was an imposter and not the real grandson of Rajaram. The result of this was that no respect was left in the eyes of the people for Ramraja. However, he was freed after 1763 and he spent the rest of his days in peace.

Sahu II (1777—1808). Ramraja was succeeded by his adopted son Sahu II. Sahu II was a youngman of strong build and took to his high position with high hopes of improving the lot of his family and serving the Maratha State so far as it lay in his power. However, he found that his position was very miserable. His allowances were cut down by Nana Phadnavis and many kinds of restrictions were imposed upon him and the members of his family. Although he was known as Chhatrapati, he was looked upon as a costly appendage with no assigned duty to perform. The only function left to him was to bestow the official robes of the Peshwaship whenever a new Peshwa succeeded.

Pratap Sinh (1808—1839). When Sahu II died in 1808, he was succeeded by his son Pratap Sinh. The relations between the Chhatrapti and Peshwa Bajirao were not cordial. The result was that on many occasions Pratap Sinh approached the British Government to help him against the Peshwa. When the Peshwa fell in 1818, Pratap Sinh was installed once again in his former position by the British. A small territory nearly equalling the present district of Satara was given to Pratap Sinh for his rule. On 25th September, 1819, a formal treaty was entered into between the British Government and Pratap Sinh. By that treaty, Pratap Sinh undertook not to hold any correspondence with the outside Powers. He was not to increase his forces but was to remain for ever loyal to the British Government.

To begin with, the relations between the British Government and Pratap Sinh were cordial and he was even honoured by the British

Government. However, later on the relations became strained and he was deposed on 4th September, 1839 without giving him an opportunity to explain his conduct. Pratap Sinh died in 1847. According to a contemporary Maratha writer, "He (Pratap Sinh) possessed a very keen intellect and an uncommon address. An expert rider and brave soldier, a pure generous heart, trained in the traditional lore, he quickly detected the merits and foibles of those he came in contact with. He adjudicated complicated disputes with exemplary impartiality and conducted the administration with firmness and regularity. He was ever disposed to forgive rather than to avenge. He was careful in his religious observances and took delight in relieving the misery of the poor and the oppressed."

Shahji (1839-48). Pratap Sinh was succeeded by his brother, Shahji Appasaheb. He was notoriously incompetent. However, he died childless on 5th April, 1848. No adoption was allowed and the state of Satara was annexed by the British Government. This annexation was one of the causes of the Mutiny of 1857.

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CHAPTER X

RISE AND GROWTH OF SIKH POWER

Guru Nanak (1469—1538). Guru Nanak was the founder of Sikhism. He was born in 1469 at a village called Talwandi, now called Nankana Sahib, in West Punjab. The name of his father was Mehta Kalu and that of his mother was Tripta. The name of his sister was Nanki. When he was seven, he was sent to the village school but it is stated that the child was always contemplating and consequently neither the Hindu nor the Muslim teachers were able to teach him much. His father asked him to look after his cattle and land, but he failed. He tried to put him in some trade but the son was more after *Sacha Sauda* or true bargaining than after making money. Instead of doing any business, he distributed the money among the needy persons. With a view to taking his son away from his unworldly tendencies, he married him with Sulakhni at the age of 15 and he had two sons. Even his marriage had no effect on him and he was sent to Sultanpur where his brother-in-law was working. He got the job of a Store-keeper and he performed his duties very honestly. In 1499, he got enlightenment in the River Baen near Sultanpur. After some time, he gave up his job and became an ascetic.

For about 30 years, Nanak wandered about learning and teaching on the way. His first tour lasted for about 12 years. He visited Eminabad, Kurukshetra, Hardwar, Banaras and Kamrup or Assam. During his second tour, he visited the Deccand and Ceylon. His third tour was to Kashmir and the Kailash Mountain. He is said to have visited Baghdad, Mecca and Medina. His last tour was confined to the Punjab. He visited Pakpattan, Depalpur, Kasur, Patti, Vairowal, Pasrur and Dera Baba Nanak. His last days were spent at Kartarpur near Dera Baba Nanak. He died in 1538. It is stated that once upon a time Guru Nanak and Mardana, his disciple, were arrested and thrown into prison by Babur. However, they were released when Babur came to know that the person arrested was a saintly man.

Teachings of Nanak. The main teachings for Guru Nanak, were the faith in one True Lord, the worship of the Name and the necessity of a Guru in the worship of the Name. According to Nanak, "There is but one God whose Name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn and self-existent. Through the favour of Guru repeat His Name. The True One was in the beginning, the True One was in the primal age. The True One is, was, O Nanak, the True One also shall be." Nanak put emphasis on the unity of God. No one could equal Him. God was unrivalled. God was above Vishnu, above Brahma, superior to Shiva and the creator of Rama and Krishna.

"God is immanent and transcendent. Nobody knows the limits of God. God alone knows how great He is. Nanak compares God to the beloved and says that God is in the heart of every individual. To quote him,

> "The light which is in everything is Thine, O Lord of light,
> From its brilliancy everything is brilliant."

Again,

> "This world is the True One's chamber;
> The True One's dwelling is therein.
> Some by His Order He absorbeth in Himself;
> Others by His Order He destroyeth."

Guru Nanak had belief in a personal and merciful God. Sincere devotion to God and a righteous life could help an individual to reach God. God helps his votaries in times of trouble. He lives in their hearts and if they surrender to him, he takes charge of them. God is omnipresent. There is no place for the worship of idols. The only way to please God is through surrender of self to Him. To quote Nanak, "Efface thyself, so shalt thou obtain the bridegroom." Passion (Kam), anger (Krodh), greed (Lobh), attachment(Moh) and pride (Hankar) are the five enemies of mankind.

Nanak put emphasis on the worship of the True Name. Repetition of the True Name (Sat Nam) was to be done with the greatest amount of devotion. To quote Nanak, "The Name is the God, the God of all gods. Some propitiate Durga, some Shiv, some Ganesh and some other gods; but the Guru's Sikhs worship the True Name and thus remove all obstacles to salvation." Nanak put too much emphasis on Sat Nam and his view was that those who did not repeat the Sat Nam could not be saved at all.

Nanak put emphasis on the importance of Guru for the realisation of God. To quote him, "Without the Guru, no one can obtain God, however long the matter be debated." Again, "Under the Guru's instruction, God's word is heard; under the Guru's instruction, its knowledge acquired; under the Guru's instruction, man learns that God is everywhere contained." With the help of Guru, man enjoys divine pleasure, he does not know any sorrow. Guru is the raft or the ladder of the Sikhs. Guru is found through divine grace.

Nanak put emphasis on *Karma* or good actions. He ridiculed the wearing of the sacred thread. He denounced all the external marks of holiness which were considered to be essential in those days. According to Khushwant Singh, "There are positive injunctions against austere asceticism involving renunciation of society, celibacy and penance. All the Gurus led normal family lives and discharged secular functions as householders as well as the spiritual mentors of their belief. The concept of righteous living is meaningless except in the context of the community. There is constant reference to being in the world but not worldly. The ideal is to achieve saintliness as a member of society and to have a spiritual existence with the necessary material requisites. According to Jupji,

> "Words do not the saint or sinner make,
> Action alone is written in the book of fate,
> What we sow that alone we take;
> O Nanak, be saved or forever transmigrate."

Again,

> "A man may load carts with books. He may lead men with books to take with him,
> Books may be put in boats; pits may be filled with them.
> A man may read books for months; he may read them for years.

He may read them for life; he may read them while he hath breath.
Nanak; only one word, God's name, would be of account.
All else would be senseless discussion of the proud."

Nanak condemned the caste system. According to him, "Castes are folly, names are folly." Again, "There is no Hindu and no Musalman."

Reference may be made to some other sayings of Guru Nanak.

"Practise humility, renounce pride, restrain the mind, remember God,
Be honest, watch, restrain the five evil passions, be content."

"Make continence thy furnace, resignation thy goldsmith.
Understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thy tools,
The fear of God thy bellows, austerities thy fire.
Divine love thy crucible, and melt God's name therein.
In such a true mint the Word shall be coined.
This is the practice of those on whom God looked with an eye of favour.
Nanak, the kind One by a glance maketh them happy."

"The sinners who have committed transgressions are bound and led away.
Their luggage of sins is so heavy that they cannot lift it.
The steep road ahead is dark, while the executioner walketh behind them.
In front is a sea of fire, how shall they cross it?
Ravens stand upon men's skulls, and peck at them fast as a shower of sparks.
Nanak, where shall men escape when the punishment is by God's order?"

Guru Nanak owed a lot of debt to Islam. This is clear from his words and thoughts. He was steeped in Sufi lore. It appears that his knowledge of the Vedic and Puranic literature was superficial. He was concerned more with the practical aspect of life and not with deep learning.

Reformer or Revolutionary. There are two views regarding the work of Guru Nanak. According to one school of thought Nanak was a reformer of Hinduism. This view is held by writers like Dr. G.C. Narang and Payne. According to the other view, Nanak was a revolutionary and the advocates of this view are Teja Singh, Kahn Singh and Macauliffe.

According to the first view, Guru Nanak belongs to the Bhakti school of thought in India. His teachings are practically the same as those of the other Bhakti reformers such as Kabir. Nanak did not attack the fundamentals of Hinduism but merely those bad practices which had crept into the Hindu society in the course of centuries. He did not show any disrespect to the Hindu *Avtars* and divinities. He merely challenged the high position given to the Hindu gods. He put more emphasis on God than his incarnations. He attacked the Vedas and the Puranas but did not question the wisdom and philosophy found in them. He wanted the people to incorporate into their lives the teachings of the scriptures rather than merely make a show of them. To quote Banerjee, "One must realise the difference between an attack on scripturalism and one on the scriptures themselves."

Most of the teachings of Nanak were identical with those of the Bhakti reformers. The teachings of Hindu reformers like Namdev and Kabir were incorporated into the Adi Granth itself. According to Payne, the aim of Guru Nanak "was not to sweep away Hinduism, but to restore it to its ancient purity. Like Luther he came to protest against the idolatory, the blind superstitions and the empty rituals, which had so long estranged religion from morality and the hearts of men from their Creator."

According to the other view, Guru Nanak was a revolutionary who "aimed at upsetting the cherished institutions of the society in which he was born, bringing about a social cataclysm and building a new order on the ruins of the old." He condemned the caste system which was the very basis of Hindu society. He also suggested positive steps to ignore the caste system altogether. He started the institution of *Langar* or common kitchen in which all persons, irrespective of their castes, were to sit together and eat together. Guru Nanak condemned asceticism which was the basic feature of the Hindu religion. He did not attach any importance to penance and fasting. He repudiated the Hindu mythology and questioned the utility of idol worship and the custom of going on pilgrimages.

It is not possible to accept completely either of the two views. It must be conceded that Guru Nanak did not deliberately set up a new religion. However, his preachings and the work of his successors ultimately led to the rise of a new religion in the form of Sikhism.

Nanak's Place in History. It goes without saying that Guru Nanak occupies a place of pride not only in the history of the Punjab or India but also of the whole world. Guru Nanak was one of the prophets of the world. He gave to the world the gospel of love, goodwill and reconciliation. He profoundly influenced the history of the Punjab. According to Dr. Gokal Chand Narang, "Nanak left the Hindus of the Punjab immensely better than he had found them. Their belief had been ennobled, their worship purified, the rigidity of caste considerably relaxed, their minds greatly emancipated; and they have now become more fit to enter on the career of natural progress to which Nanak's successors were destined to lead them." Again, "It leavened the whole Hindu thought in the Punjab and improved the moral and spiritual tone of the whole people." According to John Clark Archer, "He was a historic person. He is also a theological construction. He is what India and the world in general think he is, he is also what Sikhs think of him. He is a historico-theological figure to them, a real person and also a creature of religious fancy." Guru Nanak has been compared to Luther. So far as spiritualism was concerned, Guru Nanak was far ahead of Luther, but it cannot be denied that the influence of Luther was much greater than that of Guru Nanak. While the teachings of Luther spread all over Europe, those of Nanak influenced mainly the Punjab. According to Sewa Ram Singh, "The legend of Guru Nanak's life will always bring into activity the tender feelings of human soul, and all men will proclaim that among sons of men, none was born greater than Nanak".

Cunningham sums up Nanak's achievements in these words: "Thus Nanak extricated his followers from the accumulated errors of ages, and enjoined upon them devotion of thought and excellence of conduct as the first of duties. He left them, erect and free, unbiased in mind and unfettered by rules, to become an increasing body of

truthful worshippers. His reform was in its immediate effect religious and moral only: believers were regarded as 'Sikhs' or disciples, not as subjects; and it is neither probable, nor is it necessary to suppose, that he possessed any clear and sagacious views of social amelioration of political advancement. He left the progress of his people to the operation of time: for his congregation was too limited, and the state of society too artificial, to render it either requisite or possible for him to become a municipal law-giver, to subvert the legislation of Manu, or to change the immemorial usages of tribes or races. His care was rather to prevent his followers contracting into a sect, and his comprehensive principles narrowing into monastic distinctions."

According to Dr. Tara Chand, "The religious movement started by Guru Nanak continued to gather momentum under his successors. Its stern ethical tone and its definite puritanism were elements which distinguished it from similar movements in India. Its spirit of non-compromise carried within it possibilities of martyrdoms and the seeds of an organised church. The unsettled political conditions of the later period of the Mughal Empire gave these possibilities their opportunity, and the seed bore fruit. The later Gurus were inevitably drawn into the whirl of politics and they transformed the Church into a militant society. But although the Sikhs changed their organisation their religion retained almost unaltered the impress of Guru Nanak's teaching."[1]

Guru Angad (1538-52). Guru Angad was nominated as his successor by Guru Nanak. It is stated that if Nanak had not appointed his successor, the Nanakpanthis or Sikhs would have been absorbed into Hinduism in due course of time. Angad popularised the Gurumukhi alphabet. A biography of Nanak was compiled. His sayings were also collected at one place. The Udasis were turned out from the Sikh fold. Strict discipline was maintained among the disciples and those who were rebellious were severely dealt with. It is stated that Humayun came to Angad to get his blessings.

Guru Amar Das (1552-74). Angad was succeeded by Amar Das. Before his conversion to Sikhism, Amar Das was a devotee of Vishnu. His succession was disputed by the sons of Nanak and Angad. However, the opposition died out in course of time on account of the patient sufferings of Guru Amar Das. The new Guru constructed a Baoli at Goindwal which became an important place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. He reformed the institution of *Langar* and gave more importance to it. He divided his spiritual empire into 22 parts called Manjis. Each Manji was put under the charge of a Sikh. Separate ceremonies to be performed at the time of birth and death of the Sikhs were prescribed. These were different from those of the Hindus. He prohibited the custom of *Sati.* He asked his followers not to take wine. He condemned *purdah* for women. According to Indu Bhushan Banerjee, Sikhism "forged its own weapon, hedged itself behind newer forms and customs, in short, developed individuality of its own. It was under his auspices that the rudiments of a separate organization were given to the Sikhs, and new forms and practices were introduced to supersede the old and bind the neophytes more closely together." Again, "It was under Amar Das that the difference between a Hindu and a Sikh became more pronounced and the Sikhs began gradually to drift away from the orthodox Hindu society and form a class, a sort of new brotherhood by themselves."

1. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 177.

Guru Ram Das (1575-81). Guru Amar Das was succeeded by his son-in-law called Ram Das. He had very cordial relations with Akbar who granted 500 Bighas of land in the neighbourhood of modern Amritsar at a very nominal price. The Emperor also remitted the revenues of the Punjab for one year. Guru Ram Das built a new town called Chak Guru or Ramdaspura which later on came to be known as Amritsar. He started the excavation of two tanks, Amritsar and Santokhsar. He sent his agents everywhere to collect money for the above purposes. Sikhism gained popularity during his period.

Guru Arjan (1581—1606). Guru Arjan was the head of Sikhism for a quarter of a century and he accomplished a lot during his regime. He completed the construction of Amritsar and founded other cities like Taran Taran and Kartarpur. He constructed a *Boali* at Lahore.

The most important work of Arjan was the compilation of the Adi-Granth, the Bible of the Sikhs. He collected together all the available material and dictated the whole thing in the form of verses. This work was completed in 1604. It includes the hymns and teachings of the five Sikh Gurus, 16 Hindu Bhakats and saints like Kabir, Farid, Nam Dev, Rai Das, etc., the verses of Bhats, etc. According to Khushwant Singh, "The Granth is a unique historical document. It is perhaps, the only kind of writing of a scriptural nature which has preserved without embellishment or misconstruction the original writings of the religious literatures. It has saved the literary works of other poets of the time from the vagaries of human memory. The Granth Sahib is the central object of Sikh worship and ritual." Again, "The Granth Sahib is not like the idol in a Hindu temple or the cross in a Catholic Church. It is the source and not the object of prayer or worship. Sikhs revere it because it contains the teachings of their Gurus. It is more a book of divine wisdom than the word of God."

Guru Arjan introduced the Masand system. The Sikhs were asked to pay one-tenth of their income to the Guru in future. The Guru appointed his representatives to collect the money. All this money was sent to Amritsar on the Baisakhi day. The Guru also encouraged the Sikhs to engage themselves in horse-trade.

Relation between Guru Arjan and Akbar were cordial but the things changed after the accession of Jahangir. Ultimately, the Guru was tortured to death in 1605. Many reasons have been given for this tragedy. It is stated that Jahangir was annoyed because Guru Arjan gave his blessings to his rebel son, Prince Khusru. Jahangir also did not like the growing popularity of Sikhism. He took strong objection to the conversion of Hindus and Muslims to Sikhism. To quote Jahangir, "They called him Guru and from all sides, stupid people crowded to worship and manifest complete faith in him. For three or four generations of spiritual successors, they had kept their shop warm. *Many times, it occurred to me to put a stop to this vain affair or to bring him into the assembly of the people of Islam.*" It is also stated that Chandu, the Diwan of Lahore, wanted to marry his daughter to the son of Guru Arjan but the latter refused. Chandu could not put up with this insult and poisoned the ears of Jahangir who ordered Guru Arjan to pay a fine of Rs. 2 lakhs and to erase from the Granth all those hymns which were objectionable to the Muslims and Hindus. The Guru refused to do so and hence was tortured to death.

According to Teja Singh, the manner in which Guru Arjan was

put to death "convinced the Sikhs that they must arm themselves and fight, if they wanted to live." The martyrdom of Arjan gave strength to the Panth. It was the turning point in the history of Sikhism. They were not to be merely devotees but were also to become warriors.

Guru Hargobind (1606-45). Guru Arjan was succeeded by his son, Hargobind. From the very beginning, he was the deadly enemy of the Mughals. He asked his followers to keep arms and fight against the Mughal tyranny. He himself took up the title of Sachcha Padshah. He adopted the emblems of royalty, *viz.*, an umbrella, sword and a hawk. He put on the dress of a soldier. He put on two swords one of which indicated his spiritual authority and the other his temporal authority. Instead of accepting money from his followers, he asked them to offer horses and weapons to him. He fortified Lohgarh. He built the Akal Takht, the throne of the Almighty. He enrolled a large number of armed volunteers and even Pathans were welcomed to join.

Guru Hargobind's policy of armed resistance has been criticised by certain writers. It is contended that the lure of politics and glamour of arms led the Guru away from the true path of religion and spiritualism. However, according to I. Banerjee, "Both externally and internally, the situation was changing and the policy of the Guru had perforce to be adjusted to the new environment. The organizational development of Sikhism had mostly taken place during the tolerent days of Akbar who had never interfered with it; he had, on the contrary, even helped the Gurus in various ways. But the execution of Guru Arjan and Hargobind's imprisonment definitely showed that sterner days were ahead and that the policy of mere peaceful organization no longer sufficed. Guru Arjan had foreseen and Guru Hargobind also clearly saw that it would no longer be possible to protect the Sikh community and its organization without the aid of arms; and the way in which he proceeded to secure this end speaks a good deal for sagacity and his shrewd political sense."

Jahangir could not tolerate the militant policy of Hargobind and consequently the latter was arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. The Guru was released after a few years on the intervention of Mian Mir and Wazir Khan. The relations between the Guru and Jahangir became friendly afterwards, and continued to be so. During the reign of Shahjahan the relations became bitter once again. Shahjahan was intolerant. He destroyed the Sikh *Baoli* at Lahore. The quarrels which originally started over hawks or horses between the Mughal officials and the Sikhs subsequently led to risings on a large scale and were responsible for deaths of thousands of persons on both sides. Battles were fought at Amritsar, Kartarpur and other places. Ultimately, Guru Hargobind retired to the hills where he spent the rest of his life.

Guru Hargobind was a teacher and protector of his disciples. He realised the gravity of the situation and prepared his followers for the coming struggle. He created a war-like spirit among his followers.

Guru Har Rai (1645-61). Guru Hargobind was succeeded by his grandson, Har Rai. The new Guru followed a policy of peaceful propaganda. His relations with the Mughal Emperor were alright. However, Prince Dara asked for military aid and the blessings of the

Guru and the Guru obliged him by doing the same. The result was that when Dara was defeated, Aurangzeb became his bitter enemy. He summoned the Guru to his court but the Guru excused himself and sent his eldest son. Auarngzeb asked him to explain certain passages in the Sikh scriptures which were against Islam. The Guru's son satisfied the Emperor by changing certain words in the Granth Sahib. This was resented by the Guru who disinherited his son and appointed Har Krishan, a minor, as his successor.

Guru Har Krishan (1661-64). Har Krishan was only 5 when he became Guru. He died three years after. He was called by the Emperor to Delhi where he got an attack of small-pox and died.

Guru Teg Bahadur (1664-75). Guru Teg Bahadur was the 9th Guru. He inherited the hostility of Aurangzeb and it was mainly on account of the intervention of Mirza Raja Ram Singh that Aurangzeb did not take any serious action against him. Different accounts are given regarding the reasons which were ultimately responsible for the action taken against him by Aurangzeb. One view is that the Guru became the target because he took up the cause of the Kashmiri Brahmins who approached him to save them from religious persecution. It is stated that Mughal Governor of Kashmir had converted a large number of Hindus to Islam and murdered those who had resisted. Consequently, the Kashmiri Brahmins approached Guru Teg Bahadur for protection. After a lot of thinking, the Guru asked the Kashmiri Brahmins to go to Delhi and tell Aurangzeb that Guru Teg Bahadur was the protector of the Hindus and if he became a Muslim, the other Hindus would also follow him. The Kashmiri Brahmins did as they were asked to do. Aurangzeb sent his messengers to bring the Guru to Delhi. The Guru took some time to reach Delhi as he met his followers on the way. This created suspicion in the mind of the Mughals. A search was made for him and he was arrested at Agra and brought to Delhi where he was put in prison. Aurangzeb asked him either to embrace Islam or show some miracle. On his refusing to do so, the Guru was put to death. Another version is that the orders for the arrest of Guru Teg Bahadur were issued because he had laid waste the whole of the Punjab. According to Indu Bhushan Banerjee, the Guru suffered not because of political reasons but because of his religious activities. The Guru was of a peaceful disposition and he led the life of a saint. It is too much to believe that he was responsible for laying waste the whole of the Punjab and action had to be taken against him on account of that.

According to Dr. G.C. Narang, "His execution was universally regarded by the Hindus as a sacrifice for their faith. The whole of the Punjab began to burn with indignation and revenge." The execution of Guru Teg Bahadur revolutionized the life of his son, Guru Gobind Singh.

Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708). Guru Gobind Singh was the 10th and the last Guru. He was given thorough training in arts of peace and war by his father. When he became Guru, he found that his followers were divided and had not the capacity and courage to fight against the Mughals. He began to give them training in the art of warfare and even recruited Pathans in his army. He came into conflict with the hill Rajas and fought the famous battle of Bhangani. Gobind Singh did not do well in the beginning but he ultimately came out victorious. He made Anandpur his headquarters. Many attempts were made to subdue him but they failed as the adviser of the Mughal

Prince, Muazzam, who was in charge of the operations, admired the Guru.

In 1699, on the Baisakhi day, Guru Gobind Singh created the Khalasa. He is stated to have sought the blessings of Durga for strength, but Sikhs do not believe in this story. He summoned a big assembly of the Sikhs at Anandpur and selected 5 persons who came to be known as Panj Piaras. They took the water of immortality. After baptizing them, the Guru asked them to initiate him. In this way, *the Guru was merged into the Khalsa and the Khalsa was merged into Guru*. The followers of Nanak were turned into soldier-saints. The Sikhs were given a distinct dress and they were required to keep on their person five things beginning with K, *viz., Kesh, Kirpan, Kachha, Kangha* and *Kara*. The Sikhs followed a policy of fighting Muslim fanaticism with Sikh fanaticism.

The hill chiefs took strong objection to the activities of Guru Gobind Singh and they all joined hands against him. The result was that in 1701 was fought the first Battle of Anandpur in which the hill chiefs were defeated and the Guru was successful. However, they appealed to Aurangzeb for help. The latter sent instructions to the Mughal officials in the Punjab to take action against the Guru. Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, sent his forces against the Guru. In 1703-4 was fought the second Battle of Anandpur. The Sikhs put up a stiff resistance but ultimately, they had to surrender Anandpur. Two of the sons of the Guru were captured and bricked up at Sirhind. Another battle was fought at Chamkaur where two more sons of the Guru were killed. Another battle was fought at Khidrana or Muktsar in 1706. After this battle, the Guru settled at Talwandi Sabo or Dam Dama.

Aurangzeb died in 1707 and was succeeded by his son, Bahadur Shah. Guru Gobind Singh had cordial relations with the new Emperor and agreed to accompany him to the Deccan. The Guru was stabbed by a Pathan in October 1708. The last words of the Guru were: "I have entrusted you to the immortal God. Ever remain under His protection and trust none besides. Wherever there are 5 Sikhs assembled, know that I am in the midst of them. Henceforth, the Guru shall be in the Khalsa and the Khalsa in the Guru. I have infused my mental and bodily spirit into the Granth Sahib and the Khalsa."

It is interesting to reproduce the last letter addressed by Guru Gobind Singh to Aurangzeb. This is known as Zafar Nama and reads thus: "I have not a particle of confidence in thee. I was forced to engage in the combat and fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair passeth beyond the region of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Bairars are under me. I am a slave and servant of the King of kings and ready to obey His order with my life. If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne; yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas, a hundred times alas! for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange, is thy decree! Smite not any one mercilessly with thy sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God. He is

the Emperor of earth and heaven. He is the creator of all animals from the feeble to the strong elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable, and destroyer of the reckless. What though my four sons were killed? I remain behind like a coiled snake. What bravery is it to quench a few sparks of life? Thou art merely exciting a raging fire. I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but if God so will it, I will proceed against thee. When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine Empire, while I am proud of the Kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless; this caravanserai is only for a few days. People leave it at all times. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. Lay not the axe to thy Kingdom".

Estimate. Guru Gobind Singh was a builder *par excellence*. "He brought a new belief into being and released a new dynamic force into arena of Indian history." He was the saviour of Hinduism. He came to the help of the Hindus when Aurangzeb was determined to convert Dur-ul-Harb (Land of Infidels) into Dar-ul-Islam (Land of the Faithful). He infused a new spirit among his followers and but for that spirit, most of the Hindus in Northern India might have embraced Islam. It is true that he protected Hinduism from Islam but this does not mean that he hated the Muslims. He was merely opposed to the tyranny of the Mughal Emperors and not to Islam as such. He had his friends among the Muslims who actually saved his life when he was being hunted by the Mughals.

Guru Gobind Singh was not a military or political leader. He was essentially a man of God. He was made to infuse a militant spirit into his followers on account of the force of circumstances. The Guru was a scholar and a poet. He composed a large number of verses in Punjabi, Hindi and Persian. He was a patron of learning. He was a true democrat. He did not appoint any person who was to succeed him as a Guru of the Sikhs. He asked the Sikhs to have general meetings and make their decision by Gurmata or the deliberations and resolutions of the council.

According to Cunningham, "The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nanak. Gobind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Gobind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially and given amplitude to their physical fames."

Again, "Gobind was equally bold, systematic and sanguine, but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purposes, he deplored the corruption of the world, he resented the tyranny which endangered his own life, and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primaeval seers and heroes; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world, and his mind was not perhaps untinged with a superstitious belief in his own earthly destiny."

Banda Bahadur (1670-1716). Banda Bahadur was a Dogra Rajput. He was born in 1670. His original name was Lachhman Dass and he was very fond of hunting. Later on, he became a Bairagi and went away to the Deccan. It was in the Deccan that Guru Gobind Singh met him in 1708 and made him his own Banda or slave. He asked him to go back to the North and wreak vengeance on the enemies of the Khalsa. The Guru also sent instructions to the Sikhs of the Punjab to rally under his banner.

When Banda Bahadur entered the Punjab, the Sikhs from all quarters flocked under his banner. A large number of persons also joined him in the hope of getting booty. Kaithal, Samana, Shahabad, Ambala and Kapuri were looted. At Shadhura, Banda won a decisive victory. In 1710, he conquered Sirhind. The Battle of Sirhind was a bloody one. Banda was helped by thousands of Sikhs from Malwa and Majha as they wanted to punish the Governor of Sirhind who was regarded as the murderer of the sons of Guru Gobind Singh. Wazir Khan himself was cut to pieces. Thousands of Muslims were butchered. The city was plundered. According to Latif, the Sikhs "butchered, bayonetted, strangled, hanged, shot down, hacked to pieces and burnt alive every Mohammedan in the place." Even "the mosques were polluted and burnt down and the Mullas, Maulvis and Hafizes were subjected to the greatest indignities and tortures." The dead body of Wazir Khan "was hanged on a tree and left to the tender mercy of the crows and vultures."

After the conquest of Sirhind, Banda Bahadur appointed Baj Singh as the Governor of Sirhind. Coins were struck in the name of the Guru in 1710. He abolished Zamindari system. The Sikhs revolted at Saharanpur, Behat and Jalalabad and the Mughals could not subdue them. The same was the case with the Sikhs of the Doab who could not be crushed by the Faujdar of Jullundur. The Sikhs captured Amritsar, Kasur, Batala, Kalanur and Pathankot.

The above activities of the Sikhs forced Bahadur Shah to take action against them. All the Muslim Faujdars and Nazims were ordered to join hands to take a concerted action against them. More than 60,000 soldiers were sent under Amin Khan against Banda who was ultimately besieged in Lohgarh. There was bitter fighting and ultimately the fort had to be surrendered in December 1710. Banda escaped and retired to the hills. Farrukh Siyar sent Abdul Samad to crush Banda. Elaborate preparations were made in 1716 and ultimately was fought the famous Battle of Gurdas Nangal. The Sikhs put up a stiff resistance. Their rations were exhausted. They ultimately surrendered when they were in great distress. Banda was arrested and he along with other Sikhs sent to Delhi where they were all paraded in the bazars. For the Muslims of Delhi, it was a great *Tamasha* but the Hindus and Sikhs felt it as a great humiliation. The other Sikhs and Banda were executed in June 1716. To begin with, the son of Banda was cut to pieces. After that, the flesh of Banda was torn with red hot pincers. Thus ended the career of a great man.

Estimate. To the Hindus and Sikhs, Banda Bahadur appeared as a great champion of their faith. He took up the cudgels against the tyranny of the Muslims. He took revenge for the murder of the sons of Guru Gobind Singh at Sirhind. The Muslim writers describe him as "one of the most sanguinary of monsters" or "ruthless blood-

sucker." It is pointed out that Banda was neither a free-booter nor a tyrant like Attila and Chingiz Khan. To begin with, he led the life of a saint, but it was the force of circumstances that made him fight against the tyranny of the Mughals in the Punjab. According to Dr. G.C. Narang, "Guru Gobind Singh had diverted the attention of the followers from the plough to the sword. He had sown the seed; Banda reaped the harvest. The Guru had enumerated principles; Banda carried them into practice. Gobind Singh had destroyed the awe inspired by Mughal despotism; Banda completely broke the charm of its invincibility."

Banda Bahadur was a great organiser. According to Dr. Ganda Singh, "It was through him that the path of conquest and freedom was discovered by the people of the Punjab. He was the first man to deal a severe blow at the intolerant rule of the Mughals in the Punjab and to break the first sod in the conquest of that province by the Sikhs." The exploits of Banda Bahadur created a will in the ordinary masses of the Punjab to resist tyranny and to live and die for a national cause. Banda failed on account of his desertion by the Sikhs and the superior forces of the enemy.

According to Cunningham, "The memory of Banda is not held in much esteem by the Sikhs; he appears to have been of a gloomy disposition, and he was obeyed as an energetic and daring leader, without being able to engage the personal sympathies of his followers. He did not perhaps comprehend the general nature of Nanak's and Gobind's reforms; the spirit of sectarianism possessed him, and he endeavoured to introduce changes into the modes and practices enjoined by these teachers, which should be more in accordance with his own ascetic and Hindu notions. These unwise innovations and restrictions were resisted by the more zealous Sikhs, and they may have caused the memory of an able and enterprising leader to be generally neglected."

The Sikhs after the death of Banda Bahadur. There was a division among the Sikhs after the death of Banda Bahadur in 1716. They were divided into two parts known as the Bandais and the Tat Khalsa. The former were the followers of Banda and the latter were the orthodox Sikhs. Through the efforts of Bhai Mani Singh, the differences between the two were composed in 1721.

Zakriaya Khan, Governor of the Punjab, from 1726 to 1745, followed a policy of persecution of the Sikhs. Tara Singh Van and his 21 followers were killed by the Mughal troops. The Mughal Governor appealed to Muslim fanaticism and the Haidari flag was hoisted. However, the Sikhs were able to defeat the Mughal forces at a place near Bhilowal. After this, the Mughal Governor tried to placate the Sikhs, but the latter organized themselves into the Dal Khalsa. There were two main divisions of the Dal Khalsa known as the Budha Dal and the Taruna Dal. The Budha Dal consisted of the army of the elders and the Taruna Dal consisted of the army of the young. The Taruna Dal was divided into 5 Jathas, each under a separate Sardar. Each Jatha had 1300 to 2000 men. Both the Dals worked under the common leadership of Nawab Kapur Singh who was known as the Sikh, but the latter organized themselves into the **Dal Khalsa.** was given by Kapur Singh to Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The members of the Taruna Dal were a source of nuisance to the Mughal forces. They over-ran the whole of the Bari Doab and some of them crossed the Sutlej and helped Ala Singh to set up a small state in Malwa.

In 1739, the Sikhs fell upon the rear of the army of Nadar Shah when he was retreating from Delhi along with his booty. They were able to snatch away a lot from the Afghans. Nadar Shah is stated to have remarked thus to the Mughal Governor: "Take care, the day is not distant when these rebels will take possession of the country." The result was that Zakriaya Khan decided to destroy the Sikhs root and branch. Prizes were offered to those who helped him in his work. He who cut off the hair of a Sikh was given a blanket and a bedding. He who supplied information about the whereabouts of Sikhs was given Rs. 10/-. He who caught or killed a Sikh got Rs. 50/-. The Sikhs were hunted like wild beasts and they retired to the hills and the jungles. In 1742, Haqiqat Rai was put to death. Mehtab Singh, Buta Singh, and Bhai Taru Singh were executed. The Sikhs hit back. They attacked Sialkot and murdered all those Qazis and Mullahs who had a hand in the execution of Haqiqat Rai. They plundered Gondlanwala and its Faujdar was killed. They were given a crushing defeat near Basoli hills and about 7,000 of them were killed and 3,000 were taken prisoners. This is known as the first Ghalughara and it happened in 1746.

There was a civil war in the Punjab in 1746-47 and ultimately Shah Nawaz became the Governor of the Punjab. He was succeeded soon after by Mir Mannu as Governor of the Punjab. He also followed a policy of persecuting the Sikhs. The popular Punjabi saying about the persecuting of the Sikhs by Mir Mannu is in these words:

> "Mannu is our sickle and we are a crop for him to mow;
> The more he cuts us, the more we grow."

In spite of the persecutions of Mir Mannu, Sikhs remained unsubdued. The greater the persecution, the greater became their fanaticism. "The common danger and their strong religious feelings kept them under discipline and made every Sikh obey his leader in order to work for the cause of the Panth." Since all of them were suffering, they were brought together against the Muslim tyrant. There were also prospects of getting money if the Muslims were turned out from the Punjab. Diwan Kaura Mal, who was trusted by Mir Mannu, was also a Sikh by faith. He exerted his influence to save the Sikhs.

After the death of Mir Mannu in 1753, his widow, Mughlani Begum, captured all power in the Punjab. She was a woman of loose character and that resulted in chaos in the Punjab. She was imprisoned and Adina Beg was appointed the Governor of the Punjab. Adina Beg made an alliance with the Sikhs and invited the Marathas. However, he died in 1758.

Ahmed Shah Abdali attacked India many times. In 1761, he defeated the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat. However, when he was going back, he harassed by the Sikhs who also gave a lot of trouble to the Afghan Faujdar. The Sikhs won a victory at Gujranwala and occupied Lahore. Abdali came back in 1762 and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sikhs. He ordered a wholesale massacre of the Sikhs and this is known as the second Ghalughara in Sikh history. The Hari Mandir (Amritsar) was destroyed. However, the Sikhs recovered their prestige by defeating Abdali in the Battle of Amritsar and the latter was obliged to run away. As the Sikhs continued to harass the Afghans, Abdali attacked the Punjab in 1764. Instead of facing him, the Sikhs ran away to the hills and

jungles and consequently no harm could be done to them. Abdali invaded the Punjab again in 1766-67 but the Sikhs were not crushed.

There were many reasons why the Sikhs could not be crushed. Between 1748 and 1766, there was going on a struggle for power in the Punjab between the Mughals, the Afghans, the Marathas and the Sikhs. After the Battle of Panipat in 1761, the Marathas and the Mughals were eliminated. The struggle remained only between the Sikhs and Afghans. Ultimately, the Sikhs "emerged triumphant from their deadly struggle of the past 30 years and the long drawn agony of their subjections came to an end and the dream of their independence was realised." The tenacity of purpose of the Sikhs helped them to fight successfully against their rivals. Moreover, Ahmed Shah Abdali did not come to India to establish an empire in this country. He was merely interested in plunder and the result was that after his withdrawal, the Punjab was left in a chaotic condition[1] and the Sikhs took full advantage of the same. The Sikhs also took advantage of the vacuum created in the Punjab politics after the withdrawal of the Afghans. The dual policy of Adina Beg also helped the Sikhs. Adina Beg sometimes played the Afghans against the Sikhs and sometimes the Sikhs against the Afghans. The result was that the Sikhs were saved. It is pointed out that Ahmed Shah Abdali became over-confident after the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 and under-estimated the power and strength of the Sikhs. The result was that no adequate action was taken against the Sikhs. The guerilla tactics of the Sikhs also helped them. They were wise enough to avoid the blunder committed by the Marathas in 1761. There is every reason to believe that they would have been completely crushed if they had fought pitched battles against Ahmed Shah Abdali.

Reference may be made to some of the effects of the invasions of Abdali on the history of the Punjab. It is pointed out that his invasions paved the way for the rise of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The frequent invasions of the Afghans added to the confusion and anarchy in the Punjab and thus the Sikhs were able to set up their Misls. Life became insecure in the Punjab and there was a popular Punjabi saying

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1. The condition of the Punjab was described in these words by Waris Shah, author of Hir Ranjha :—

"Fools and sinners give counsel to the world,
The words of the wise are set at naught.
No man tells the truth or cares for justice,
Telling what is untrue has become the practice in the world,
With volence men commit flagrant iniquity.
In the hands of tyrants there is a sharp sword.
There is no Governor, Ruler, or Emperor.
The country and all the people in it have been made desolate.
Great confusion has fallen on the country,
There is a sword in every man's hand.
The purdah of shame and modesty has been lifted.
And all the world goes naked in the open bazzar.
Thieves have become leaders of men.
Harlots have become mistresses of the household.
The company of devils has multiplied exceedingly,
The state of the noble is pitiable.
Men of menial birth flourish and the peasants are in great prosperity.
The Jats have become masters of our country.
Everywhere there is a new Government."

to this effect: "Khada pita lahe da, rahnda Ahmed Shahe da" (the only property that we hold is what we eat and drink, the rest belongs to Ahmed Shah). Another effect of Abdali's invasions was that the Punjabis became war-like. They learnt to take up arms to defend their hearths and homes.

The Sikh Misls. The term Misl is an Arabic word which means equal or alike. According to Payne, "As membership in such a Jatha or group conferred political, religious and social equality on all its members, they began to be designated as Misls." The Misls came into existence at a time when there was complete anarchy in Punjab and the Sikhs grouped themselves under certain leaders and each one of them came to be known as a Misl. Ordinarily, reference is made to 12 Misls, *viz.*, Singhapuria or Faizalpuria, Ahluwalia, Ramgarhia, Bhangi, Kanheyia, Sukarchakya, Pulkian, Dallewalia, Karorsinghia or Panjgarhia, Nishanwalia, Nakkai and Shahid. However, according to Sir Lepel Griffin, it is not proper to say that there were 12 Misls because some of the confederacies were insignificant,, *e.g.*, Nishanwalias, Nakkais, the Karorsinghia or Panjgarhias and the Shahids. Ibbetson also does not put them in the category of Misls and calls them merely Dehras or camps. According to him, there were only 8 Misls and 4 Dehras. The Dehras had small tracts of land in the Malwa region of the Punjab. It is to be observed that all the Misls did not come into existence at the same time and also did not flourish at the same time. Sometimes, one Misl gave birth to another Misl. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia served under Nawab Kapur Singh of the Singhapuria Misl but later on set up his own Misl known as the Ahluwalia Misl. Likewise, the Bhangi Sardars and the Sukarchakya Chiefs who worked under Jassa Singh, set up their separate Misls later on.

According to Cunningham, the Misls were "theocratic confederate feudalism." The Misls were loosely knit together by the institution of Gurmatta which met in times of danger. "The obvious feudal or military notion of chain of dependence was acknowledged as the law and the federated Chiefs partitioned their joint conquests among themselves and divided their respective shares in the same manner among their own leaders of bands, while these again subdivided their portions among their own dependents, agreeably to the general custom of sub-infeudation." However, Banerjee does not accept this view. According to him, the Misls "really formed a confederacy which was democratic in composition and religious in its cohesive principle." The Misls were associations of warriors united by ties of religion. According to Ibbetson, the organization of the Misls was "a curious mixture of theocracy, democracy and absolutism." The Sikh Sardars and the soldiers all fought for the Guru and when they assembled at Amritsar before the Guru Granth, they did what that religious gathering decided. It was democratic because every soldier or member of the Misl enjoyed social and political equality. But as there was no regular machinery to check the Sardar, it was virtually an absolutism.

Gurmatta. The central organization of the Misl was the Gurmatta. The literal meaning of this term is advice of the spiritual Guru. It is stated that after the death of the tenth Guru, the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar on such occasions as Diwali, Dussehra or Baisakhi and in the presence of the Adi Granth, they discussed their common plans of action at Akal Takhat. Their decisions were put in the form of resolutions or Gurmattas. The Gurmatta performed

political, judicial and deliberative functions. According to Malcolm, "When the Chiefs met on this solemn occasion, it is concluded that all private animosities cease and that every man sacrifices his personal feelings at the shrine of the general good; and actuated by principles of power patriotism, think of nothing but the interests of religion and the commonwealth to which he belongs." The last Gurmatta was held in 1805. After that it ceased to be a political institution. There was no regular machinery to enforce the decisions of the Gurmatta except that of religion. For the sake of the honour of the Panth, the Sikhs were determined to enforce those decisions.

Misl Organisation. Every Misl had a Sardar or Misldar as its head. He was practical supreme in his affairs. However, he did not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of his followers. According to Griffin, "All that a Sikh Chief demanded in those days from a follower was a horse and a matchlock. All that a follower sought was protection and permission to plunder in the name of God and the Guru under the banner of the Chief. There was little question of pay." According to George Thomas, "Within his own dominion, each Chief is lord paramount. He exerts an exclusive authority over his vassals, even the power of life and death and to increase the population of his districts, he proffers a ready and hospitable asylum to fugitives from all parts of India." The Misl administration was essentially village administration. Every village was a small republic. There was a panchayat in every village. "The Panchayats of Council of Elders restrain the stronger and the weaker against any aggression." The common plea was that God acted through Panchayats (*Panchayat men Parmishwar*). Villages were of two kinds, those directly administered and those under Rakhi or protection only. From the former, one-fifth of the produce was taken. A similar charge was made from the villages under the Rakhi system. The Rakhi system of the Sikhs was similar to the Chauth system of the Marathas.

It is difficult to calculate the exact fighting strength of the Sikh Misls. Various estimates have been made by different writers but it is generally believed that their total strength was about one lakh. It increased under Ranjit Singh. The backbone of the armies of the Misls was the cavalry. There was no regular training for the soldiers. There was regular organization of the forces of these Misls. The weapons commonly used by them were swords, spears, matchlocks, sabres, etc. The soldiers of the Misls believed more in gureilla warfare than in pitched battles.

The Twelve Misls. Faizalpuria or Singhpuria Misl. The founder of this Misl was Nawab Kapur Singh. He was considered to be the leader of the Sarbat Khalsa. From 1734 to 1748, he was practically the head of the Khalsa in all religious and political affairs. As he participated in a large number of battles, he had more than 43 scars of wounds on his body. He was not only a great fighter but also a great propagandist of Sikhism. No wonder, he converted a large number of persons to Sikhism. When he died in 1753, he was succeeded by Khushal Singh who was also a great warrior. In 1796, he was succeeded by his son Budh Singh. This Misl was annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1816. The territory of this Misl was to the east and west of the Sutlej. The important places within the territory were Jullundur and Patti.

Ahluwalia Misl. This Misl was founded by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. To begin with, he worked under Nawab Kapur Singh. He came to

the forefront in 1738. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, he started fighting against the Muslim Chiefs in the Punjab. In 1747, he plundered Kasur. He also carried on his work of destruction in the Jullundur Doab. In 1748, Jassa Singh was chosen as the leader of the Dal Khalsa. After the death of Nawab Kapur Singh in 1753, Jassa Singh became the leader of the entire Sikh community and came to be known as "Sultan-ul-Kaum". According to Griffin, "Kapur Singh was, as long as he lived, the first of the Sikh Sardars, though Jassa Singh had obtained more than the lion's share of the fame. When Kapur Singh was dying, he made over to Jassa Singh the steel mace of the last great Guru, thus appointing him, as it were, the successor to his influence which Jassa Singh by his ability and courage, considerably increased."

Jassa Singh defeated Khawaja Obed, Governor of Lahore, and took up the title of Padshah. In 1762, he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali. However, the Sikhs under Jassa Singh recovered very soon and were able to defeat the Afghan Governor in 1763. After the invasions of Ahmed Shah, Jassa Singh extended his territory. He died in 1783. Jassa Singh occupies a very high place in the history of the Sikhs. He has been recognized as "a most successful general in the field."

He was succeeded by Bhag Singh who himself was succeeded in 1801 by Fateh Singh. The latter was a brave general. Even Ranjit Singh had not the courage to fight against him and enter into friendly relations with him. He was succeeded in 1837 by Nihal Singh whose successors continued to rule the Kapurthala State till it was merged into Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

The Bhangi Misl. The Misl was founded by Sardar Hari Singh It was the strongest Misl, both territorially and numerically. Hari Singh extended the boundaries of the Misl up to Pak-Pattan. Lahore and Amritsar were included in the territory of this Misl. Hari Singh was succeeded by Jhanda Singh under whom the Misl reached the height of its glory. He conquered Jammu, Kasur and Ramnagar. The famous gun known as Zamzama was captured. When he was murdered in 1774 by a mercenary, he was succeeded by his brother Ganda Singh. After his death in 1782, the Misl began to decline and no wonder it was annexed by Ranjit Singh without much difficulty.

Ramgarhia Misl. This Misl was set up by Jassa Singh Ichchogilia. He joined service under Adina Beg but when the latter attacked Amritsar in 1748, the former went over to the Sikhs and saved them from a great tragedy. In 1777, the Ahluwalia, Sukarchakiya and Kanheyia Misls combined together and drove Jassa Singh to the south of the Sutlej. After that Jassa Singh retired to Hariana and conquered some territory near Hissar and Sirsa. Then he attacked Meerut and Delhi. In 1783, he was able to recover all his original possessions. He died in 1803 and was succeeded by his son, Jodh Singh. After the death of Jodh Singh in 1814, Ranjit Singh annexed Ramgarhia Misl.

Kanheyia Misl. This Misl was founded by Jai Singh who was a great warrior. He came to the forefront after the death of Mir Mannu. He conquered Mukerian, Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Kangra. In 1777, he joined hands with others to fight against Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and defeated him. However, when differences arose among the members of the coalition, the Ramgarhia Chief was able to get back his possessions. Jai Singh married his grand-daughter to Ranjit Singh, the son of Mahan Singh, the Sukarchakya Chief. After the

death of Jai Singh, power fell in the hands of Sada Kaur. The Kanheyia territory was annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Sukarchakya Misl. The founder of the Sukarchakya Misl was Charat Singh. By the age of 31, he was able to secure a larger following with whose help he conquered some of the territory of the Ralna Doab. When he was 35, he married the daughter of Sardar Amir Singh of Gujranwala. According to Latif, "This marriage united the wealth and strength of the two Sardars and led to the formation of a separate Misl which, after the place where they resided, was named the Sukarchakya Misl." Charat Singh attacked Eminabad which was the headquarters of the Mughal Faujdar and turned him out. He attacked Sialkot and captured it in 1758. He defeated in 1760 the Governor of Lahore who attacked Gujranwala. In 1762, he "harassed the march of Afghans and plundered their baggage." He also plundered Wazirabad. However, he was killed in 1774.

Charat Singh was succeeded by Mahan Singh who was a minor at that time. After six years, he took the reins of the government into its own hands. He not only subdued his dependent chiefs but also conquered Rasul Nagar and Alipur. He attacked the Jammu territory and destroyed most of it. In alliance with Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Mahan Singh defeated Jai Singh of the Kanheyia Misl. After the defeat, Jai Singh agreed to marry his grand-daughter to Ranjit Singh, the son of Mahan Singh. This marriage also added to the prestige of the Sukarchakya Misl. When Mahan Singh died in 1793, he was succeeded by Ranjit Singh who ultimately established a sovereign Sikh state in the Punjab after defeating all the rival chiefs on the other side of the Sutlej.

Phulkian Misl. Chaudhary Phul was the founder of this Misl. He was the common ancestor of the chiefs of Patiala, Nabha and Jind. It is stated that Guru Har Rai gave the following blessings to Phul: "The steeds of Phul's descendents shall drink water as far as the Jumna. They shall have sovereignty for many generations and be honoured in proportion as they serve the Guru." Phul's sons were also bleseed by Guru Gobind Singh. However, it was under Baba Ala Singh (1696-1765) that the Phulkian Misl came into prominence. He extended his territory in the neighbourhood of Barnala. In 1762, Baba Ala Singh was appointed as his deputy by Ahmed Shah Abdali in Malwa region. Ala Singh was to pay an annual tribute. In 1764, he joined hands with Sikh Sardars to attack Sirhind. In 1765, Ahmed Shah Abdali, bestowed upon him a drum and a banner which were the insignia of royalty. Baba Ala Singh led a very pious life. However, he died in 1765.

Ala Singh was succeeded by Amar Singh and it was under him that the Phulkian Misl became very strong. He conquered Mani Majra. Kotkapura, Bhatinda, Hansi, Hissar and Rohtak. He was so powerful that he was given the title of "*Raj Ragan Bahadur*" by Ahmed Shah Abdali. He struck coins in his own name. All efforts to check his power failed.

Amar Singh was succeeded by Sahib Singh. He was a weak ruler and the Marathas attacked his territory. However, they were defeated by his sister. There were dissensions in his family and Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Sukarchakya family tried to annex the Phulkian Misl. At that time, the English East India Company intervened and by the Treaty of Amritsar of 1809, Maharaja Ranjit Singh agreed not to interfere into the Cis-Sutlej states.

Dallewalia Misl. Gulab Singh was founder of the Dallewalia Misl. However, the most important personality of this Misl was Tara Singh Gheba. He was a great warrior. He attacked Sirhind and Kasur. After his death, this Misl was annexed by Ranjit Singh.

Nishanwalia Misl. It was a petty Misl. Its founders were Sangat Singh and Mohar Singh. Their main possessions were Ambala and Shahbad. Ranjit Singh fought against this Misl and was able to capture certain parts of its territory. When the Cis-Sutlej territory came under the protection of the English East India Company, Ambala lapsed to the British Government and Shahbad became a dependency of the British Government.

Karorsingha Misl. Another name of this Misl was Panjgarhia Misl. It was under Bhagel Singh that this Misl came into prominence. He and his successor Jodh Singh extended their conquests into the Malwa region. However, later on, most of their territories were either annexed by Ranjit Singh or absorbed into the Kalsia state.

Shahids' Misl or Nihangs' Misl. Shahids' Misl or Nihangs' Misl was founded by those Sikhs who were murdered by the Muslims. Baba Dip Singh was the first leader of this Misl. The other important leaders were Sardar Karam Singh and Gurbaksh Singh. Their territory was in the east of the Sutlej.

Nakai Misl. Sardar Hira Singh was the founder of this Misl. It was from Bhai Mani Singh that Hira Singh got his *Pahaul* at the age of 30. In course of time, he was able of bringing under his control a small territory lying between Lahore and Gogera in the direction of Multan. Hira Singh was succeeded by Nahar Singh in 1769 but he died three years after. Ram Singh succeeded Nahar Singh. He was a very powerful chief and ruled over Chunian, Sahiwal, Sharakpur and Kot Kamalia. The Misl began to decline after his death and was annexed in 1807 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

It is to be observed that most of the above Misls were annexed by Ranjit Singh and some of them accepted the protectorate of the English East India Company.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Karam Singh	:	Banda Bahadur.
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Latif	:	History of the Punjab.
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Puran Singh	:	The Book of Ten Masters.
Sinha, N. K.	:	Rise of Sikh Power.
Teja Singh and Ganda Singh	:	A Short History of the Sikhs.

CHAPTER XI

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Sources of Information. As regards the sources of the study of Mughal administration, those are scattered at many places. The *Ain-i-Akbari*[1] of Abul Fazl is a mine of information but it "does not give us much help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery" (Sarkar). Some information is given by the Daster-ul-Amals or official handbooks which were prepared in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The so-called "Manual of the Duties of Officers" found by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from Patna also gives useful information. The *Iqbal-Namah Jahangiri* by Mutamad Khan, the *Padshah-Namah* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-Din and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni also give useful information. The writings of foreigners like Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Hawkins, Manucci, Terry, etc., also throw welcome light on certain aspects of Mughal administration. The contemporary factory records of the English Company are useful in many ways.

Nature of Mughal Government. The Mughal administrative system was in the nature of a military rule and was necessarily a centralised despotism. So far as the Muslims were concerned, the King was the head of the State and the Church. As regards the non-Muslims, he was only their temporal head. The government did not interfere very much with the life of the people. Much of it was left undisturbed by the government.

The Mughal administrative system took its colour from the ways and creed of its sovereigns. They were foreigners who came from outside. They were accustomed to a certain system of administration and when they came to India, they transplanted the same in this country. According to J.N. Sarkar, "The Mughal Administration presented a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements; or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting.

The principles of the Government, their church policies, their rules and taxation, their departmental arrangement and their very titles of the officials were imported ready-made from outside India. But a compromise was effected with the older native system already in possession of the field and familiar to the people governed. The details of the imported system were modified for the local needs. The existing Indian practice and the customary law were respected as far as it did not run counter to the root principles of all Islamic governments; and generally speaking in village administration and the lower rungs of the official ladder the Indian usage was allowed to prevail which

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1. According to Mr. Crorke, "No one who reads **Ain-i-Akbari**, the cyclopaedic annals of his rule, fails to be conscious of certain lack of departmental perspective. Akbar was master of details, but detail is pushed to extreme—we learn little of essentials of the administration." According to J. E. Redd, "What trust is to be placed in the figures of the **Ain-i-Akbari**—it may be questioned whether it was an ideal assessment or whether it was ever collected for the state."

the foreign model swayed almost exclusively the court and the higher official circles."

The Mughal Government was military in its origin and though in time it became rooted to the soil, it retained its military character to the last. All the civil servants were Mansabdars or members of the army. Their names were arranged in the gradation list of the army as they were paid by the Bakshi. Strictly speaking, there was no civil treasury at all. The land revenue system of the Mughals was based on the old Hindu system prevailing in the country. The old Hindu revenue officials were employed by the Mughal Government and ordinarily were not interfered with.

In the Mughal period, the state was the largest manufacturer or the only manufacturer on a large scale. The state had to manufacture to satisfy its own needs which were very great. The Emperor gave robes of honour or Khilats to his mansabdars. Such a thing happened on many occasions. Many things were required for the use of the Emperor. Thus, sheer necessity forced the Mughal Kings to manufacture on a large scale.

The Mughal Government was a highly centralized autocracy. The Crown was the pivot of the entire administrative machinery. As the government was absolute and highly centralized, the written records multiplied. No wonder, the Mughal Government was called a *Kaghzi Raj* or paper government. A large number of books had to be maintained *e.g.*, copies of correspondence, nominal rolls, descriptive rolls, history of the services of the officers, news-letters and despatches etc.

The attitude of the Mughal Government towards law and justice was opposed to modern conceptions. It was the weakest in this matter. The Government did not perform its responsibility of maintaining peace and security in the rural areas. The villagers were made responsible not only for the safety of their own property but also of the travellers on the neighbouring roads. The existence of the office of the Faujdar is not denied, but the area within his jurisdiction was so large that it was out of question for any individual to perform his duties satisfactorily.

Position of Mughal Emperor. The Mughal Emperor was the head of the administration. According to the Quranic theory, the Mughal Emperor was the ruler of the Muslims only (Amir-ul-Munnin, or Commander of the true believers). He was nominally responsible to the Muslim public or Jamait for his conduct as a King. There was no check on his powers, but in actual practice his autocracy was tempered by the fear of a rebellion. Customary law of the country also put a check. The Ulema had the power to depose a king, but their Fatwas were a mere scrap of paper so long as the Mughal Emperor had a strong army at his disposal.

Both Babur and Humayun acted upon the Islamic theory of kingship, but Akbar rejected the same. Instead of being the Commander of the true-believers only, he decided to become the king of all his subjects. His view was that in spite of thousand virtues, a king "cannot be fit for this lofty office, if he does not inaugurate universal peace, and if he does not regard all classes of men and all sets or religions with a single eye for favour" (*Akbarnama*). Akbar also believed that the King was superior to all the human beings and was the shadow and vicar of God. According to Abul Fazl, "Royalty is a

light emanating from God, a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, an argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues." Akbar also believed that there should be a union of religious and secular leadership and that is why he tried to combine the two in his own person. Jahangir followed to some extent the ideal of his father. However, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb again adopted the Islamic theory of sovereignty.

There was no accepted law of succession among the Mughals. After the death of a king, there was always some trouble. In the case of Shah Jahan, it led to a war of succession among his four sons. The contest was not confined to the sons of the last ruler. It is well-known that when Akbar was lying ill, Prince Khusrau, his grandson, tried to oust his father Jahangir. Even if a person was nominated as his successor by the dying king, it did not carry much weight. Although Akbar ultimately appointed Jahangir as his successor, Khusrau revolted in the time of Jahangir to claim the throne. Although Jahangir nominated Shahriyar to succeed him, he was ousted by Shah Jahan. Even the eldest son did not always enjoy any special position. Aurangzeb was not the eldest son of Shah Jahan and even then he came to the throne.

It is to be noted that the Mughal Emperor in India did not recognise any Khalifa as a superior overlord. At the time of the succession to the throne, the coronation ceremony was performed. It was not necessary that it must be performed at the capital of the empire. In the case of Akbar, it was performed in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab. Murad and Shahshuja proclaimed themselves as kings while away from the capital. When the new king sat on the throne, he was saluted by cries of "Badshah Salamat". Very often, the new king took up a new title. Prince Saleem took up the title of Jahangir and Prince Khurram became Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb took up the title of Alamgir. The Khutba was read in the name of the king and coins were also stuck in his name.

The Mughal Emperor enjoyed certain privileges. A body of soldiers under a high public servant guarded the king day and night. The King went to the mosque on Friday for prayers in a *Palki* and all others followed him on foot. When the King went out on a journey or went out of the palace, kettle-drums were beaten to announce that fact to the people. The King was the fountain-head of all honours and titles. He alone had the right to sit for *Darshan* in the morning. Taslim and Kurnish were due to the Emperor. In certain cases, the King alone was allowed to hunt and no other.

The Mughal kings worked very hard. They kept longer hours and enjoyed lesser holidays. The king transacted his business in four different ways. He transacted state business in public while sitting in the Diwan-i-Khas-o-Am. In the Ghusl Khana, the King held confidential consultations with his ministers and other officials as he cared to summon. The Ghusl Khana was a place of retirement for doing important work. Commanders of the expeditions were called to this place before they were sent to the front. Likewise, governors were summoned to this place before they were ordered to join their appointment. There was a superintendent of the Ghusl Khana whose duty was to see that those who came to the Ghusl Khana observed certain rules of etiquette. Persons guilty of an offence were fined and they were not allowed to leave till they paid the same. In the Ghusl Khana, Akbar had his

religious discussions also and Jahangir had his cups of wine. Sometimes, the King summoned a few of his highest officials inside his private apartments to discuss and dispose of important business with them. Once a week, the King held the court of justice. This he did on Wednesdays when the Diwani-i-Am-o-Khas was converted into a Court of Justice. The aggrieved persons were presented before the Emperor by the Superintendent of the Court and the King tried to give justice to the people.

According to S.R. Sharma, "Though the Mughals came to India as conquerors and foreigners, they set up traditions and conventions which were calculated to endear them to their Indian subjects. The Emperor's appearance at the Jharokha for popular *Darshan* daily, the opportunities they offered to the people to approach them with their petitions, their personal attention to minute details of administration, and their regular inspection tours and pageants throughout the Empire, even apart from their generally enlightened and benevolent policy in all matters, served to impart to their autocratic rule the appearance of government by consent. This character was largely the creation of Akbar's statesmanship. It was sustained during the next two reigns, of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, but was progressively undermined by the reactionary policy of Aurangzeb. Nevertheless, the main framework of the administrative organisation, though in a considerably attenuated form, endured till the English East India Company stepped into the shoes of the Mughal Emperors."

According to Sarkar, "The Mughal Emperor had no regular council of Ministers. The Wazir and the Diwan were the richest persons below the Emperor, but the other officers were in no sense his colleagues. They were admittedly inferior to him and deserved rather to be called secretaries than ministers. Nearly all their work was liable to revision by the Wazir and Royal orders were often transmitted to him through him." It was not necessary for the King to consult his ministers on all occasions. He could act even without them or against them. Neither the ministers nor the wazirs acted as a check on the authority of the King. The Mughal Government was a one-man rule and Aurangzeb was his own Prime Minister.

The Mughal Emperor had to play a double role. He had to govern all the people in his dominions as their king and also act as the missionary, defender and agent of the creed of a section of his subjects.

As was to be expected, there were many departments of the Government, but the following were the most important:—

1. The Exchequer and Revenue under the High Diwan or Diwan-in-Ala.
2. The Imperial Household under the Khani-Saman or High Steward.
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office under the Imperial Bakshi.
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal, under the Chief Qazi.
5. Religious endowments and charity under the Chief Sadar.
6. Censorship of Public Morals under the Muhtasib.
7. The Artillery under the Mir Atish or Darogha-i-Topkhana.
8. Intelligence and Posts under the Darogha of Dak Chauki.
9. Mint under a Darogha.

The Wazir or Diwan. The Wazir was the Prime Minister. he was always the head of a Revenue Department, but it was in his capacity of Diwan. However, all Diwans were not Wazirs. In the times of Akbar, the Prime Minister was called Wakil and the Finance Minister was called Wazir. Originally, the Wazir was the highest official of the Revenue Department, but in the course of time, he came to exercise control over other departments also. The Wazir controlled the army also when the king was either incompetent, or a minor or a pleasure-seeker. The post of Wazir was a civil one and it was only in abnormal times that he was expected to perform military duties.

The office of the Wazir got revenue papers and returns and despatches from the Provinces and the armies in the field. On many ceremonial occasions he acted as the representative of the King. All orders of payments had to be signed by him and all payments were made through his department only. Under the directions of the Emperor, he himself passed orders. All questions concerning revenue affairs were settled by him and he consulted the Emperor only in important cases. He had two assistants known as the Diwan-i-Am or Diwan of Salaries and the Diwan-i-Khas or Diwan of crown-lands. After the death of Aurangzeb, Wazir became virtually the ruler of the state.

Mir Bakshi. Bakshi was the Paymaster. According to Ibn Hasan, Bakshi's "influence extended to all departments of the Central Government." As all the officials, whether serving in the civil or military departments were Mansabdars and "theoretically belonged to the military department," their pay bills were scrutinised and passed by the Paymaster. It was his duty to appoint persons who were to lead the vanguard, rearguard, centre and the wings. He also recruited the soldiers. It was his duty to keep an account of the number of horses which were to be maintained by the Mansabdars.

The duties of Mir Bakshi have been described thus, "The recruitment of the army, the maintenance of the troops in good order, holding of military tests, the inspection of horses, and the muster of troops at regular intervals, and equipping them for expeditions." Although he is called as Imperial Paymaster, he was responsible for disbursement of salaries and their expenditure when the army was actually fighting. Ordinarily, this work was left to the Diwan.

Khan-i-Saman. He was the Lord High Steward and was thus in charge of the Emperor's department of manufactures, stores and supply required for military and household purposes. He accompanied the Emperor in his journeys and campaigns. He controlled the personal servants of the Emperor and was also in charge of the daily expenditure, food, stores, tents etc., of the Emperor. On account of the importance of the office, it was occupied by trust-worthy and influential men. He exercised great influence. In certain cases, the Khan-i-Saman also became the Wazir.

Sadar-us-Sudur. He was the Chief Sadar of the Empire. He was also called by the names of Sadar-i-Kul and Sadar-i-Jahan. This office was filled by persons who had a very lofty character. Sadar-us-Sudur was the connecting link between the King and the people. He was the guardian of Islamic Law and the spokesman of the Ulema. According to Ibn Hasan, the function of the Chief Sadar seems "to have been limited to the use of his power for the award by the state of stipends and Jagirs to the Ulema and the needy." It was his duty to look into and decide cases relating to grants. He was the Almoner

of the Emperor. He distributed the money for charitable purposes. There was a Sadar in every province. While sending the Provincial Sadars to their charges, the Chief Sadar acquainted them with the names of those who held rentfree lands. Each Sadar was to obey the Chief Sadar and carry out his orders.

Muhtasib. He was the censor of public morals. It was his duty to enforce the commands of the Prophet and suppress all those practices which were un-Islamic. The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy against the Prophet and neglect of the five daily prayers and the observance of Ramzan by Mohammedans also lay within the province of censor. In the time of Aurangzeb, they were given the duty of demolishing newly-constructed temples. Sometimes, they were asked to fix the prices of the goods and enforce the use of correct weights and measures. The Muhtasib was required to go through streets with soldiers and demolish and plunder liquorshops, distilleries and gambling dens.

Qazi-ul-Quzat or Chief Qazi. The Chief Qazi was the highest judicial officer and was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. As the Khalifa of the age, it was the duty of the Emperor to give justice to the people, but as he had no time, the work was given to the Chief Qazi. He was "the judge in religious suits only and tried them according to Muslim Law." The Qazis of the Cities, Districts and the Provinces were appointed by him. These Qazis were helped by the Muftis. Most of the Qazis were corrupt. Acording to Sarkar, "All the Qazis of the Mughal period, with a few honourable exceptions, were notorious for taking bribes."

Buyutat. This title was given to the officer who registered the wealth and property of the deceased. He was required to calculate the amount due from the deceased to the state and deduct the same from his property. The balance was returned to the heirs of the deceased. His other duties were the fixation of the prices of the articles, making of provision for the royal *Karkhanas* and the preparation of an estimate of their output and expenditure.

Superintendent of Artillery. To begin with, he was a subordinate of Mir Bakshi or Paymaster. As artillery became an important branch of the army, the Superintendent of artillery gained in importance. The Mir Atish was required to make arrangements for the defence of the Imperial Palace Fort. He came into personal contact of the Emperor and thus commanded great influence. He was in charge of all kinds of artillery.

Darogha-i-Dak Chauki. He was the Superintendent of Intelligence and Posts. He had his agents everywhere. Horses were stationed at various stages for the use of the messengers. The latter brought news from every part of the country. The Superintendent was in charge of news-writers, epics and news-carriers. He had to send weekly abstracts of the news to the Capital.

Other important officials were the Mir Bahri (Revenue Secretary), Mir Barr (Superintendent of Forests), Qur Begi (Lord Standard Bearer), Akht Begi (Superintendent of the Royal Stud), Mushrif (Chief Admiral and officer of harbours), Nazir-i-Buyutad (Superintendent of Imperial Workshops), Mustaufi (Auditor-General), Awarjah Nawis (Superintendent of daily expenditure at courts), Khwan Salar

(Superintendent of Royal Kitchen) and Mir Arz (Officer who presented petitions to the Emperor).

Provincial Administration. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "The Administrative agency in the Provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government." The number of provinces varied from time to time. In the time of Akbar, their number was 15. In the time of Jahangir, there were 17 provinces. The number increased to 22 provinces in the time of Shahjahan. In the time of Aurangzeb, the number was 21 only.

The head of the province was known as the Sahib-i-Subah, Subahdar or Nazim. He was assisted by the Diwan, Bakhshi, Faujdar, Kotwal, Qazi, Sadar, Amil, Bitikchi, Potdar or Khizandar, Waqa-i-Navis, Qanungo and Patwari. Provinces were divided into Sarkars and Parganas. All the administration of the province was centralised at the capital town. The Mughals were essentially an urban people and no wonder they neglected the villagers. Village life was dreaded by them as a punishment. Villages were left free and were not interfered with so long as there was no violent crime or defiance of royal authority. The Subahdar possessed both civil and military authority. He was the representative of the King in the Province. He held his court but could not sit in the Jharoka. He could not declare war or make peace without the permission of the Emperor. He heard appeals from the decisions of the Qazis and Mir Adls, but he could not inflict capital punishment without the approval of the Emperor. He was in charge of the provincial forces. It was his duty to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue and to execute the royal decrees and regulations sent to him. He could not dismiss or appoint the Diwan and Sadar. He was not to interfere in the religious matters. He was to punish rebellious zamindars and lawless men. He was to send reports regarding the state of affairs in his Province. He was to encourage the peasants to improve agriculture. He was to help the Shaikhs and Qazis.

The Subahdars were transferred after intervals of two or three years. It was feared that if they continued to work at one place for a long time, they might abuse their powers or become independent. In spite of this, the governors were cruel and rapacious. In some cases, they were punished by the emperor for their mistakes of omission and commission. The long distances from the capital of the Empire and the medieval means of transport and communication, enabled the governors to do whatever they pleased in their provinces.

Diwan. The Provincial Diwan was the second officer in the province. He was also the rival of the Subahdar. Both the Subahdar and Diwan were to act as a check on each other. The Provincial Diwan was selected by the Imperial Diwan or Diwani-i-Ashraf. It was his duty to carry out the orders of the Imperial Diwan and also to keep himself in touch with him. He was to collect revenue, try revenue cases and improve cultivation. He had control over the purse of the province and no payment could be made without his sanction. He was required to co-operate with the Subahdar in the administration of the province. If there was a difference of opinion between the Subahdar and the Diwan, the matter was referred to the Emperor.

The letter of appointment of the Diwan charged him with the following duties: "Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation

in the villages. Watch over Imperial treasury that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the fotahdars and other sources, give receipts (Qabz-ul-Wasul) to their agents. See that no official (Amil) exacts any forbidden cess (Abwab).

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original rough papers (*i.e.*, first notes) the extortions and peculations of the Amils, and recover for the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. Report bad or dishonest Amils to Government (*i.e.*, to the High Diwan) so that better men may be appointed to replace them.

"If any Amil has let arrears (of revenue) accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the village in question by easy instalments at the rate of 5 per cent every season.

"The taqavi loan given last year by Government should be realized in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay, or delay payment, Government will compel the Diwan and the amin to make good the amount.

"Send the papers of your department of the imperial record office according to the regulations."

Faujdar. Faujdars were appointed to help the Subahdar. They were put in charge of important sub-divisions of the province. Their appointment and dismissal was in the hands of the Subahdar. There were commanders of the provincial troops. They helped the Subahdar to maintain law and order in the country and punish the rebellious zamindars. They were also to help the Amils in their work of revenue collection. According to Sarkar, the Faujdar "was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber-gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demostrations of force to over-awe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor."

Sadar. He was appointed by the Central Government and his main duty was to supervise the Sayurghals or rent-free lands granted for religious and charitable purposes. He had a separate office of his own. He was more independent than the Diwan. He was a man of piety and learning. He could grant lands and allowances on his own initiative. He was respected by the people on account of his qualities of head and heart. Qazis and Miradls worked under him.

Amil. Amil was a revenue collector and had many duties to perform. He was required to deal very effectively with the rebellious Zamindars even if that led to the land remaining uncultivated. It was his duty to see that the quality of land improved and waste land was brought under cultivation. He was to see that the work of measurement or *Paimaish* of the land was done rightly. He was to supervise the work of revenue collection. He was to examine the registers of the Karkuns, Muquddams and Patwaris. He was required to submit monthly reports concerning the condition of the people. He was to tour the country with a view to acquaint himself with the conditions of the people.

Bakshi. He was the pay-master of the provincial forces. He worked under Mir Bakshi.

Bitikchi. He acted as a check on the Amil and enjoyed the same status as that of the Amil. He prepared abstracts of revenue every season and was required to send an annual report to the Central Government. He had to supervise the work of the Qanungos. He was required to be a good writer and a skilful accountant. He was also required to be a master of the customs and regulations of his district.

Potdar or Khizandar. His duty was to receive money from the cultivators and keep the same in the treasury. Whenever a payment was made to him, he issued receipts and kept their account. He was not to make any payment without a voucher signed by the Diwan. There were other officers as the Karkuns, Qanungos and Patwaris. Patwari was in charge of the revenue accounts. The duty of Muqaddam was to keep order in the village and help the officials of the Government in the collection of state dues.

Kotwal. The duties of the Kotwal are given in detail in the *Ain-i-Akbari.* Essentially, he was a police officer of the town, but he enjoyed magisterial powers in certain cases. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the city. He kept watch at night and patrolled the city. He kept a register of houses and frequented buildings. He examined weights and measures and discovered thieves. He made a list of property of those who had no heir and also of the dead and missing persons. He was to see that no woman was burnt against her will. He was to employ a spy from among the obscure residents and observe the income and expenditure of the various classes.

According to Manucci, "It is his business to stop the distillation of spirits. He has to see that there were no public women in the town nor anything else forbidden. He obtains information about all that goes on so as to be able to send in his report (to the ruler). For this purpose, there are throughout the Mughal Empire certain persons known as house-scavengers. These men are under obligation to go twice a day to clean out every house and they tell a kotwal all that goes on. He is subordinate to the Qazi and receives orders from him. Under his orders, there is a considerable number of body of cavalry and a great number of foot-soldiers. In every ward, there is a horseman and 20 to 30 foot soldiers who in a sort of way go to the rounds." According to Abul Fazl, "The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and human."

The *Ain-i-Akbari* describes his duties in these words: "Through his night patrolling and watchfulness, the citizens should enjoy the repose of security and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of nonexistence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequent roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligence subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal, of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the others should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing employ a heedful scrutiny. He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men, and by a refined address make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration. Of every guild of artificers he should name one as a guildmaster, and another as a broker,

by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these he should require frequent reports. When the night is little advanced he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft... He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen, or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct and no one shall demand a tax or cess save on arms, elephants, camels, cattle, sheep, goats and merchandise. He should suffer no alteration in the value of the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices, and not allow purchases to be made outside the city. The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. He shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more or less than 30 *dams*. In *gaz*, he should permit neither decrease nor increase and restrain the people from the making, dispensing, buying or selling of wine; but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life. Of the property of a deceased or missing person, who may have no heir, he shall make an inventory and keep it in his care. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses; and prohibit women from riding horses. He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse or camel be slaughtered and forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be hurt against her inclination nor a criminal deserving of death to be impaled, nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve."

According to Sarkar, the Kotwal "should check the number of persons in the prison and ascertain answers of the charges against them. Then he should report to his official superior the cases of those prisoners whom he considers innocent and secure their liberation. In the case of the guilty persons who could pay, he could take orders for exacting suitable fines from them and then release them. In the case of penniless prisoners, the Kotwal should report and take action as commanded. A statement of all the cases of those deserving to be kept in prison should be sent to the officers of Canon Law, and the orders passed by the latter over their signatures should be carried out by the Kotwal. In the case of those deserving death, the Kotwal should, through proper officers, freely state their cases to the judge on the day of trial, receive the Qazi's signed sentence of death and execute the sentence."

Waqai-Navis. He was the recorder of occurrences in the province. It was with the help of this person that the Central Government was kept in touch with the affairs of the provinces. The following passage which is in the form of an advice to a Waqai Navis gives some idea of his duties: "Report the truth lest the Emperor should learn facts from another source and punish you. Your work is delicate; both sides have to be served. Deep sagacity and consideration should be employed so that both the Shaikh and the Book may remain in their proper places. In the words of most of the high officers, forbidden things are done. If you report them truly, the officers will be disgraced. If you do not, you yourself will be undone. Therefore, you should tell the Lord of the Ward. In your ward forbidden things are taking place, stop them. If he gives a rude reply, you should threaten the Kotwal of the ward by pointing out the misdeeds. The Lord of the Ward will then know of it. Although the evil has

not yet been removed from the Ward, yet if anyone reports the matter to the Emperor, you can easily defend yourselr by saying that you have informed the master of the ward and instructed the Kotwal. In every matter, write the truth, but avoid offending the nobles. Write after carefully verifying your statement."

Sarkars or Districts. Every province was divided into many Sarkars or Districts. The Faujdar was in charge of the Sarkar. He was to carry out the orders of the Governor and also keep himself constantly in touch with them.

Parganas or Mahals. Every Sarkar was divided into many Parganas or Mahals. In every Pargana, there was a Shiqadar, an Amil, a Potdar and a few Bitikchis. Shiqadar was in charge of the administration of the Pargana. His duty was to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction.

The Kotwal was the chief administrator of a town and his duties have already been explained above. Every city was divided into many wards or mohallas. It has already been pointed out that neither the Provincial Government nor the Central Government interfered with the people living in villages. Every village was considered to be an autonomous commonwealth.

Administration of justice. The Mughal Emperor was the Khalifa of the age. As such, he was the fountain of all justice. According to Sarkar, he was "the highest court of appeal and sometimes acted at the first instance too." The Mir Arz presented the application of the people before the Emperor. We are told that there were seven Mir Arzs in the time of Akbar. That was due to the pressure of work.

Mughal Emperors were lovers of justice. Akbar is stated to have declared that "If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself.') According to Peruschi, Akbar was most zealous and watchful in the matter of administering justice. "In inflicting punishments, he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out." It is true that access to the Mughal Emperor was not easy. However, efforts were made to provide some sort of link between the Emperor and the aggrieved parties. Reference may be made in this connection to the golden chain of Jahangir which was hung for the benefit of the people. Other Emperors were also anxious to give justice to the people.

The Qazi-ul-Quzat was the highest judicial officer of the country. He was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. However, according to Sarkar, there was "no system, no organization of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them." Cases were tried and disposed of by the Qazis, the Muftis and the Miradls.

The Qazis tried both civil and criminal cases of the Hindus and Muslims. While trying the cases of the Hindus, they were required to take into consideration their customs and usages. They were expected to be "just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court house and the seat of Government, not to accept pre-

sents from the people where they served, nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory." In spite of this ideal, the Qazis generally abused their powers and "the Qazis department became a byword of reproach in Mughal times."

According to Sarkar, "As the provincial Qazis jurisdiction was very vast and he had no assistant or deputy locally appointed to share his burden, only a small part of the disputes in the province could be tried by him." No wonder most of the cases in the rural areas and even in the urban areas were decided by the Panchayats.

Foreign writers like Sir Thomas Roe point out that in the Mughal period there was no codified law as such. Likewise, there was no highest court of justice which could finally lay down the law for the country. The Mughals had three separate judicial agencies, all working at the same time and independent of each other. Those were the courts of religious law, court of secular law, and political courts. As regards the courts of religious law, those were presided over by the Qazis who decided cases according to Islamic law. However, the Qazi was never "considered authoritative enough to lay down a legal principle, elucidate an obscurity in the Quran or supplement the Quranic law by following the line of its obvious intention in respect of cases not explicitly provided by it." The Qazis were helped by the Muftis who expounded the law. The Mufti was "urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn precedents." The Miradls drew up and pronounced the judgment.

Muslim law in India did not grow and changed according to the circumstances and needs of the country. It merely reflected the changes of juristic thought in Arabia or Egypt. Even Akbar did not interfere with the administration of criminal justice which was based on Islamic law.

As regards the courts of secular law, they were presided over by Governors, Faujdars and Kotwals. In the time of Akbar, Brahmans were appointed to decide the cases of Hindus. The Panchayats also fell under this category. The courts of secular law were not under the thumb of the Qazi. Political courts tried political cases like rebellion, rioting, theft, robbery, murders, etc. They were presided over by Subahdars, Faujdars, Kotwals, etc.

There were three groups of crimes, *viz.*, offences against God, offences against the State, and offences against private individuals. The four kinds of punishments were Hadd, Tazir, Qisas and Tashir. Hadd was a punishment for crimes against God. Tazir was punishable by public reprimand, dragging of the offender and exposing him to public scorn, boxing of his ears, scourging. Qisas was in the nature of retaliation. The relative of the victim was allowed to demand retaliation or compensation. Tashir involved public degradation. It was in the form of shaving the head of the offender, putting him on an ass, "with his face towards its tail, covered with dust, sometimes with a garland of shoes, placed round his neck" etc.

According to Malleson, "The lines upon which justice was administered by the officers of Akbar were the same as those introduced by his Afghan predecessors. The Quran was the basis upon which

the law rested. But precedents often modified the strict interpretation. Where law, moreover, leaned to severity, it was again modified by the instructions drafted by the emperor and his advisers. The leading features of these instructions were to temper justice with mercy."

According to J.N. Sarkar, "It is rather strange to note that manslaughter is not a violation of God's law nor of the king's peace but only a damage to the family of the murdered man, which can be settled by paying money as compensation to the next of kin of the victim without the executive head of the state or the judge of Canon Law having to take any further notice of it. It was only when the relatives of the murdered man refused to accept money damages and insisted on retaliation, that the Qazi had to pronounce the sentence of death and the executive to enforce it."

Criticism of Mughal Administrative System. Reference may be made to some of the points of criticism levelled against the Mughal administrative system.

(1) It is contended that the *Mughal administration was essentially foreign in its character*. A critical examination shows that there is partial truth in this statement. The Mughals were foreigners to begin with and officials from Persia were everywhere given preference. But it cannot be denied that from the time of Akbar, the Mughal Emperors were born and brought up in India and died in India. Hence, it may not be proper to call them foreigners. Moreover, while the high posts were reserved for foreigners, a very large number of smaller jobs were given to the Indians, Muslims and Hindus. Akbar was loved by his subjects on account of his policy of Sulh-kul. According to Tavernier, Shah Jahan "reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children." According to Edwardes and Garrett, "Modern India owes much more than is superficially apparent to the administrative genius of the Great Mughal."

(2) Another criticism is that the economic and social results of Mughal rule were disastrous to the prosperity and happiness of the people of India. It is pointed that the Mughals left much richer than they found it when they came to this country. They did not send any money to any foreign country as the Britishers did. According to Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, "Throughout the Mughal age, India maintained a balance of trade in her favour."

According to Moreland, "Weavers, naked themselves, toiled to clothe others. Peasants, themselves hungry, toiled to feed the towns and cities. India, taken as a unit, parted with useful commodities in exchange for gold and silver, or in other words, gave bread for stones. Men and women, living from season to season, on the verge of hunger, could be contented so long as the supply of food held out; when it failed, as it so often did, their hope of salvation was the slave-trader and the alternatives were cannibalism, suicide or starvation. The only way of escape from that system lay through an increase of production, coupled with a rising standard of life, but this road was barred effectively by the administrative methods in vogue, which penalised production and regarded every indication of increased consumption as a signal for fresh extortion." However, this extreme view is not accepted by other writers. It is pointed out that the

condition of the people was not so miserable as is depicted by Moreland. According to Manucci, "All things are in great plenty here, fruits, pulses, grain, muslin, cloths of gold and silver." These things may have been bad in times of famine, but that was not always the case.

(3) According to J.N. Sarkar, the Mughal Government was "extremely limited, materialistic, almost sordid". The socialistic activities of modern state were ignored by the Mughal rulers and left to the society or caste brotherhood. However, it is pointed out that such was not the case in actual practice. The administrative machinery did attend to the regulation of weights and measures and prices of commodities, control of sale and manufacture of intoxicating drugs, control of prostitution, prohibition of forced *Sati*, regulation of private income and expenditure, the control of morals with the help of Censors of Public Morals, prohibition of cow-slaughter and forced conversions, punishment of drunkenness etc. Thus, the Mughal State was not only a police state but something more than that. It did all that it could under the circumstances for the people.

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CHAPTER XII

ART AND LITERATURE IN MUGHAL INDIA

Architecture. It goes without saying that the Mughals were great builders. Many of the Mughal buildings have come down to us. Fergusson was of the opinion that Mughal architecture was of foreign origin. Havell criticised this view and contended that the inspiration of the Indian master-builders was not foreign. The Mughal Emperors were more Indian than foreign and consequently there was a fusion of cultures. There were no special features of Mughal architecture. According to Sir John Marshall, the architecture of India could not conform to any one standard. There were bound to be variations on account of the vast size of the country. Moreover, a lot depended upon the personal tastes of the Mughal emperors. Persian influence predominated up to the end of the reign of Akbar and after that the Indian architecture became essentially Indian and there was nothing in it which could be specifically pointed out as Persian. The pre-Mughal architecture was known for its massiveness and simplicity and the Mughal architecture was known for its decoration and delicacy.

Babur. Babur held a very poor opinion of Indian architecture. He had a mind to invite from Constantinople a pupil of Sinan, the famous Albanian architect, to assist him in his building projects. However, it appears that he gave up that idea. In spite of this, Babur built many buildings. To quote him, "In Agra alone, and of the stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I everyday employed on my places 680 persons; and in Agra, Sikri, Biyana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Koil there were everyday employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters." Out of the many buildings built by Babur, only two have survived and those are the mosques in the Kabul Bagh at Panipat and the Jama Masjid at Sambhal.

Humayun. Although Humayun led a very stormy life, he found some time to construct certain buildings. There is a mosque at Fathebad in the Hissar District of the Punjab. It is decorated with enamelled tiles in the Persian style. Humayun's palace at Delhi called Din Panah was built in a hurry and it appears that considerations of quality and durability were completely ignored by its builders.

Sher Shah. Sher Shah built a Mausoleum at Sahasram. There is a harmonious combination of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas that gives the impression of a Buddhist Stupa, a Hindu temple and a Muslim tomb. According to the critics, the Mausoleum is intermediate between "the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the feminine grace of Sher Shah's master-piece." The Mausoleum is situated on a terrace which is 30 feet high. It is about 3,000 feet square in the middle of a tank. It is "one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the Northern Provinces for grandeur and dignity..." Sher Shah also built the Purana Qila at Delhi. The mosque inside the Purana Qila called Qila-i-Kunhan Masjid is "a structure of such admirable archi-

tectural qualities as to entitle it to a high place among the buildings of Northern India."

Akbar. Akbar took great interest in the field of architecture. His spirit of tolerance is to be found in the style of architecture of his reign. The Hindu style was favoured in his palaces at the Agra fort and at Fatehpur Sikri. The Humayun's tomb was completed in 1565. It has four towers at the four angles of the main building. It has no coloured tiles and marble has been used in its construction.

The palaces of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri deserve special mention. Akbar laid the foundation of the new city in the honour of Salim Chisti in 1569 and many buildings were constructed during the next 12 years. The Jama Masjid and the Buland Darwaza are very famous. The Buland Darwaza[1] is the highest gateway in India and it is one of the biggest in the world. It was constructed in 1602 to commemorate the conquests of Akbar in the Deccan. The Jama Masjid has been described as "the glory of Fatehpur." It was built in 1571. Other important buildings of Fatehpur are the House of Birbal, the Sonhala Makan or the House of the Princess of Amber, the palace of of Turkish Sultana and the Diwan-i-Khas.

According to Dr. Smith, Fatehpur Sikri was "the freak of an irresponsible autocrat acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotion and enjoying the sensation of absolute freedom from financial limitations." The whole structure of the city was a "patrification of a passing mood in Akbar's strange nature, begun and finished at the lightning speed while that mood lasted inconceivable and impossible at any other time or in any other circumstances." According to Lane-Poole, "Nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than the deserted city, the silent witness of a vanished dream."

Reference may be made to the Humayun's tomb at Delhi. This was constructed under the supervision of Akbar's step-mother Haji Begum. This building is Persian in style. It is the earliest example in India of "a double-dome with slightly swelling, outlines standing on a high neck— a form of construction resembling the Mausoleum of Taimur and Bibi Khanam at Samarqand."

The forts of Agra and Lahore were planned and constructed under the personal supervision of Akbar. The walls of the Agra fort are 75 feet high and possess a circumference of a mile and a half. There are two gateways called Delhi Gate or Elephant Gate and Amar Singh Gate. Within this enclosure, Akbar constructed more than 5,000 buildings of red sandstone. Many of them were destroyed by Shah Jahan. The principle of the construction of the fort of Agra and Lahore is the "beam and bracket". Every effort is made to avoid the use of arches. Jahangiri Mahal has fine ornate handi-work and carved stone brackets to support the beams. The Agra fort resembles the fort of Gwalior. "The Elephant Gateway, the Copulas of Amar Singh Gateway, the palaces arising out of the fort-walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details all indicate that

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1. One finds the following words inscribed on the Buland Darwaza: "The world is a bridge; pass over it; but build no house upon it. The world endures but an hour; spend it in prayer; who sees the rest? Thy greatest riches are the alms which thou hast given. Know that the world is a mirror where fortune has appeared, then fled; call nothing thine that thy eyes cannot see".

the Rajput citadel which had moved Babur to admiration some forty years before, was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandsons."

The Lahore fort was built at the same time as the Agra fort, but it is more vigorous and less restrained than the Agra fort. "Elephants and lions figure in the brackets and peacocks at the friezes from which it may be inferred that Hindu craftsmanship predominated and the supervision of the Mughal overseers was of a very tolerant order." The Allahabad fort was built a little later.

Akbar also built such buildings as the fort of Attock, mosques at Merta and other places. He designed his own tomb at Sikandra. It was begun in 1605 but was completed by Jahangir. According to Abul Fazl, "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garments of stone and clay." According to Fergusson, Fatehpur Sikri was a reflex of the mind of a great man.

Jahangir. Jahangir did not take so much interest in architecture as his father did. As a matter of fact, he was more interested in painting than in constructing buildings. Nur Jahan erected the famous Itmad-ud-daulah tomb in the memory of her father. It is made of marble and possesses rare beauty. It is unique. It is one of the earliest buildings in which pietra dura was used. Precious stones of various colours were placed in a very delicate manner, Pietra dura work followed the Rajput pattern. It appears the old Indian architectural decoration style is the same as the many Sila Karma or precious stone in lay work.

According to Percy Brown, "Whether regarded as an architectural composition of matchless refinement, as an example of applied art displaying rare craftsmanship, or as an artistic symbol of passionate filial devotion, the tomb of Itmad-ud-daulah expresses in every part of it the high aesthetic ideals that prevailed among the Mughals at the time."

As regards the tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore, it was built by Nur Jahan. It is to be noted that the tombs of Jahangir, Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan were very badly injured by the Sikhs.

Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was one of the greatest of the builders among the Mughals. In his time, the arts of the jeweller and the painter were blended into one. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas in the fort of Delhi, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj. It is pointed out that the palace of Delhi is the most magnificent in the East. The Diwan-i-Khas is more highly ornamented than any other building of Shah Jahan. An inscription on it described it in these words:—

> "Agar firdaus bar ruyia zamin ast
> Hamin asto, hamin asto, hamin ast."
>
> (If on earth be an Eden of bliss,
> It is this, it is this, none but this.)

The mosques of Shah Jahan are of two kinds. The beauty of the Moti Masjid lies in its purity and simplicity. The perfection of proportions and harmony of constructive designs make it one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere. The Jama Masjid is more impressive than Moti Masjid. The interior

of the Jama Masjid at Delhi is simple "lest the fineness of art should disturb the people assembled to pray."

According to Percy Brown, "Augustus's boast that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble has its counterpart in the building productions of Shah Jahan, who found the Mughal cities of sandstone and left them of marble. In the forts of Agra and Lahore, and at other places besides, this emperor swept away many of the sandstone structures of his predecessors and in their places erected marble palaces. The quarries of Makrana in Rajputana provided unlimited supplies of this finely textured building material, so that pavilions, courts and columned halls were all constructed in pure white marble; when for various reasons this was not made use of, the stone which took its place was faced with stucco, the plastered surfaces being polished to an egg-shell whiteness in keeping with the marble masonry. Such a definite change of material naturally implied a corresponding change in architectural treatment. The building art acquired a new sensibility. Instead of the rectangular character of the previous period there arose the curved line and flowing rhythm of the style of Shah Jahan, while the chisel of the stone carver was replaced by the finer instruments of the marble cutter and polisher. No longer was effect dependent on bold string-courses and intricate carving; the chaste texture of the marble itself was sufficient to give quality to any building, and any relief decoration required to be of the most refined order and sparingly applied. Variety of surface was obtained by panels in correct proportions outlined by mouldings fine and rare in their contours. Most of the ornamentation was, however, of a much more subtle nature, colour and gilding being introduced, while pattern inlaid in semi-precious stones—the *pietra dura* already mentioned—were a special feature. But perhaps the most striking innovation was the change in the shape of the arch, which in almost all buildings of Shah Jahan's reign is foliated or cusped in its outlines, so that white marble arcades of engrailed arches became the distinguishing characteristics of the period. During the governance of this emperor, Mughal architecture undoubtedly found its golden age. Of a highly artistic nature he satisfied his desires by the building of sumptuous edifices of all kinds, not waiting to complete one piece of self-expression before committing himself to another. All other forms of culture not dependent on the mason's art, such as literature, the school of miniature painting encouraged by Akbar and Jahangir, and similar intellectual pursuits, were disregarded, his entire patronage being concentrated on building. And it was building of the most sensuous, even voluptuous order. The productions of his predecessors were looked upon as almost barbaric, the court chronicler comparing certain of their 'abominations' with the masterpieces of 'this august reign, when...lovely things reached the zenith of perfection'. At Agra and Lahore the palaces within the forts were largely reconstructed, and all the cities of the Mughals display examples of Shah Jahan's building predilections. In the fort at Agra the greatest changes were recorded, the whole of the structures north of the Jahangiri Mahall being dismantled and their places taken by marble edifices such as the Diwan-i-Am, Diwan-i-Khas, the Khas Mahall, the Shish Mahall, the Musamman Burj, the Anguri Bagh, the Machhi Bhawan and the Moti Masjid. Details of all these alterations and additions are to be found in contemporary accounts written in the flowery langu-

age of the time. But even the most ardent flatterer, trained in poetical analogies, could barely do justice to the surpassing beauty of some of these structures, which in spite of vicissitudes still hold their own as the most elegant of their kind. What could be more graceful than the hall of the Diwan-i-Khas with its series of double columns, or the Musamman Burj hanging like a fairy bower over the grim ramparts? Even these, however, are excelled by the peerless refinement of the Moti Masjid or 'Pearl Mosque', one of Shah Jahan's latest additions, as it was erected in 1654, when the art had attained its ripest state. Few religious edifices convey to the beholder a finer sense of purity than this chapel royal, which both on account of the flawless quality of its material, and the skilfully modulated disposition of its elements, represents the Mughal style at its zenith. The subordination and contrast of the entrance archways to the arcading of the sanctuary, the proportions and arrangement of the kiosks surmounting the cornices, and, notably, the subtle raising of the drum of the central dome in relation to those on each side, are a few only of the aspects of this structure which show in the most emphatic manner that the principles of balance and rhythm were by this time thoroughly appreciated by the Mughal builders."[1]

The Taj was built by Shah Jahan in the memory of his beloved queen, Arjumand Banu, who died in 1630. We are told that prominent artisans were invited from various countries to help in designing and constructing the Taj. The final plan of the Taj was prepared after a lot of discussion and many variations. To begin with, a model of the Taj was prepared in wood and this was followed by the artisans. The Taj was constructed under the guidance of Ustad Isa and he was paid a salary of Rs. 1,000/- per month.

On the authority of Father Manrique of Spain, it is contended that the Taj was designed by Geronimo Veroneo, a Venetian. There is nothing impossible or surprising in Shah Jahan taking the advice from a Venetian architect. However, it is strange to maintain that the Taj was designed by a foreigner. Father Manrique did not get his information directly from the Venetian. No other European writer of the Mughal period mentions the fact that the Taj was designed by a foreigner. Even Peter Mundy does not make a mention of this. The same is the case with Travernier and Bernier. None of them maintains that the designer of the Taj was a Venetian. Thevenot, a French traveller, who visited the Taj in 1660, wrote thus: "This superb monument is sufficient to show that the Indians are not ignorant of architecture, and though the style may appear curious to Europeans, it is good taste and one could only say that it is very fine." Likewise, no contemporary Indian writers says that the Taj was designed by a foreigner. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, "It may be observed that bands of sculptors, lapidaries, inlayers and fresco-makers came from the different parts of His Majesty's dominions. The experts of each art together with their assistants busied themselves in the task." It is pointed out that even a critical examination of the building itself shows that it is in Asiatic style. As a matter of fact, there is more of Persian influence than of the European influence. Havell was of the opinion that there was nothing to support the view that the Taj was designed

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 553 55.

by a Venetian.[1]

It took 22 years to complete the work of construction of the Taj. There are writers who give a different duration. It was estimated to have cost about Rs. 3 crores. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, "The cost of building several edifices which are detailed above, and which were completed in nearly 12 years under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim, amounted to 50 lakhs of rupees". It may be pointed out that the inscription at the entrance of the Taj is dated 1647 A.D. This also comes to about 17 years. The period of 22 years is given by Travernier.

We are told that Shah Jahan assigned to the Taj landed property which was expected to give an annual income of Rs. one lakh. An equal amount was to be got from the rents of the shops, inns and bazars.

According to Percy Brown, "It may be noted that while the structural portions seem to have been principally in the hands of Muhammedans, the decoration was mainly the work of Hindu craftsmen, the difficult task of preparing the *pietra dura* especially being entrusted to a group of the latter from Kanauj."[2] Again, "The main dome by its shape is plainly of Timurid extraction, its remote ancestor being the dome of the rock at Jerusalem ; on the other hand, the copulas with their wide caves are of indigenous origin, being derived from the overlapping rings of masonry which formed the vaulted ceiling of the Hindu temple." According to Smith the Taj is "the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius," but this view is not accepted.

The Taj is the "finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world." It is flawless in design and execution. It has been described as a lyric in stone. It is a "dream in marble." It is the "immortal tear on the cheek of eternity." Sir Edwin Arnold wrote the following regarding the Taj:

"Not architecture; as all others are,
But the proud passion of an Emperor's love.
Wrought into living stone which gleams and soars
With body of beauty shining soul and thought."

Emperor Shah Jahan himself described the Taj in these words:—

"Should guilty seek asylum here,
Like one pardoned, he becomes free from sin.

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1. According to Fergusson, "Taj Mahal at Agra is almost the only tomb that retains its grandeur in anything like its pristine beauty, and there is not perhaps in the whole world a scene where nature and art so successfully combine to produce a perfect work of art as within the precincts of the far-famed mausoleum."

The view of Fergusson was that Italian artists were brought from Florence and they were responsible for introducing the art of inlaying the marble with precious stones. The buildings of Shah Jahan have become one of the chief characteristics of architectural style. Shah Jahan employed Austian Bordeaux as one of his chief architects. To the objection that no Indian writer has referred to the foreign artists, he gives his reply in these words, "It is hardly to be expected that natives should record the names of those who surpassed them in their own arts and needy Italian adventurers were even less likely to have an opportunity of recording the words they executed in strange foreign country."

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 564.

Should a sinner make his way to this mansion,
All his past sins are to be washed away.
The sight of this mansion creates sorrowing sighs
And makes sun and moon shed tears from their eyes.
In this world this edifice has been made
To display thereby the Creator's glory."

Regarding the grandeur of the Taj, another writer observes thus: "Added to this, the building owes not a little of its sensuous charm to the extraneous effects of the atmosphere and the variations in the light on its marble surfaces. The marble when first won from the uninspiring mounds of Makrana is itself of a superb texture—white with a delicate grey grain. In the course of centuries, mellowed by the sun and sand blasted by the red-dust of the surrounding country, driven into it by the monsoon rains, it has acquired a patina, almost imperceptible but sufficient to affect, its colour values. The result is that the building assumes at different times a variety of tents, from a cold grey at dawn, shimmering white at noon, and suffused with a tender blush rose in the after glow, with a wide range of half-tones in between. And in the light of the moon another and entirely changed palette is called into requisition. On some of these occasions, with the flowers in the garden, painting the foreground with their vivid colouring, it seems as if the hand of nature and the hand of man had united and done their utmost to produce a spectacle of supremely moving beauty."

According to Fergusson, "Perhaps in the whole world, there is not a scene where nature and art so successfully combine to produce a perfect work of art as within the precincts of this far-famed mausoleum... No words can express the chastened beauty of that central chamber, seen in the soft gloom of the subdued light that reaches it through the distant and half-closed openings that surround it. Used as a *barah durrie*, or pleasure-palace, it must always have been the coolest and the loveliest of garden retreats; and now that it is sacred to the dead it is the most graceful and the most impressive of the sepulchres of the world."[1]

After the death of Shah Jahan, Mughal architecture began to decline. Aurangzeb was not interested in architecture. He built a small mosque in the fort of Delhi for his own use. A mosque was also built at Banaras on the ruins of the temple of Vishwanath in 1660. The Badshahi Mosque was built at Lahore in 1674. However, it is a poor imitation of the Jama Masjid at Delhi. After the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal architecture completely deteriorated. The buildings that were constructed in the 18th century show the bankruptcy of taste and poverty of design, finish and decoration.

Painting in Mughal period. The origin, nature and development of Mughal painting is similar to Mughal architecture. It is a combination of many elements. The Chinese art which was influenced by the Budhist Indian art, Iranian and Hellenic art and Mongolian art, was introduced into Iran in the 13th century and it continued to flourish up to the 16th century in Iran. This art was carried by the Mughals into India from Persia. In the time of Akbar, it was completely absorbed by the Indian art. It is to be noted that the Indian painters differed in certain respects from the Western or Persian painters. The Hindu painters took their subjects and inspiration from the Indian

1. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.

classics, Vaishnava literature and the life of the people. The Persian or Western painters took their subjects and inspiration from the materialistic life of the court.

The Afghan rulers of India did not give any encouragement to painting. As a matter of fact, Firoz Tuglak prohibited the painting of portraits and wall decorations in his own palace. However, painting received great encouragement in the time of the Mughals. Even the ancestors of the Mughals in India were great lovers of painting and no wonder Babur inherited an artistic taste. Babur was a great lover of beauty and art. He found great pleasure in flowers, springs and streams. He employed court painters and the paintings in the Alwar manuscript of the Persian version of Babur's Memoirs may represent the kind of work they produced.

Humayun developed a taste for painting when he was in exile in Persia. When he went back to Kabul, he invited in 1550 Mir Sayyid Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad. These two painters gave lessons to Humayun and were asked to illustrate the Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah. The early death of Humayun did not allow great works of painting to be completed.

Akbar. In the time of Akbar, painting made very great progress. The Emperor created a separate department of painting and placed the same under the control of Khawaja Abdus Samad. He took personal interest in the department and gave every kind of encouragement. This led to the growth of his school of painting which may be called the National Indian School of Painting. The painters were called from every part of India and even from outside. Although they belonged to different religions and castes, they had the common ideal of producing works of great calling. We are told that Akbar had an album of portraits. It is possible that Umar Shaik's portrait of Babur was in this album.

It is stated that *Abdus Sumad* was a native of Shiraz in Persia. He was given the title of Shirin-Kalam or "Sweet-pen". Akbar appointed Abdus Samad as the Master of the Mint at the capital. Later on, he was sent to Multan as Diwan or Revenue Commissioner. Although he was officially a Mansabdar of 400, he enjoyed considerable influence at the court. He was so skilful that he is stated to have written on a poppy-seed Chapter 112 of the Koran. It runs thus:—

> "In the name of the most merciful God. Say, God is our God; the eternal God: he begotteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like unto him."

Regarding the interest of Akbar in painting, Abul Fazl remarks thus in the *Ain-i-Akbari*: "He gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as means both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerks; he often confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has specially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and the master-pieces worthy of a Bihzad may be placed at the side of the wonder-works of the European painters who have attained world-

wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures are incomparable, even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who reached perfection, or those who are middling is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them."

Abul Fazl tells us that Akbar himself attached great importance to painting and gives the following reasons for the same: "It appears to me (Akbar), as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising the limbs one after another, must come to feel that he cannot bestow personality on his works, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life and thus increase knowledge."

The number of foreign painters at the court of Akbar was not very large and the majority of them were Hindus. The leading Muslim painters were Abdus Samad, Mir Saiyyad Ali and Farukh Beg. Among the Hindu painters were Daswant, Basawan, Sanwal Das, Tara Chand, Jagannath and others. As regards *Basawan*, he was an expert in painting of backgrounds, drawing of features and distribution of colours. As regards *Daswant*, he belonged to a low caste but gave signs of greatness as a painter from his very childhood. He attracted the attention of Akbar who put him under the care of Abdus Samad. Unfortunately, when he was at the height of his glory, he became insane and committed suicide.

In the time of Akbar, the Chingiznamah, the Ramayana, Kalyadaman, Ayardanish, Zafarnamah, Naldaman and Razmanamah were illustrated.

Jahangir. Like his father, Jahangir gave an impetus to the art of painting. He himself was a rich collector, a connoisseur and an art critic. Jahangir boasts of his own knowledge of painting in these words: "As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought to me, either of the deceased artists, or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye-brows of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eyes and eye-brows."

Sir Thomas Roe who visited the Mughal court in the time of Jahangir testifies to the fact that Jahangir was a great lover of painting. The great painters of Jahangir's time were Farruk Beg, Mohammad Nadir and Mohammad Murad. Aqa Riza was given the title of Nadir-uz-Zaman by Jahangir. Ustad Mansur had that title of Nadir-ul-Asar. It is true that the Hindu painters were not favoured by Jahangir, but Bishan Das, the Keshva brothers, Manohar, Madhav and Tulsi flourished at this time. It is stated that *Bishan Das* was unequalled in his age for taking likeness. The favourite subjects of painting were buildings, flowers, animals, birds and natural objects. The art of painting became essentially Indian in the time of Jahangir. The Mughal School of Miniature Painting reached its climax in the time of Jahangir. "Akbar laid the foundation of the Mughal miniature

painting, but it was his son Jahangir born of a Rajput princess who by his knowledge and artistic intuition guided the new School of Indian Art to maturity and taught it by the influence of his own rare judgment to achieve success." According to Percy Brown, "With his (Jahangir) passing the soul of Mughal painting also departed: its outward form remained for a time, in gold and lavish vestments, it lived on under other kings but its real spirit died with Jahangir."[1]

Shah Jahan. As regards Shah Jahan, he took more interest in architecture and consequently painting did not get any encouragement. The result was that not much progress was made in the field of painting in his reign. A few nobles patronised the painter and Asaf Khan was one of them. His house at Lahore was one of the finest mansions in the country and it was decorated by the painters. Dara Shikoh was a lover of painting and tried to patronise the same but his abrupt end gave a setback to painting. An album of Dara is to be found in the library of the India Office. The famous painters of the time of Shah Jahan were Mir Hasan, Anupa Chitra and Chitramani.

In the time of Aurangzeb also the painters did not get any encouragement. However, this does not mean that the art of painting disappeared altogether. The painters continued their work either under the patronage of the nobles or of their own account. Aurangzeb himself is said to have defaced the paintings in Sur Mahal at Bijapur. He is also stated to have white-washed the painting in Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandara. Many pictures have come down to us which show Aurangzeb taking part in certain battles. After the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire, the Mughal painters migrated to Lucknow, Patna, Murshidabad, Mysore and Hyderabad. However, their works were not of a very high order.

According to Percy Brown, "The Mughal School of Painting in India coincides with the period of Mughal dynasty. Coming into patronage during the reign of Akbar in the later half of the sixteenth century, it attained its apogee under the imperial diletante Jahangir. The reign of his successor Shah Jahan marks the first step in its decline, while under the unsympathetic rule of Aurangzeb its death-knell was rung. It lingered on a decadent art under the Nawabs of Oudh until the end of eighteenth century and practically ceased to exist with the advent of British rule. As a School of Painting, its duration was short extending even two and a half centuries and it has been aptly referred to as not exactly a school, but more of a brilliant episode in the history of Indian art."[1] Again, "Inspired by the founders of the dynasty, it reflected in its subject-matter and in its invention the mind of the ruling power.... The Mughal School confines itself to portraying somewhat the materialistic life of the court with its state-functions, processions, hunting expeditions, and all the picturesque although barbaric pageantry of an affluent oriental dynasty." The style and subject of Mughal art is "materialistic, exotic and eclectic" and that of the Hindu art is "spiritual and symbolic." The Mughal School had no immediate contact with the masses. It was not meant for the common people. Only the ruling chiefs and princes were its patrons and connoisseurs. Outside the courts, little was known of its existence.

The Deccan School of Painting was an off-shoot of Mughal pain-

(i) Mughal Painting, p. 86.

ting. It was introduced into the Deccan after the conquest of Aurangzeb. There is a controversy whether the Deccani school produced any work of great merit or not. On account of the chaotic condition of the country, the atmosphere was not congenial for the development of arts. Probably, the so-called works of the Deccani schools were stolen or looted from the Mughal court by the Peshwas. Their technique, style and form are similar to those of Mughal paintings.

The Rajput School of Painting developed under the patronage of Hindu chiefs. The Hindu writs were patronised even by Akbar. The Rajput art is the art of the people. It is democratic and majestic in form. The Hindu artists depicted the life of the common people, their beliefs, manners and traditions. The Pahari artists from Nurpur, Basohli, Chamba and Jammu painted pictures from the Indian classics. Romance, love and devotion were symbolised in the visualisation of popular divinities like Shankar Parvati and Radha Krishna. Myths and legends were represented by giving them human and superhuman forms. Rajput artists excelled in miniature painting. Their paintings of women were charmful and graceful. The chief features of Rajput paintings were "delicacy of time, brilliancy of colour and minuteness of decorative detail."

Music. The Mughals were patrons of music. According to Lane-Poole, the art of improving quatrain on the spot, quoting Persian classics, writing a good hand and singing a good song were appreciated in the time of Babur who himself was fond of music. He not only liked music but himself wrote poetry. Humayun was also fond of musicians and singers and had fixed Mondays and Wednesdays for that purpose. It is stated that when Humayun captured Mandu in 1535 and ordered a wholesale massacre of all the prisoners, he came to know that *Bachchu*, a musician, was among the captives. Not only his life was saved, he was also made a musician of the court. As regards the members of the Sur dynasty, Badauni says that they "were enticed from the path of fortitude and self-restraint by all sorts of sense-ravishing allurements." Adil Shah was so great a patron of music that he gave Bhagat, a musician boy, Mansab of 10,000.

Akbar was also a great lover of music. According to Abul Fazl, "His Majesty pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at the court, Hindu, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day of the week." Abul Fazl gives us a list of 36 singers and performers on various instruments. The name of Baz Bahadur, the ex-king of Malwa, is one of them. It is stated that he was appointed a Mansabdar of 1,000 and he is described as a singer without rival.

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar was the master of "such knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess; and he had likewise an excellent hand at performing especially on the *Nakarah* (kettle-drum)." Akbar made a special study of Hindi vocalization under Lal Kalawant or Miyan Lal who taught him "every breathing and sign that appertains to the Hindi language." The *Ain-i-Akbari* contains details of the daily routine of performances by the palace band.

Mian *Tansen* was the best singer of Akbar's time. According to Abul Fazl, "A singer like him has not been in India for the last thou-

sand years." Tansen was an intimate friend of Surdas. He got his musical education at Gwalior where Raja Man Singh had founded a school of music. Unfortunately, he took to too much of drinking. He died at the age of 34 in 1589. Tansen is stated to have invented some new Ragas. It is maintained by some critics that Tansen "falsified the Ragas of which two, Hindol and Megh, have disappeared completely since his day." The other famous musicians were Baba Ram Das, Bauja Bawla and Sur Das. Baba Ram Das was second only to Tansen. A reward of one lakh of Tankas was given to him by Bairam Khan. In the time of Akbar, the different systems of music were fused together and a new Indian music came into being.

Like his father, Jahangir had an ear for music. He kept in his court a large number of musicians. According to William Finch, "Many hundred of musicians and dancing girls attended there day and night, yet as their several turns—every seventh day, that they may be ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Mahal, he was giving to every one of them stipend according to their worth." Jahangir was himself the author of many Hindi songs which were very interesting. Mohammad Salih and his brothers were great singers of Hindi songs. Jagannath and Janardhan Bhatt of Bikaner were great musicians.

Shah Jahan was also a lover of music. In the evenings, he used to hear the best of the songs of the musicians. Vocal and instrumental music was given every day in the Diwan-i-Khas. On occasions, Shah Jahan himself took part in music. According to J.N. Sarkar, the voice of Shah Jahan was so attractive that "many pure-souled Sufis and holy men with hearts withdrawn from the world who attended these evening assemblies lost their senses in the ecstasy produced by his singing." Shah Jahan patronised musicians, Ram Dass and Maha Patra were chief vocalists at the court of Shah Jahan. On one accasion, Shah Jahan was so much pleased with the music of Jagannath "that he had him weighed against gold and gave him the amount as his fee."

It is pointed out that during the first ten years of his reign, Aurangzeb was fond of music. He maintained a large number of singers at his court. According to Saqi Mustad Khan, "Sweet voiced singers and charming players on musical instruments were gathered in numbers around his throne, and in the first few years of his reign he occasionally listened to their music." However, as Aurangzeb began to grow, he became an opponent of music and no wonder turned out the court musicians. Of course, the people were allowed to sing privately. As the court musicians were hit by the orders of the Emperor, they organised a funeral procession on a Friday when Aurangzeb was to go to the mosque for prayers. When Aurangzeb heard of their weeping, he enquired of the reason. He was informed that as the orders of the Emperor had killed music, they were taking her to the grave. The reply of Aurangzeb was that "they should pray for the soul of music and see that she was thoroughly buried." However, in spite of the orders of the Emperor, music continued to flourish as the members of the royal family, the nobility and the courtiers were not prepared to go without it.

Growth of literature under the Mughals. The Mughal period was productive of great literature. The literature was in Persian and Hindi. As regards *Persian literature,* Babur himself was a great

scholar and knew thoroughly Arabic, Persian and Turki. He not only liked the writings of others, but himself contributed to the same. He wrote his Memoirs in the Turkish language. There is no hypocrisy in his writings. He took delight in the company of learned men and held discussions with them.

Babur has been described as "the Prince of Autobiographers." According to Elphinstone, Babur's Memoirs were "almost the only piece of real history in Asia." According to Beveridge, "It is one of these priceless records which are for all time." According to Lane-Poole, "If ever there was a case when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by any other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Babur's Memoirs."

Humayun collected a large number of poets, philosophers and divines and took delight in their company. He was so much fond of books that wherever he went, he took a library of books with him. Jauhar, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, was a servant of Humayun.

Persian literature made great headway in the time of Akbar. Some of the writings of this period have historical importance and the others literary importance. The important historical works of this period were *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Masir-i-Rihimi* of Abdul Baqi the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni and *Akbarnamah* of Faizi.

Abul Fazl was undoubtedly the ablest writer in Persian. Whatever the criticism of his literary style, he was absolutely free from imparity. Smith's view was that Abul Fazl's style was intolerable to him. "Simple facts are wrapped in cloud of almost meaningless rhetoric, and an indelible impression is produced on the mind of the reader that the author lacked sincerity. Nevertheless Blochmann trusted the judgment of the author of Maasirul Umara that 'as a writer Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and free from the technicalities and flimsy prettinesses of other Munshis (Secretaries), and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the stableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them.' Few Europeans can hardly agree with that criticism."

According to J.N. Sarkar, "He (Abul Fazl) is an insufferable rhetorician and even when he intends to tell a fact, he buries it under a mass of figures of speech and round-about expression. His work therefore does not give us as much help in drawing a detailed picture of the administrative machinery though in statistical portion. It is detailed and correct. We are oppressed by a sense of vagueness and unreality of the picture as we go through the descriptive parts of the *Ain*." According to Beveridge, the style of Abul Fazl was tortuous and obscure.

The prose of Abul Fazl was vigorous and elegant. It seems to be inflated in verbose to western writers. He uses rare similes and metaphors with great ease and skill. The use of rhetoric sometimes creates confusion. It is stated that Abdullah Uzbeg used to say that "I am not so afraid of the sword of Akbar as I am of the pen of Abul Fazl." The *Akbarnamah* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* are the two monuments of Abul Fazl's fame as a writer and a historian.

The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni is the work of a critic of

Akbar. The author's name was Abdul Qadir but he was known as Badauni as he was a native of Badaun in Rohilkhand. He was a Sunni Muslim and he wrote his book from that point of view. Dr. Smith has attached great importance to this work as being a "check on the burgid panegyric composed by latitudinarians." The book gives us a lot of information regarding various aspects of Akbar's policy and administration. According to Blochmann, "It is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar whose character in its grandness and in its failings is much more prominent than in *Akbarnamah* or *Ain-i-Akbari* or *Masir-i-Rahimi*."

The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* or the Annals of Akbar was written by Nizam-ud-Din. He was a highly-placed official in the regime of Akbar. He has given lengthy accounts of the conquests of Akbar. According to Dr. Smith, "The book is dry, colourless, chronicle of external events. It completely ignores Akbar's religious vagaries and seldom or never attempts to offer reflections or criticisms of the events and actions recorded."

A large number of books were translated into Persian in the time of Akbar. Badauni translated the *Ramayana* of Balmiki into Persian. A portion of the *Mahabharata* was also translated. Ibrahim Sarhandi translated the *Atharva Veda.* Faizi translated into Persian *Lilavati*, a work of Arithmetic.

Ghizali was a great prose-writer. He left his native land in Persia on account of his persecution and was sent to the Deccan. From the Deccan, he went to Jaunpur and ultimately joined the Mughal service. He created such an impression that he was made the Poet-Laureate and he continued to be so till 1572. He was a Sufi by conviction. He was liberal in his ideas. He wrote the *Israr-i-Maktub, Mirati-ul-Kainat* and *Nashi Badid.*

Faizi, the son of Mubarak and brother of Abul Fazl, was also appointed Poet-Laureate. His important books were *Markazi Adwar, Sawati-ul-Ilham, Masnavi Nala-o-Daman* and *Mawarid-ul-Kala* and *Akbarnamah.* Faizi was both a poet and prose-writer. His style was chaste and pure. He expressed in noblest sentences the best language.

In the time of Akbar, Mohammad Hussain Nazari wrote *Ghazals.* Saiyyid Jamal-ud-Din Urfi of Shiraz wrote *Qasidas.* His *Qasidas* were the best.

Jahangir himself was a great scholar and writer. His own book, called *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri,* is a work of great literary merit and historical importance. There is freshness, frankness and sincerity in this autobiography. According to Elliot and Dawson, "Taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahangir is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He recods his weaknesses and confesses his faults (like Babur) with candour, and a perusal of this work would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents." The great writers of Jahangir's reign were Mirza Ghyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutmad Khan, Niamat Ullah and Abdul Haq Dehlvi. The important writings of his period were *Masiri Jahangiri, Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and the *Zubd-ut-Tawarikh.*

As regards Shah Jahan, he patronised writers like Abdul Hamid Lahori, Amin Qazwini, Inayat Khan and Mohammad Salih. Abdul

Hamid wrote the famous *Padshahnamah*, Amin Kazwini wrote a book with a similar title. Mohammad Salih wrote *Amal Saligh*. *Shahjahan-namah* was written by Anayat Khan. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was a great scholar. It was under his patronage that books like the *Upnishads*, the *Gita* and the *Yoga Vashist* were translated into Persian.

The *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* was compiled under the patronage of Aurangzeb. He did not like the writing of the history of his reign and no wonder Khafi Khan or Mohammad Hashim wrote *Muntakhan-ul-Lubab* in secret. The other important writings of this period were *Alamgirnamah*, *Masiri-Alamgiri*, *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri* and *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*.

It is to be noted that Gulbadan Begum, daughter of Babur, wrote the *Humayun Namah* and Zebunnissa, daughter of Aurangzeb, wrote the *Diwan-i-Makhfi*.

Hindi literature. In the Mughal period, many writers contributed towards the growth of Hindi literature. Reference may be made to the works of Kabir in this connection. He wrote *Dohas* and *Sakhis* which are popular even today. They contain in a short space all the wisdom of the world.

Malik Mohammad Jayasi was the author of *Padmavat*. This book relates the story of Padmani, the queen of Mewar.

The policy of toleration of Akbar helped the growth of Hindi literature in his time. Important personalities like Mirza Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh wrote poetry in Hindi. Birbal got the title Kavi Raya from Akbar. Abdur Rahim was not only a poet himself but he patronised other poets as well. His famous book is *Rahim Satsai* which is a collection of Dohas. Karan and Narhari Sahai were the court poets of Akbar. Narhari Sahai was given the title of Maha Patra. *Tulsi Das* (1532—1623) was a contemporary of Akbar. He was the son of ordinary Brahmin parents. As he was born in an unlucky hour, he was not cared for. The child was picked up by a wandering mendicant who gave him sustenance and instruction in the life of Rama. The young child wandered from place to place with his adoptive parent. Most of the latter part of his life was spent at Banaras. His literary career after the age of 40 continued for another 40 years. The principal composition of Tulsi Das on which his fame depends is called *Ramchritmanas* or "Lake of the deeds of Rama." It is a very large work. Its subject is the story of Rama who is regarded as a God manifested in the flesh and entitled to great reverence. The theology is so much similar to that of Christianity that many passages may be applied to Christianity by merely substituting the name of Jessus for Rama. According to Dr. Smith, "The morality of the poem is as lofty as the theology and there is not an impure word or idea in it from beginning to end. Rama's wife Sita depicted as the ideal of womanhood. The poem is, to the Hindus of Northern India, even more than the Bible to ordinary British Christian. 'In its own country it is supreme above all other literature and exercises an influence which it would be difficult to exaggerate.' That influence is all for good. The religion taught is that of the love of God—a personal God who loves and cares for his children and makes himself understood through his incarnation, Rama, the saviour.

"The poem is written in archaic Hindi, the vernacular of Ajodhya

and surrounding districts in the 16th century, recorded phonetically. It is consequently difficult for European students, and very few people of European birth are able to read it in the original with ease. Sir George Grierson, one of the few, is firmly convinced that the poem is 'the work of a great genius.' He admits that 'as a work of art it has to European readers its prolixities and episodes which grate against occidental tastes;' but notwithstanding, he holds to the opinion that the poem is a masterpiece. He points out that the style varies with the subjects, some passages being filled with 'infinite pathos', while others are expressed in the form of sententitious aphorisms, so much favoured by Hindu authors. The characters, each of which has a well-defined personality, 'live and move all the dignity of a heroic age.' The opinion of other competent experts coincides with that of Grierson, and although my acquaintance with the original is extremely slight, I may say that I concur cordially."

Sir George Grierson pays the following tribute to Tulsi Das: "One of the greatest reformers and one of the greatest poets that India has produced—to the present writer, he is, in both characters, the greatest—he disdained to found a church, and contented himself with telling his fellow countrymen how to work out each his own salvation amongst his own kith and kin." Again, "Pandits may talk of *Vedas* and *Upanishadas*, and a few may even study them: others may say they find their faith in the *Puranas* but to the vast majority of the people of Hindustan, learned and un-learned alike, their sole norm of conduct is the so-called *Tulsikrita Ramayana.*"

Another important writer in Hindi was Sur Das, the blind bard of Agra. The name of Sur Das is included in Abul Fazl's list of 36 singers and musicians employed at the court of Akbar. Sur Das excelled in all styles. His famous book is known as "*Sur Sagar.*" Sur has given a description of the sports of Lord Krishna in his childhood and also the beauty of Lord Krishna and his beloved Radha. He wrote in Brij Bhasa and employed imagery. The following couplet points out the greatness of Sur Das:

> "Sur is the Sun, Tulsi the moon,
> Keshva is a cluster of stars,
> But the poets of modern age are like roaring glow-worms giving light here and there."

During this period, Nand Das wrote the *Raspanchadhyayi*, Vitthal Nath, the Chaurasi Vaishnava Ki Varta. *Khumbhan Das* was another great writer. He was a man of great renunciation. Once he was invited to Fatehpur Sikri by Akbar but he replied in these words: "What have the saints got to do in Sikri? In going and returning shoes were torn out and the name of Hari was forgotten. Greetings had to be offered to those the sight of whose faces causes pain. Khumbhan Das says without Girdhar all else is useless."

Another famous Hindi writer was *Ras Khan*, a Muslim disciple of Lord Krishna. He wrote his famous book called '*Prem Vatika*' about 1614. He wrote his *Savayias* and *Kabittas* in a very attractive style. Nabhaji wrote the famous book called *Bhaktmal*. This book refers to the important devotees and saints who were the followers of Lord Krishna and Rama. Keshva Das wrote *Kavi Priya, Ram Chandrika, Rasik Priya* and *Alankrit Manjari*. It is to be noted that the poetry of Keshva is not easy to understand. He died about 1617 A.D.

Sunder, a Brahmin of Gwalior, wrote in 1631 the "*Sundra Shringar*". He also wrote the Simhasan Battisi in Braja language. He was given the title of Kaviraya and Mahakaviraya by Shah Jahan. Senapati was also a follower of Lord Krishna and he wrote the Kabitta Ratnakar. Another famous writer was *Bhushan* who was patronised by Shivaji and Chhatrasal Bundela. Bhushan was essentially a Hindu poet and his main purpose was to glorify Hinduism and create among the Hindus a spirit of bravery and fearlessness. He wrote the *Shivaraja Bhushana, Chhatrasaldashaka* and *Shivavati*, Matiram Tripathi's writings are famous for their similes. Bihari Lal Chaube wrote the famous "*Bihari Satsai*". He was patronised by Raja Jai Singh who gave him one gold Ashrafi for one Doha. The Dohas and Sorthas of Behari are the "daintiest pieces of art in any Indian language."

It is to be noted that Hindi literature began to decline from the time of Aurangzeb. The era of great poets ended. The other writings were not of very high merit. The Urdu literature made some progress in the states of Golconda and Bijapur. Wali was a great poet and he wrote Ghazals, Rubaiyatas and Masnavis in a very simple and natural style. When he visited Delhi, he attracted great attention. The other important Urdu writers were Hatim, Abru, Mazhar and Khan Arzu.

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CHAPTER XIII

LATER MUGHALS

Aurangzeb died in 1707 and before his death, he left a will by which he partitioned his Empire among his three sons. In spite of this, a bitter fratricidal war took place among the three sons of Aurangzeb. Nobody cared for the will of his father. Muazzam was the eldest son of Aurangzeb and he was the ruler of Kabul and the Punjab. Mohammad Azim was the second son and he was the ruler of Malwa and Gujrat. Kam Bakhsh was the third son and he was the ruler of the Deccan.

Prince Muazzam heard the news of the death of his father while he was at Jamrud in Afghanistan and he rushed to Delhi to contest for the throne. He was assisted by Munim Khan. His second son, Azim-ush-Shan, also hurried to Agra and occupied the same. Muazzam himself reached Agra in June 1707 and occupied the Fort and took into possession about Rs. 24 crores.

Prince Mohammad Azam also declared himself Emperor and got coins struck in his own name. He also proceeded towards Agra to make a bid for the throne. However, he was defeated and killed along with his two sons. Prince Muazzam declared himself Emperor and took up the title of Bahadur Shah I. Kam Bakhsh also tried his luck. He too was defeated in a battle near Hyderabad and died in 1708.

Bahadur Shah (1707—1712). At the time of his succession to the throne Bahadur Shah was over 63, and as such had passed the age when he could be expected to show initiative in any work. According to Irvine, Bahadur Shah was "man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault."

According to J.N. Sarkar, "Bahadur Shah had a mild and calm temper, great dignity of behaviour, and excessive and inconsiderate generosity of disposition. He was learned and pious, without any bigotry, and possessed a power of self-control and profound dissimulation which was styled personal cowardice by his rival A'zam Shah. He was incapable of saying no to anybody, and his only idea of statesmanship was to let matters drift and patch up a temporary peace by humouring everybody, without facing issues and saving future trouble by making decisions promptly and courageously. Still the traditions of the dignity of the empire and of good administration left by Aurangzeb continued through his short reign, as he inherited his father's able officers and treated them with confidence and respect. On his accession, his own weak position and softness of fibre, coupled with advanced age, prevented him from asserting his will in any matter."[1]

According to Khafi Khan, "For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Timur. But though he had no voice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the state and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.

date of his accession in the words: *Shah-i-be-Khabar* (Heedless King)." He could not say anything to any one as he did not want to displease anyone. He was prepared to compromise even in most important political and administrative matters. He had promised Munim Khan the Prime Ministership, but the same was claimed by Asad Khan, his father's Prime Minister. The result was that Bahadur Shah tried to please both. Accordingly, he appointed Munim Khan as Revenue Minister and allowed Asad Khan to continue as Prime Minister. This arrangement did not please either of the two parties and also led to administrative complications.

It was during his reign that intrigues began to increase in the court and he felt that he was too weak to suppress them. Three parties came into existence, *viz.*, the Turanian, the Persian and the Hindustani parties. These parties were responsible for a lot of trouble in the time of the successors of Bahadur Shah.

Bahadur Shah had to deal with many problems which faced him at the time of the succession to the throne. As regards the Marathas, he released Sahu, the son of Sambhaji, and the grandson of Shivaji. Sahu had been imprisoned in the time of Aurangzeb and he had spent all his childhood in Mughal custody. He was released on the suggestion of Zulfikar Khan. He was also given the right to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of six provinces of the Deccan. The money was to be collected by the Mughal Officers and then handed over to Sahu. The release of Sahu was a great diplomatic move. This started rivalry amongst the Marathas. Tara bai, the widow of Raja Ram, contested the claims of Sahu. There was a civil war among the Marathas and that kept them busy throughout the reign of Bahadur Shah.

As regards the Rajputs, Bahadur Shah followed a policy of conciliation towards them. He withdrew the *Jizya* and acknowledged the independence of Mewar and Marwar. Friendly relations were established with the Raja of Amber. It is possible that Bahadur Shah would not have granted these terms to the Rajputs if the Sikhs had not revolted in the Punjab and given the Mughals a lot of trouble.

The Sikhs created trouble at this time. After the death of Guru Govind Singh, Banda Bahadur became the leader of the Sikhs. He collected thousands of Sikhs from all over the province to fight the Muslims. Taking advantage of the absence of the Mughal Emperor in the Deccan, Banda was able to strengthen his position. He attacked the town of Sirhind. Wazir Khan, the Governor, put up a stiff resistance, but was killed. Sirhind was captured and plundered. The Sikhs carried out a wholesale massacre of the Muslim population of Sirhind and even children and women were put to the sword. The whole of the province of Sirhind from the Sutlej to the Jumna passed into the hands of the Sikhs. Saharanpur was also captured. Karnal also met a similar fate. The Sikhs reached the neighbourhood of Delhi and the reports of their plunder reached the Mughal Emperor. The Emperor proceeded against the Sikhs in person. The Fort of Lohgarh was besieged by the Mughal army and captured in November 1710. However, Banda escaped from the fort and retired to the hills. The Emperor retired to Lahore and died in February 1712. The Sikhs continued to give trouble during all this period.

Jahandar Shah (1712-13). After the death of Bahadur Shah I, there was a war of succession among his four sons and ultimately

Jahandar Shah came out victorious with the help of Zulfikar Khan. According to Owen, Jahandar Shah "was an utterly degenerate representative of the house of Timur, Babur and Akbar. Frivolous, profligate, cruel and cowardly, servilely devoted to a favourite lady Lal Kanwar whose relatives he promoted wholesale to high honours, to the disgust of the old nobles and the able and experienced servants of the state, he soon became generally odious and despicable".[1] It is true that in his youth he was an active soldier, but later on, he sank himself into sloth and debauchery. He behaved like an upstart and left the affairs of the state into the hands of those who had practically no ability or experience whatsoever. After a reign of 11 months, he was strangled in the fort of Delhi by the orders of Farrukhsiyar in 1713.

Farrukhsiyar (1713-19). At the time of his accession to the throne, Farrukhsiyar was a young-man of 30. Although he was extremely handsome, he was utterly weak, thoughtless and devoid of physical and moral courage. "Like all weak men, he was swayed by the latest adviser and having resolved to do a thing could never hold to it long but soon sank into despair and went back into his own undertakings. Constitutionally incapable of governing by his own will and controlling others, he would not trust any able agent, but was easily inspired by a childish suspicion of his ministers and induced to enter into plots in their favour." All his life Farrukhsiyar was conspiring to dispose of the Sayyid Brothers who were rightly known as "king-makers". However, no plot was ever executed, but the imperial bickerings had a very evil effect on the administration of the country.

Taking advantage of the trouble that followed the death of Bahadur Shah, the Sikhs under Banda had strengthened their position. In 1714, Abdul Samad was sent to Lahore as Governor and he was instructed to undertake the work of the suppression of the Sikhs. Unfortunately for Banda, there arose dissensions among the Sikhs. Some of the Sikhs did not approve of the religious practices of Banda and consequently withdrew from his camp. The result was that the position of Banda became weak and he was hunted down from place to place. He surrendered in December 1715 and was made a prisoner along with 740 followers. They were all brought to Delhi and put to death after savage tortures in 1716. "The Sikhs showed wonderful patience and strength of mind, and welcomed death as deliverance; not one of them accepted the offer of Islam to save his life. Banda himself and his little son of three years were brutally hacked to death on 19th June, 1716."

The Sayyid Brothers were sick of the constant plotting of Farrukhsiyar. He was dragged down from his throne, "bare-headed and bare-footed, and subjected every moment to blows and vilest abuse." He was imprisoned, starved, blinded, poisoned and strangled to death.

The question has been raised as to how far the treatment meted out to Farrukhsiyar was justified. The contention of the Sayyid Brothers was that they did everything in self-defence and Farrukhsiyar deserved a worse fate. Others have denounced the Sayyid Brothers for their ghastly act of blinding and strangling their master. However, according to Irvine, "The way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the

1. The Fall of the Mughal Empire, p. 133.

severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled for."

Rafi-ud-Darajat (1719). The Sayyid Brothers put Rafi-ud-Darajat cn the throne on 28th February 1719. Although he was a youngman of 20 at the time of his accession to the throne, he was suffering from consumption. No wonder, he became a puppet in the hands of the Sayyid Brothers who carried on the administration in his name. In spite of this, he was deposed on 4th June 1719, and he died a few days after.

Rafi-ud-Daula *alias* Shah Jahan II (1719). The new king Rafi-ud-Daula was the elder brother of Rafi-ud-Darajat. He was also suffering from consumption. He also was a puppet in the hands of the Sayyid Brothers. He ruled from June to September 1719 and died on 17th September 1719.

Mohammad Shah (1719-48). After the death of Rafi-ud-Daula in September 1719, Mohammad Shah was put on the throne by the Sayyid Brothers who wanted to rule through the medium of an imperial puppet. Although he himself was put on the throne by the Sayyid Brothers, Mohammad Shah tried to dispose them of and he succeeded in doing so in 1722.

Sayyid Brothers. It is desirable to make a special reference to the rise and fall of the power of the Sayyid Brothers. They were two brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdulla. Hussain Ali was the Governor of Bihar and Abdulla was the Governor of Allahabad. Both of them were born in India and were known for their bravery. They came to power in the time of Farrukhsiyar and were responsible for his deposition. They were Shias and consequently were hated by the Sunnis. Farrukhsiyar tried to dispose them of but failed. On the other hand, they tried and disposed him of. It is the Sayyid Brothers who put Mohammad Shah on the throne.

It is remarkable to note that the Sayyid Brothers not only believed but also acted upon the policy of religious toleration. They were responsible for the abolition of *Jizya* and a conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs. They appointed Raja Ratan Chand as Diwan. They were responsible for formation of Hindustani party which included both Hindus and Muslims. The Rajputs were the strongest supporters of the Sayyid Brothers on account of their policy of reconciliation.

However, the Sayyid Brothers fell. The Mughal nobles were jealous of the positions occupied by the two brothers. The strangling of Farrukhsiyar shocked the people. Their Shia faith alienated the Sunni Muslims. Muhammad Shah, although their own nominee on the throne, was determined to finish their power. No wonder, a plot was formed against them under the leadership of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sadat Khan.[1]

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1. According to Khafi Khan, "After the accession of Muhammad Shah, letters were sent by him and by his mother, Maryam Makani, through the medium of Itmad-ud-Daulah Mohammad Amin Khan to Nizam-ul-Mulk, informing him that the constraint used by the Sayyids was so strict that he had no power of giving orders ; that the Sayyids in their futile scheming proposed, after settling the affairs of Neku-Siyar and Giridhar, to get rid of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and then to do as they pleased ; and that Muhammad Shah and his mother had full confidence in Nizam-ul-Mulk that he would not fail in the loyalty which his ancestors had ever exhibited."

The conspirators were joined by many groups. There was a revolt. Hussain Ali was killed. Abdulla was defeated near Agra and made a prisoner. In 1722, he was poisoned.

It might have been expected that the disposal of the Sayyid Brothers would have strengthened the hands of Muhammad Shah. Unfortunately that was not so. "Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life which entirely enervated the energy of the Empire." Muhammad Shah's reign was long and there were some redeeming traits in his private character. Unluckily, he did not take interest in the affairs of the state and the consequences were most fatal. Province after province became independent. Alivardi Khan set himself up as independent ruler in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself independent in the Deccan. Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk made himself independent in Oudh. Nadir Shah also invaded India in 1739.

According to Rustam Ali, author of *Tarikhi Hind*, "This prince (Muhammad Shah) was a lover of pleasures and indolence, negligent of political duties, and addicted to lose habits, but of a somewhat generous disposition. He was entirely careless regarding his subjects....... In a short time, many of the officers of the kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies, stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects." According to Keene, "Students of history will note his reign as the period in which were founded all the modern powers of the Indian peninsula. It seemed as though the Empire, like some of the lower animals was about to reproduce its life by fissiparous generation." According to the Siyr-ul-Mutakherin, "The foundations of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhammad Shah by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him kingship had nothing but the name left to it."

Nadir Shah's invasion (1739). Nadir Shah, "Napoleon of Iran," was born in a humble family. He was brought up in the hard school of privations. He came to the forefront when he freed his country in 1732 from Shah Tahmasp. He himself usurped power in 1736 and became the ruler of Persia. According to Irvine, "Nadir Shah was no mere soldier, no savage leader of a savage horde, but a master of diplomacy and statecraft as well as of the sword. The profoundness of his diplomacy was no less remarkable than the greatness of his generalship in war, and the wisdom of his policy to the vanquished after his victories in the field." He attacked India in 1739. The invasion was due to many causes. Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, had given a promise to Nadir Shah that he will not give refuge to fugitives from Persia. In spite of that promise, shelter was given to the Persians. When, Nadir Shah complained of it, his envoy was detained. The wealth of India and the weakness of the Mughal Government were also partly responsible for Nadir's invasion.

Nadir Shah entered northern Afghanistan in May 1738. Ghazni was captured in the same month. Kabul was occupied in June. Jalalabad was captured in September. Peshawar surrendered in November. Lahore fell in January 1739. Anandram Mukhlis writes thus in his *Tazkira*, "Nadir Shah was now in possession of all the country as far as Attock, and Muhammad Shah and his advisers could no longer remain blind to the danger that threatened them. They understood that

this was no ordinary foe against whom they had to contend, no mere plunderer who could be saved with the spoils of a province and then return to his own country, but a leader of unshakable resolution who shaped his course with his sword... How to relate the ruin and desolation that overwhelmed this beautiful country! Wazirabad, Imanabad and Gujrat towns which for population may almost be called cities, were levelled with the earth. Nothing was respected, no sort of violence remained unpractised; property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunderer, and women the prey of the ravisher."

A battle was fought in February 1739 between the Mughal troops and those of Nadir Shah near Karnal and the latter was successful. Khan Dauran, Amir-ul-Umara died fighting. Before death, he gave the following warning: "Never take the Emperor to Nadir, nor conduct Nadir to Delhi, but send away that evil from this point by any means that you can devise."

Although Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to persuade Nadir Shah to go back after receiving Rs. 50 lakhs, Saadat Khan (Burhan-ul-Mulk) who was the enemy of Nizam-ul-Mulk, prevailed upon Nadir to capture the Mughal Emperor and Nizam-ul-Mulk and secure a bigger booty by going to Delhi. Nadir Shah addressed Muhammad Shah in these words: "Only as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march so far, and I have been put to an extraordinary expense, and my men on account of the long marches, are much fatigued and in want of necessaries, I must go to Delhi and there continue for some days until the army is refreshed and the *Peshkash* (tribute) of 50 lakhs promised by the Nizam is made good to me. After that I shall leave you to look after your own affairs."

Nadir Shah marched to Delhi where the Khutba was read in his name in the mosques of the capital. Unfortunately rumour was spread that Nadir Shah was dead and the inhabitants of Delhi attacked and murdered a few Persian soldiers. To quote Anandram, "On the morning of Sunday, 11th March 1739, an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants. The result may be imagined. One moment would seem to have sufficed for universal destruction. The Chandni Chowk, the fruit market, the Dariba Bazar, and the buildings around the Masjid-i-Jama were set fire to and reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all, were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody; cloth, jewels dishes of gold and silver, were all acceptable spoil. The author beheld these horrors from his mansion situated in the Vakilpura Muhalla outside the city, resolved to fight to the last, if necessary, and with the help of God to fall at last with honour." "All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury, were seized by the Persian conqueror in the citadel. He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of 60 lakhs of rupees and several thousand Ashrafis; plates of gold to the value of one crore of rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about 50 crores. The Peacock Throne alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Shah Jahan, had cost one crore of rupees. Elephants, horses and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment."

Nadir Shah left Delhi after a stay of 57 days. Before his departure, he put the crown on the head of Muhammad Shah and the latter declared thus on that occasion: "As the generosity of the Shah-in-Shah has made me a second time master of a crown and a throne and exalted me among the crowned heads of the world, I beg to offer him as my tribute the provinces of my Empire, west of the river Indus, from Kashmir to Sindh, and in addition the Subahs of Thatta and the forts subordinate to it."

Nadir Shah gave the following advice to the Mughal Emperor: "In the first place, you must seize all the *Omras*' Jagirs, and pay each of them, according to his *mansab* and rank, with ready money out of the treasury. You are to allow none to keep any force of his own, but you yourself are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen horsemen, at sixty rupees per month: every ten men to have *dehbashi* (officer over ten men), every ten dehbashis one *sudival* (officer over 100), and every ten sudivals one *hazari*. You ought to be well acquainted with the merits of each: his name, family and nation (race), not allowing any of them—officers, soldiers or others—to be idle or inactive; (and) when an occasion may require, despatch a sufficient number, under the command of one whom you can trust for conduct, courage and fidelity, and when that business is over, recall them immediately, not letting any person to stay too long in command, for fear of bad consequences. You are more particularly to beware of Nizam-ul-Mulk, whom by his conduct, I find to be full of cunning and self-interest and more ambitious than become a subject".

According to Sir Wolseley Haig. "His (Nadir Shah's) departure left Muhammad Shah and his courtiers stupefied with the blow which had fallen on them. For two months nothing was done or proposed in regard to the state of affairs in the empire. Even this blow could not awaken from the heavy sleep of security, and the lethargy of indolence, people who were so intoxicated with the wine of pride and self-conceit. They agreed only in ill-will to each other. It was not until November that the emperor and his courtiers could summon up energy for active intrigue."[1]

As regards the results of Nadir Shah's invasion, it cannot be denied that it gave a death-blow to the Mughal Empire and hastened its fall. Nadir Shah's invasion exposed the weakness and rottenness of the Mughal Empire. No wonder, the Afghans from the North-West were encouraged to invade India in large numbers. This explains the large number of invasions of India after 1739. The prestige of the Mughal Empire was gone. Hopeless confusion prevailed everywhere. Kabul, Sindh and Western Punjab were lost completely to the Mughal Empire. Muhammad Shah had to marry his daughter to Nadir Shah's youngest son. Nadir Shah was killed in 1747.

Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasion (1748). Ahmed Shah Abdali or Durrani was an important general of Nadir Shah who is said to have paid him a tribute in these words: "I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmed Shah in capacity and character." After the murder of Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali declared himself king at Kandhar. He also captured Kabul. He was invited to India in 1748 by Shah Nawaz Khan who had become the Governor of the Punjab. After sacking Lahore, he proceeded towards Delhi. He was defeated and forced to retire to Kabul.

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.

Ahmed Shah (1748-54). After the death of Muhammad Shah in April 1748, Ahmed Shah was placed on the Delhi throne. At the time of his accession to throne, he was a youngman of 21 and had practically no experience in the field of administration. He lacked qualities of leadership. He was "vicious, dissipated, perfidious, pusillanimous and utterly worthless." He favoured Javid Khan, his chief eunuch, who was allowed to become the leader of the court party which was "a cabal of women and eunuchs." Javid Khan came to be known as Nawab Bahadur and he dominated the whole of administration. Javid Khan plotted against Safdarjung, the wazir. No wonder, utter confusion prevailed in the administration.

In 1749, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab but retired on getting a heavy indemnity. In 1752, he invaded the Punjab again. The Governor of the Punjab was defeated and Ahmed Shah marched towards Delhi. With a view to avoid the destruction at Delhi, the Mughal Emperor made peace by ceding the Punjab and Multan to Ahmed Shah.

The courtiers of Ahmed Shah openly declared thus: "The Emperor has shown his unfitness for rule; he is unable to cope with the Marathas; he is false and fickle towards his friends. Let him be deposed and a worthier son of the house of Timur raised to the throne." He was blinded and imprisoned.

Alamgir II (1754-59). After the deposition of Ahmed Shah, Aziz-ud-Din, the second son of Jahandar Shah, was put on the throne. He took up the title of Alamgir II, the World Grasper. At the time of his accession to the throne, he was 55. As he had spent almost all his life in prison, he had practically no experience of administration and fighting. He loved books of history, said his prayers regularly and disliked pleasures. However, he was a very weak person and lacked the qualities which were necessary at that time. He was a puppet in the hands of his Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk. The wazir was a man of no principle. He was extremely selfish. He put all the royal revenues into his own pocket and starved the royal family. He persecuted Ali Gauhar, the eldest son of the Mughal Emperor. Imad-ul-Mulk tried to form an anti-Maratha coalition with a view to drive out the Marathas from Northern India. However, he failed in his enterprise and the Marathas became stronger than before and he had to depend upon them.

In 1756, Ahmed Shah Abdali attacked India for the fourth time. Mughlani Begum was the Governor of the Punjab on behalf of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk had sent his troops to Lahore and brought Mughlani Begum as a prisoner to Delhi. Adina Beg Khan was appointed the Governor of the Punjab. Such an act on the part of Imad-ul-Mulk was an insult to Ahmed Shah and no wonder he thought of invading India to teach the wazir a lesson. As Ahmed Shah marched towards Lahore, Adina Beg Khan ran away. Ahmed Shah reached Delhi, occupied it and sacked it. There was a terrible massacre and the story of Nadir Shah was repeated. People committed suicide to save their honour. Ahmed Shah's army remained in Delhi for a month. He married his son Timur with the daughter of Alamgir II. Mathura was also sacked and plundered and a large number of innocent pilgrims were murdered there. Ahmed Shah himself married a virgin daughter of Muhammad Shah, and took along with him not only the

two widows of Mohammad Shah but also other women of the royal family. He carried a booty of many crores.

The relations between Alamgir II and his wazir Imad-ul-Mulk were far from satisfactory. Imad-ul-Mulk got him assassinated in November 1759.[1] Muhi-ul-Millat, grandson of Kam Baksh, was made the Emperor with the title of Shah Jahan III. At the same time, Ali Gauhar, the son of Alamgir II, declared himself Emperor and took up the title of Shah Alam II.

In 1758, a large number of Sikhs assembled under Jassa Singh Kalal and succeeded in capturing Lahore. New coins were struck bearing the inscription "coined by the grace of Khalsa in the country of Ahmed, conquered by Jassa, the Kalal." However, the Sikhs vacated Lahore in 1759 when Ahmed Shah Abdali came. In spite of this, the Sikh leaders remained in possession of large districts in the Punjab. The Sikhs again besieged Lahore and compelled Kabuli Mal, Governor of Ahmed Shah to hand over to them the town and the fortress.

Shah Alam II (1759-1806). Ali Gauhar was in Bihar at the time of his father's death. Taking into consideration the state of affairs at Delhi, Ali Gauhar who had become Shah Alam, did not venture to proceed to Delhi for 12 years. He reached Delhi in January 1772 and that also with the help of the Marathas. From 1760 to 1771, Shah Alam was under the control of the English. During this period, he tried to conquer Bihar and Bengal, but failed. In 1764, he was defeated in the Battle of Buxar and taken prisoner. In 1765 he gave the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English East India Company and the latter promised to pay him an annual tribute of Rs. 26 lakhs. The English Company recognised Shah Alam as the Mughal Emperor. In spite of the fact Shah Alam had a lot of money, he was not satisfied with his position because he was frequently insulted by the English. No wonder, he was anxious to go to Delhi. He also got messages from Delhi that he must come at once to save the honour of the royal family. This happened in January 1772.

In 1761, was fought the famous Third Battle of Panipat between the Marathas and Ahmed Shah Abdali. The Marathas were defeated and their confederacy was broken to pieces. "The Peshwa's authority was broken and cohesion was lost." The Marathas got such a set-back that they were not able to recover for 10 years. Ahmed Shah Abdali did not follow up his victory and he returned to Kabul after nominating Shah Alam as Emperor and Imad-ul-Mulk as wazir.

In 1767, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab and ordered Najab-ud-Daula to wait on him. On account of rising of the Sikhs, Ahmed Shah was forced to retire.

Throughout his long reign, Shah Alam remained a puppet in the hands of the ministers and the Marathas. He was blinded in 1788 and died in 1806. He had to go through many ups and downs of life. Delhi was captured in 1803 by Lake and Shah Alam became a pensioner of the British.

Akbar II (1806-37). After the death of Shah Alam II, his son succeeded him as Mughal Emperor. Like his father, he was also a

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1. His body was thrown out of the window and was lying stark naked on the banks of the Jumna. Later on, it was picked up and buried in Humayun's tomb.

pensioner of the British. He was the head of the royal establishment in the Red Fort of Delhi and enjoyed the imperial title only by courtesy. He died in 1837.

Bahadur Shah II (1837-57). After the death of Akbar II, Bahadur Shah II was allowed to retain the imperial title. However, he took part in the mutiny of 1857. He was tried by the British and deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862. Thus ended the Mughal dynasty.

Causes of the downfall of the Mughals. Regarding the downfall of Mughal Empire, Lane-Poole observes thus: "As some imperial corpse, preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls to dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the empire of the Mughals when the great name that guarded it was no more." According to Dr. V.A. Smith, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of history will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."

(1) It is desirable to refer to some of the important causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The most important cause was the religious policy of Aurangzeb. He alienated the sympathy and support of the Hindus by committing all kinds of atrocities on them. He imposed *Jizya* on all the Hindus in the country. Even the Rajputs and Brahmins were not spared. He dismissed the Hindu officials from the state service and allowed only those to continue who were prepared to accept Islam. He carried out a systematic demolition of the temples of the Hindus. Thousands of artisans and labourers were employed to pull down all the Hindu temples and with their material, mosques were built. This must have been a little too much for the Hindus to put up with. No wonder, the revolt of the Satnamis took place. After the death of Raja Jaswant Singh. Aurangzeb tried to bring up his sons as Muslims. The brave Rajputs could not tolerate such an insult. Durga Dass managed to remove the sons and their mother to Rajputana in spite of all the precautions taken by the Mughal Government. That led to the Rajput War which continued from 1679 to 1681. Although peace was made, Aurangzeb could not depend upon them. It proved to be a great handicap for him when he was busy in his Deccan Wars. Instead of depending upon the support of the Rajputs, he had to set apart Mughal forces to meet any possible trouble from their side. The execution of Guru Teg Bahadur was also a blunder. This led to the alienation of the Sikhs who became a strong military power under Guru Gobind Singh. Later on, these very Sikhs gave trouble to the Mughal Emperors. Although Banda was captured and put to death after a long resistance, the Sikh power was not crushed. It kept on growing day by day and ultimately the Sikhs were able to oust the Mughals from the Punjab. The same policy of religious persecution led to the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji. The persecution of Hindus hardened their character and they became the bitter enemies of the Mughals. According to Lane-Poole, "His mistaken policy towards Shivaji provided the foundation of a power that was to prove a successful rival to his own empire."

(2) The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was also partly responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb was bent upon crushing the power of the Marathas. He found that the States of Bijapur and Golconda were a source of help to the Marathas. The

Marathas were employed in large numbers in these States. They occupied important places of trust and authority in civil administration. Maratha soldiers were welcomed in these States. Thus, they got not only military training and experience, but also money. Aurangzeb felt that if these states were annexed, the source of the strength of the Marathas will be stopped. Moreover, the rulers of these States were Shias and for a fanatical Sunni like Aurangzeb, there was no place for them in India. The Marathas were able to get a lot of booty by raiding these states. It was felt that if these states were annexed, it will not be easy for the Marathas to gain anything because they shall have to fight against the might of the Mughal Empire. With that object in mind, Aurangzeb himself went to the Deccan and annexed Bijapur and Golconda in 1684 and 1687 respectively. He might have claimed credit for the destruction of the Shia states, but he had committed a great blunder in doing so. He should have followed a buffer-state policy towards these kingdoms. He should have subordinated his religious zeal to statesmanship. If he had helped these states against the Marathas, he would have been able to keep the latter in check with much less expense and waste of energy.

After the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda, Aurangzeb tried to crush the power of the Marathas. Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji, was captured and put to death. His son, Sahu, was also captured and made a prisoner. He continued in Mughal custody upto 1707. However, the Marathas carried on their struggle against the Mughals under the leadership of Raja Ram and Tara Bai. When Aurangzeb died in 1707, the power of the Marathas was still not crushed. They were stronger than before.

According to Dr. Smith, "The Deccan was the grave of his reputation as well as of his body." Aurangzeb had to remain away from the capital for a quarter of a century. The result was that the whole of the administration went out of gear. There was confusion everywhere. As the Emperor was busy in the Deccan, the provincial governors did not send the land revenue to Central Government. At a time when more money was required for the Deccan War, very little was coming from the provinces. No wonder, when Bahadur succeeded to the throne, the treasury was empty. Moreover, the Mughal Government being a centralised despotism, the absence of the Emperor from the North for a long time encouraged centrifugal tendencies among the governors. After the death of Aurangzeb, these tendencies continued to grow, and the result was that ultimately various provinces became independent of the central authority. Oudh became independent under Saadat Khan. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa became independent under Alivardi Khan. Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, became independent in the Deccan. The Rohillas became independent in Rohilkhand. The Rajputs also asserted their independence. Thus, gradually, the Mughal Empire broke up. The failure of Aurangzeb in the Deccan Wars destroyed the military prestige of the Mughals. Too much of expenditure made the Mughal Government bankrupt. The Deccan Wars can rightly be called the ulcer which destroyed the Mughal Empire.

(3) Aurangzeb was a man of suspicious temperament. He did not trust even his own sons. The result was that whenever he sent an expedition, he put two persons in charge of the same. The object was to put a check on the power of both. But that led to the division of responsibility. That was absolutely suicidal from the point of view of efficiency and success.

(4) The weak successors of Aurangzeb were also responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire. If they had been intelligent and brilliant, they could have stopped the decline that set in the time of Aurangzeb. Unfortunately, all of them were worthless. They were busy in their luxuries and intrigues and did nothing to remedy the evils that had crept into the Mughal polity. No wonder, Mughal Empire continued to decline and ultimately fell.

(5) Another cause of Mughal downfall was the gradual deterioration in the character of the Mughal kings. It is stated that when Babur attacked India, he swam all the rivers on the way. He was so strong that he could run on the wall of a fort while carrying men in his arms. Humayun and Akbar also possessed very hard characters. Unmindful of the difficulties that he had to encounter, Humayun was able to win back his throne after the lapse of many years. The same hardy character enabled Akbar to conquer the whole of northern India and a part of the Deccan. No amount of riding on horse-back exhausted him. He could walk miles and miles on foot. He could kill a lion with one stroke of his sword. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperors became ease-loving and cowardly. They went about in palanquins and were hardly fit to rule a country where the mass of the people detested the Mughal rule.

According to S.R. Sharma, "Kam Baksh, as a captive on his death-bed regretted that a descendant of Timur was captured alive. But Jahandar Shah and Ahmad Shah were not ashamed to be caught up in the tresses of their concubines who came between them and their duties as Emperors:

> They looked on beauty
> And turned away from duty!

The former fooled himself in public with his Lal Kunwar; and the latter buried himself in his seraglio—which extended over four square miles—for weeks together without seeing the face of male!"

(6) Not only the Mughal Emperors degenerated, the same was the case with the Mughal nobility. When the Mughals came to India, they had a hardy character. Too much of wealth, luxury and leisure softened their character. Their harems became full. They got wine in plenty. They went in palanquins to the battlefield. Such nobles were not fit to fight against the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs. The Mughal nobility degenerated at a very rapid pace. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, no Mughal noble family retained its importance for more than one or two generations. If the achievements of a noble man were mentioned in three pages, the achievements of his son occupied nearly a page and the grandson was dismissed in a few lines such as "he did nothing worthy of being recorded here."[1] The Mughal nobility was taken from the Turks, the Afghans and the Persians

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1. According to the same writer, "To the thoughtful student of Mughal history, nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. Abdurrahim and Mahabat, Saadullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi, who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson, even half as capable as themselves." When the Emperor "was a sluggard or a fool, he ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. They then naturally turned to win the controlling authority at court or in the provinces."

and the climate of India was not very suitable for their growth. They began to degenerate during their stay in India.

According to Sarkar, "All the surplus produce of a fertile land under a most bounteous Providence was swept into the coffers of the Mughal nobility and pampered them in a degree of luxury not dreamt of even by kings in Persia or Central Asia. Hence, in the houses of the Delhi nobility, luxury was carried to an excess. The harems of many of them were filled with immense number of women, of an infinite variety of races, intellect and character under Muslim law the sons of concubines are entitled to their matrimony equally with sons born in wedlock, and they occupy no inferior position in society. Even the sons of lawfully married wives became, at a precocious age, familiar with vice from what they saw and heard in the harem, while their mothers were insulted by the higher splendour and influence enjoyed in the same household by younger and fairer rivals of servile origin or easier virtue. The proud spirit and majestic dignity of a Cornelia are impossible in the crowded harem of a polygamist; and without Cornelias among the mothers there cannot be Gracchi among the sons."

Where wealth accumulates men decay;
And disloyalty on the Empire did prey.

Reference may also be made to the moral degeneration among the Mughal nobles. "In a mean spirit of jealousy, they insulted and thwarted 'new men' drawn from the ranks and ennobled for the most brilliant public services, and yet they themselves had grown utterly worthless. We have a significant example of the moral degeneration of the Mughal peerage. The prime minister's grandson, Mirza Tafakhkhur used to sally worth from his mansion in Delhi with his ruffians, plunder the shops in the bazar, kidnap Hindu women passing through the public streets in litters or going to the river, and dishonour them; and yet there was no judge strong enough to punish him, no police to prevent such crimes. Every time such an occurrence was brought to the Emperor's notice by the news-letters or official reports, he referred it to the prime minister and did nothing more."

(7) Another cause of Mughal downfall was the deterioration and demoralisation in the Mughal army. The abundance of riches of India, the use of wine and comforts had very evil effects on the Mughal army. Nothing was done to stop the deterioration. The soldiers cared more for their personal comforts and less for winning battles.[1] The importance of the Mughal armies was declared to the world when they failed to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan in the time of Shah Jahan. Likewise, the failure of Shah Jahan to recapture Kandhar in spite of three determined efforts proved to the world that the military machine of the Mughals had become impotent. In 1739, Nadir Shah not only plundered the people of Delhi but also ordered their wholesale massacre. When such a thing is done by a foreigner, it only proves that the existing Government is helpless. Such a Government forfeits the right to exact allegiance from the people. The Mughal state was a police state and it contented itself with two duties only,

1. According to Irvine, "Excepting want of personal courage, every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Moghuls: indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat, and cumbrous equipment."

viz., maintenance of internal order and external peace and collection of revenue. When even this could not be done, the people lost all their respect for such a Government.

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "The demoralisation of the army was one of the principal factors in the disintegration of the empire. It cannot be attributed to the puppets who during the first half of the eighteenth century disgraced the throne of Babur and of Akbar, or even to Aurangzeb. The source of the weakness was the composition of the army which consisted chiefly of contingents maintained by the great nobles from the revenues of assignments held by them for the purpose. The defects of this system had been clearly perceived both by Ala-ud-Din Khilji and by Akbar, as later by Nadir Shah, but neither had succeeded in permanently abolishing it. They were less apparent in the reign of a monarch who could command the affections and the obedience of the nobles, but the system was radically unsound, as every system must be which depends upon such an uncertain factors as the personal character of a monarch, and as the authority of the sovereign relaxed the general tendency among the great nobles was naturally to hold as their own those assignments which maintained their troops. Thus, the later emperors had no personal body of troops with which to assert authority.

"Two other grave defects appeared as early as in 1595, at the first siege of Ahmadnagar. The first was the jeolousy which afterwards became so prominent a characteristic of the imperial officers that a commander would sometimes deliberately refrain from bringing to a successful conclusion a battle already more than half won or a siege which had reduced the garrison of a fortress to extremities if he perceived that another would share the credit of his success. The second was the habit of treacherous correspondence with the enemy. The constant internecine wars between the five independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan had been conducted on a most pernicious system. A campaign was regarded by the commanders on either side as an occasion for the display of diplomatic as well as of military skill, and as an opportunity for enriching themselves. This spirit appears to have infected the imperial army in the Deccan and during Aurangzeb's quarter of a century of warfare in that region only one fortress was taken by storm. Conflicts in the field, as well as the attack and defence of fortified places, were decided by negotiations and money payments as often as by force of arms.

"Finally, the general laxity of discipline converted the army into a mob. Drill was unknown and a soldier's training, which he might undergo or not, as he liked, consisted in muscular exercise and in individual practice in the use of the weapons with which he was armed. He mounted guard or not as he liked, the punishment for absence, not invariably inflicted, consisting in the loss of a day's pay. There was, indeed, no regular punishment for military crimes. An infuriated commander might occasionally expose officers and men guilty of cowardice to the ridicule of their comrades by mounting them on asses and parading them through the camp, but even this grave crime frequently went unpunished, and Aurangzeb himself habitually overlooked as matters of course acts of treason, cowardice and deliberate neglect of duty before the enemy."[1]

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1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 374-375.

(8) It is pointed out that the Mughals suffered from intellectual bankruptcy. That was partly due to the lack of an efficient system of education in the country which alone could produce leaders of thought. The result was that the Mughals failed to produce any political genius or leader who could "teach the country a new philosophy of life and to kindle aspirations after a new heaven on earth. They all drifted and dozed in admiration of the wisdom of their ancestors and shook their heads at the growing degeneration of the moderns."

According to Sir J.N. Sarkar, "There was no good education, no practical training, of the sons of the Mughal nobility. They were too much petted by eunuchs and maid-servants and passed through a sheltered life from birth to manhood, every thorn being removed from their path by attendants. Early familiarised with vice, softened in their fibres by pleasure, they were yet taught to have an inordinately high opinion of their own wealth and importance in the scale of creation. Their domestic tutors were an unhappy class, powerless to do any good except by love of their pupils, brow-beaten by the eunuchs (with the support of the ladies of the harem), disobeyed by the lads themselves, and forced to cultivate the arts of the courtier and the sneak, or to throw up their thankless office. The free give and take in a public school (which hardens character and at the same time removes its angularities), the salutary discipline of training as subalterns in an orderly army, were unknown to the sons of the Mughal aristocracy."

(9) The growth of hostile and rival cliques in the court also undermined the strength of the Government. Hardly anybody seemed to be concerned with the problems facing the country. Every one was selfish and tried to gain his own end. Efforts were made to put one against the other. Such an atmosphere is not congenial for checking the break-up of an Empire. "Each section tried to poison the ears of the Emperor against the other, thwart its plans, stir up its discontented servants and even engage in active hostility to it when at a distance from the court. Rebels could not be opposed with all the armed strength of the Empire; they could always count upon secret supporters or at least neutral make-believe opponents in the imperial court and camp."

(10) After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire faced financial bankruptcy. The beginning had already been made in the time of Aurangzeb who ruined the finances of the Empire by his Deccan wars. After his death, the system of farming of taxation was resorted to. Although the Government did not get much, the people were ruined. They were taxed to such an extent that they lost all incentive to protection. Shah Jahan had himself increased the State demands to one-half of the produce. According to William Foster, "All the writers of the time extol this plunder of his (Shah Jahan's) court, the liberality of his rule, and his personal popularity. At the same time, they did not conceal the fact that the splendid facade hid a crumbling interior. Such extravagant expenditure was a crushing burden upon the resources of the country; while the venality of the officials and the tyrannical caprice of the Mughal Governors added to the misery of the people who had little or no means, for obtaining redress." The financial collapse came in the time of Alamgir who was practically starved by his Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. It is stated that Alamgir II had no conveyance to take him to the Idgah and he had to walk on foot. It is pointed out by Sir J.N. Sarkar that once upon

a time no fire was kindled in the harem kitchen for three days and one day "the princesses could bear starvation no longer and in frantic disregard of Purdah rushed out of the palace to the city; but the fort gates being closed, they sat down in the men's quarters for a day and a night, after which they were persuaded to go back to their rooms." Such a thing happened in 1755 and obviously such a Government could not afford to live long.

(11) It goes without saying that the Mughal rule was alien to the Indian soil. It did not take its roots in the soil of the country. It failed to evoke "such feelings as those which led the people of Maharashtra to follow and fight for Shivaji; it drew no strength from ancient tradition which has always exerted so marked an influence upon Hindu ideals and sentiments." Such an empire could depend only on its military strength and no wonder it vanished when the military strength of the Mughals weakened.

The orthodox Muslims felt that they were in India but they did not belong to this country. They were not allowed to take to their hearts the traditions, language and cultural products of the country. They had to import them from Persia and Arabia. Even the civil and criminal law had to be borrowed from the writings of jurists and decisions of judges in Baghdad and Cairo. "The Muslim in India was an intellectual exotic, he could not adapt himself to his environment. The Quranic precepts for the guidance of civil society and the regulation of human canduct and relations, were framed in a far off age for a nomadic people." "The intellectual vaucity caused by this unnatural straining after a foreign and impracticable ideal, not only arrested the mental and social progress of the Indian Muslims, but also made their hearts a fertile soil for noxious weeds........The racial character of the Semitic peoples who created the Quran and Sunni Canon Law was essentially different from that of the Indians, and the mere fact of a body of the latter race having accepted the religion of the Arabs could not counteract this ethnic difference. These were insurmountable handicaps to Indian Islam."

(12) In the time of Aurangzeb, the size of the Mughal Empire had become unwieldy. It became physically impossible for any one man to govern the same from one centre when the means of communication and transport were not so much developed as they are today. A centralised despotic Government was not suited to the needs of the times.

(13) Another cause was the wide-spread corruption in the administration. The exaction of official perquisites or gratuities from the public by the officials and their subordinates were universal and admitted practice. Many officials from the highest to the lowest took bribes for doing undeserved favours. Even the Emperor was not above it. Aurangzeb is stated to have asked an aspirant to title: "Your father gave to Shah Jahan one lakh of rupees for adding *Alif* to his title and making him *Amir* Khan. How much will you pay me for the title I am giving you." The ministers and influential courtiers around the Emperor made fortunes. It is stated that Qabil Khan in 2½ years of personal attendance on Aurangzeb amassed 12 lakhs of rupees in cash, besides articles of value and a new house. Money was given for different kinds of favours. "This pressure was passed from the Emperor downwards to the peasant, each social grade trying to squeeze out of the class below itself what it had to pay as present

to the rank above it, the cultivator of the soil and the trader being the victims in the last resort."

Moreover, "The clerks, both Hindus and Muhammedans, formed a brotherhood bound together by community of duties and interests, education and ideals, social life and even vices. The official world was inspired by intense hatred and contempt for intruders into its preserve. Offices were expected to be reserved for old families of clerks and accountants. An official who was not a 'hereditary servant' (Khanahzad) of State but had sprung from the ranks, was despised as a *novum homo* used to be in the official world of the dying republic of Rome. This attitude was universal, from the higher nobility to the petty clerks." Such a state of affairs was detrimental to the higher interests of the State.

(14) Another cause of Mughal downfall was the neglect of the sea-power by the Mughals. The result was that it could not hold its own against the foreigners who were particularly strong on the seas.

(15) The Mansabdari system degenerated in the time of Aurangzeb and his successors. There was corruption and oppression all around. According to William Norris, in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign, the treasury was empty, the wars were ceaseless, army was dis-organised and officers were discontented and disloyal. According to Bernier, "There were great ministers and generals, but the mass of the people were human sheep." Such people could not maintain an Empire.

(16) According to S.R. Sharma, the Mughal administrative system was created "by Emperors and hence rooted in their character. With the deterioration of the pivot, the structure too was shaken to its foundations." No centralised government which is not broad-based on democratic principles and machinery, can last. Benevolence is the only "saviour of autocratic governments. The Mughal monarchy was no exception. It failed miserably when it shed its enlightenment and retained only its autocracy. Finally, it proved too weak even to be autocratic. Feudal anarchy which the great emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, had held in leash, broke loose under their effeminate successors. Pampered princes could not sustain a stable and efficient government. So passed away the Grand Monarchy of India when it did not posesss the power to support even its grandeur."

(17) There was no law of succession by which peaceful succession to the throne could be secured. After the death of every Emperor, there was a fratricidal or patricidal struggle. The principle of *Tukht ya Takhta* ("Either the throne or the Coffin") was followed. That was hardly a desirable state of affairs. The very foundations of the Empire were shaken after a few years.

One might conclude by saying that "the Mughal State owes its decline and ultimate downfall to a combination of causes of which perhaps the most important one was uncontrolled domination of a selfish and extravagant bureaucracy and an inequitable economic system which steadily impoverished the revenue producing classes of the population. These two evils in combination with religious persecution, engendered conditions which prevented the Empire from successfully resisting the attacks of external forces and rendered it an easy prey to internal treachery."

Legacy of the Mughals in India. The Mughals ruled India for more than 200 years and consequently they left a lot in the form of

their legacy in the country. The Mughals were great builders. They built not only mosques, but also palaces, tombs and gardens. They have left to us the Taj Mahal, Agra Fort, the Red Fort at Delhi, Jama Masjid at Delhi and many other buildings. Even today after the lapse of hundreds of years, these buildings remind us of the glory of the Mughals. The Mughals have also left us their paintings and we can really be proud of them.

The Mughals were great patrons of literature and a large number of books written in the Mughal period have come down to us. Reference may be made to the *Akbarnamah* and *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri* and *Tuzak-i-Babri* have their own charm. Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunamah*, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed's *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Badauni's *Muntkhab-ul-Tawarikh*, etc., give us a lot of information about the Mughals. Tulsi Das's Ramayana is a product of the Mughal period. The Bhakti movement gave us a lot of literature. Books were written in Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi and Hindi. Reference may be made to the works of Ram Das, Ram Prasad, Sur Das, Tuka Ram and Tulsi Das in this connection.

The Mughals left their legacy in the system of administration. Sir J.N. Sarkar[1] points out that the Mughal system of administration was borrowed by the Hindu States outside the territory directly subject to Muslim rule. The Mughal system was copied by the vassal Rajas of Jaipur and Bundelkhand. Even a staunch champion of Hindu orthodoxy, like Shivaji, at first copied it in Maharashtra. It was only later in life that he made a deliberate attempt to give a Hindu colour to his administrative machinery by substituting Sanskrit titles for Persian ones at his court. In spite of this, most of the names of the Departments, records and subordinate officials in his kingdom remained Islamic. The Mughal system spread over practically all the civilised and organised parts of India. "Now it is altogether dead in our own times. Traces of it still survive, and an observant student of history can detect the Mughal substructure under the modern British Indian administrative edifice. When in the late eighteenth century, a band of English merchants and clerks were unexpectedly called upon to govern a strange land and an alien race, they very naturally took over the Mughal system then prevailing among the people, made in it only the most necessary changes, and while retaining its old framework, they very reluctantly and slowly added such new elements as the safety and prosperity of the country demanded from time to time. This was the true character of the Anglo-Indian administration of

1. The same writer observes thus : "The two hundred years of Mughal rule.........gave to the whole of northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system and coinage, and also a popular lingua franca for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. Even outside the territory directly a administered by the Mughal Emperors, their administrative system, official titles, Court etiquette, and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu rajas". Again, "All the twenty Indian subahs of the Mughal Empire were governed by exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the language used in all official records etc.......Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one province to another. Thus, the native of one province felt himself almost at home in another province ; traders and travellers passed most easily from city to city, subah to subah, and all realised the imperial oneness of this vast country".

Bengal and Bihar under Warren Hastings. Under his successors, after many intervals of repose, the administration has again and again departed from its Mughal original. But the new has been built upon the old; our present has its root in our past." The Mughals had divided the country into Subahs, Sarkars and Parganas. A similar division of the country is to be found in the form of provinces or States divisions and districts.

Our internal trade still follows the old roads and river-routes. Agriculture still forms the most extensive industry. It retains all those features which it possessed in the times of the Mughals. Some of the Mughal canals even now irrigate large tracts of agricultural lands. Indigenous banking and instruments still operate in many parts of the country as they did during the Mughal period. Indian rupee of today is identical with the coin introduced during the Mughal period. Till recently, weights and measures of the present time could be traced to the Mughal period. Virjee Voras and Jagat Seths of Mughal period have their counter-parts in our times.

Akbar adopted many methods to bring together the Hindus and Muslims. The dream of Akbar is still the dream of India. For a time the Rajputs, the Shiahs and even the Sunnis, with a few exceptions, appeared to accept the ideal of Akbar. The Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri tried to solve a problem which we are trying to solve even today.

It is rightly pointed out that while the Mughal Empire has vanished, it has left many traces behind. In our dress, speech, etiquette, thought, literature, music, painting and architecture, we find the Mughal influence. The Indian art of today is a legacy of the Mughal period. While the earlier Muslims merely destroyed everything that came from a Hindu source, the Mughals assimilated, synthesised and recreated in immortal form. To quote Dr. V.A. Smith: "Perhaps the most fruitful general observation arising from such perusal is that of the predominance of Hindu names. For instance, in the *Waqiat-i-Baburi*......out of twenty-two names, nineteen are Hindu, and only three Muslim. Similarly, in Abul Fazl's catalogue of seventeen artists, only four are Muhammadan, while thirteen are Hindu. As with painting so with architecture and the other arts and literature. It is not so much the number of Hindus that were employed that matters, but the fact that they were generously appreciated and patronised on a large scale and not merely as exceptions. Among the thousands of artists, artisans and master-builders that were engaged throughout the Mughal period in the construction of the numerous buildings, palaces and mosques, there were both Hindus and Muslims who worked in unison in order to produce the exquisite effects which attract to this day admiring tourists from all parts of the world. In some, as in the Jahangiri Mahal, the Hindu type predominated; in others, as in the temples of Brindavan, the Muslim restraint in external ornamentation showed itself. But these might be considered as experimental and tentative designs. The perfection was reached where the Hindu and the Muslim both merged their individualities in a sublime form like that of the Taj Mahal, which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but Indian".

The Hindustani dress of today is the same that we find in the Mughal paintings. This applies to both men and women. Our Hindu-

sthani bearing, etiquette and forms of address are a legacy from the Mughal countiers and citizens. Our Hindusthani music and musical instruments are the same as those of the Mughal period. The same applies to the Hindusthani paintings, architecture and literature. The *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das has come down to us from the Mughal period. Dr. V.A. Smith writes thus about Tulsi Das: "That Hindu was the greatest man of his age in India—greater even than Akbar himself, inasmuch as the conquest of the hearts and minds of millions of men and women effected by the poet was an achievement infinitely more lasting and important than any or all of the victories gained in the war by the monarch."

Another legacy of the Mughals is the growth of the Urdu language. This was the outcome of the contact between the Muslims and the Hindus. Although it was not patronised by the Muslim Emperors who used Persian as the court language, it made a lot of progress during the Mughal period.

Hindu social manners, trades and modes of living were influenced by the Muslims in the Mughal period.

The Hindus had been isolated from the world for centuries. The Mughals brought them into contact with the outside world. The result was that their outlook was widened and a spirit of progress entered their minds. The Mughal imperialism was responsible for the conquest of the whole of the country. Indirectly, it gave political unity to the country that created a feeling of oneness among the people.

One may conclude with the following words of Lane-Poole: "A new vernacular, compounded of the languages of the Shahnamah and the Ramayana, a multitude of exquisite monuments of the Muslim faith inspired by analogies in far Western lands of Islam, but modified and if one may say so, sensualized by the grosser architecture of India; a few provinces still owning Mohammadan rulers; a large Muslim minority content to dwell among infidels and to obey the behests of the Christians from the distant islands of the West such are the chief legacies of Islam to India."

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INDEX